BYZANTION

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF BYZANTINE STUDIES

(*American Series, I*)

Edited by

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with the collaboration of

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Volume XV

1940-1941

Published by the Byzantine Institute, Inc.

THOMAS WHITTEMORE, *Director*

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

1941

BYZANTION

The publication of this volume was made possible by the assistance of the American Council of Learned Societies and the generosity of Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss.

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

PAGE

A Coptic Counterpart of a Vision in the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas. J. A. QUASTEN 1

Synesius, a Curialis of the Time of the Emperor Arcadius. C. H. COSTER 10

The Calendar-Reform at Antioch in the Fifth Century. GLANVILLE DOWNEY 39

Coronation and its Constitutional Significance in the Later Roman Empire. PETER CHARANIS 49

Byzantium and Southern Russia: Two Notes. GEORGE VERNADSKY.

I. The Eparchy of Gothia 67

II. The Date of the Conversion of the Jews to Judaism 76

Digenis Akritas. ALISON FRANTZ 87

Notes on the Byzantine Epic. HENRI GRÉGOIRE 92

Remarks on the Date of the Menologium and Psalter written for Basil II. SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN 104

Vagrant Folios from Family 2400 in the Free Library of Philadelphia. H. R. WILLOUGHBY 126

Writings Familiar to Cecaumenos. GEORGINA BUCKLER 133

A Christian Legend in Moslem Garb. G. LEVI DELLA VIDA 144

The Diversion of the Fourth Crusade. HENRI GRÉGOIRE 158

A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos in favor of the See of Kanina (Albania). P. J. ALEXANDER 167

Internal Strife at Byzantium in the Fourteenth Century. PETER CHARANIS 208

Y Eut-il des Invasions Russes dans l'Empire Byzantin avant 860? G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET 231

SUMMARY AND REVIEW ARTICLES

Inflation and Its Implication in Early Byzantine Times. ANGELO SEGRÈ 249

The Legislation of Justinian in the Light of the Papyri. RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG 280

Literary Reminiscences in Psellus's *Chronographia*. BARBARA P. MCCARTHY 296

PAGE

The Significance of the Crusaders' States in Mediaeval History. J. L. La Monte 300
The Empire of Trebizond in History and Literature. A. A. Vasiliev 316
The Mongol Orders of Submission to European Powers, 1245-1255. Eric Voegelin 378
Modern Greek Studies and Materials in the United States. P. W. Topping 414
Why Another Optative Dissertation? M. J. Higgins..... 443
The Legacy of Henri Pirenne. G. C. Boyce..... 449

REVIEWS

C. I. Amatos, Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους, I. (Peter Charanis) .. 465
Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oskar Halecki) 473
Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Bernhard Geiger) .. 483
George Kolias, *Leon Choerosphactès, magister, proconsul, et patrice* (Peter Charanis) 485
G. B. Ladner, *Origin and Significance of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy* (Joshua Starr)..... 488
M. V. Levchenko, История Византии (A. A. Vasiliev)..... 489
John Masefield, *Basilissa* (L. B. N.)..... 495
A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (G. Vernadsky)..... 497
Albert Vogt, ed., trans., and comm., *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète,* Le Livre des Cérémonies (G. Vernadsky)..... 500
S. A. Xanthoudides, Ἡ Ἐνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ἐνέτων ἀγῶνες τῶν κρητῶν (Joshua Starr)..... 502

NECROLOGY

Joseph Stryzgowski (1862-1941)..... 505

A COPTIC COUNTERPART TO A VISION IN THE ACTS OF PERPETUA AND FELICITAS

By JOHANNES QUASTEN

The visions which Perpetua had before her death and which she wrote down herself are one of the most interesting sources for the mentality of early Christian converts.[1] The fact that Perpetua was only a catechumen and did not receive baptism more than a few days before her martyr's death explains why these visions contain such a strange mixture of ancient eschatological ideas and Christian belief. The Dinocrates-vision is an example of this.[2] A study of the first vision she had reveals the same mixture.

Perpetua is in prison. Her brother suggests to her that she may pray for a vision and may well be shown whether suffering is in store for her or release. She does so and she has a vision in which she sees a brazen ladder of wondrous length reaching up to heaven. Just beneath the ladder is a dragon laying in wait for those going up and seeking to deter them:

Video scalam aeream mirae magnitudinis pertingentem usque ad caelum, et angustam, per quam nonnisi singuli ascendere possent, et in lateribus scalae omne genus ferramentorum infixum. Erant ibi gladii, lanceae, hami, macherae, verruta, ut si quis neglegenter aut non sursum adtendens ascenderet, laniaretur et carnes eius inhaererent ferramentis. Et erat sub ipsa scala draco cubans mirae magnitudinis, qui ascendentibus insidias praestabat et exterrebat ne ascenderent. Ascendit autem Saturus prior, qui postea se propter nos ultra tradiderat, et tunc cum adducti sumus, praesens non fuerat. Et pervenit in caput scalae, et convertit se et dixit mihi: "Perpetua sustineo te; sed vide ne te mordeat draco ille." Et dixi ego: "Non me nocebit in nomine Jesu Christi." Et desub ipsa scala, quasi timens me, lente eiecit caput; et quasi primum gradum calcarem, calcavi illi caput, et ascendi.[3]

Perpetua tells us that when she awoke from this vision she understood that she must suffer, and henceforward began to have no hope in this world.[4] In other words, the sufferings she would have to undergo

[1] For the idea of conversion cf. A. D. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 1-16.

[2] Cf. F. J. Dölger, "Antike Parallelen zum leidenden Dinokrates in der Passio Perpetuae," *Antike und Christentum*, II (1930), 1-40.

[3] *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, IV, 3-7 (pp. 16, 15-18, 13 ed. van Beek).

[4] *Ibid.*, IV, 10 (p. 22 ed. van Beek): "et intelleximus passionem esse futuram et coepimus nullam iam spem in saeculo habere."

before she could reach heaven, were shown her in this vision under the figure of a difficult ladder and a dragon which blocked the way up. Attempts have been made to interpret this vision. The ladder has been explained as taken from Jacob's vision (*Gen.*, xxviii, 12). In fact, in the Acts of Montanus and Lucius, which are a base imitation of the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, when their fellow-martyr Victor asks where paradise may be, the Lord says: "Give them the sign of Jacob."[5] But there is quite a difference between Jacob's ladder and the ladder Perpetua saw in her vision. On the sides of this brazen ladder "were fastened all kinds of iron weapons. There were swords, lances, hooks, daggers, so that if any one went up carelessly or without looking upwards he was mangled and his flesh caught on the weapons." That does not fit into Jacob's vision. Therefore it has been suggested by P. Franchi de' Cavalieri[6] that Perpetua's ladder represents the *catasta*, the scaffold which the accused had to ascend for the public trial; this was furnished with all kinds of instruments of torture. Salvian, for instance, speaking of martyrs, compares the *catasta* to a ladder on which the martyrs ascend to the heavenly gate, using their sufferings as steps: "ad caelestis regiae ianuam gradibus poenarum suarum ascendentes scalas sibi quodammodo de eculeis catastisque fecerunt."[7] First of all, the idea of a ladder which leads from this world to the other is not exclusively of Jewish-Christian origin, but is an ancient eschatological belief, which goes back to the Egyptians. The *Papyrus of Nu* (British Museum No. 10, 477, sheet 9) introduces the chancellor-in-chief saying: "I have journeyed from the earth to

[5] Cf. E. C. E. Owen, *Some authentic Acts of the early martyrs* (Oxford, 1927), p. 150; C. van Beek, *loc. cit.*, p. 18. For the Acts of Montanus and Lucius, see P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "Gli Atti dei SS. Montano, Lucio e compagni," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 8. Supplementheft, Rome, 1898), p. 35. Ambrose mentions Jacob's ladder in the funeral sermon for his brother Satyrus. But for him it is a symbol of the Cross: *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, I, 6, 2 (*Patr. Lat.*, XVI, 1343): "Nec illa otiosa significatio scala de coelo quod per crucem Christi angelorum atque hominum futura consortia videntur."

[6] *Loc. cit.*

[7] Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei*, 3, 6 (28, 15-17 Halm). Cf. the description Cyprian gives: *Ad Donatum* 10 (p. 11, 22 Hartel): "hasta illic et gladius et carnifex praesto est, ungula effodiens, eculeus etc.," *De Laude martyr*, c. 8 (3, p. 31 Hartel): "Quid . . . tam eximium adque sublime est quam inter tot instrumenta carnificum . . . cunctam fidei reservare virtutem? Quid tam magnum . . . quam inter tot circumstantium gladios . . . dominum . . . profiteri?"

heaven. The god Shu hath made me to stand up, the god of Light hath made me to be vigorous by the two sides of the ladder, and the stars which never rest set me on my way." [8] Likewise the early Pyramid texts describe the king climbing the last rungs of the ladder to heaven, supported by the gods. Hellenistic Egypt has similar ideas which recall the naive beliefs of distant ages. The interpretation of Jacob's ladder gives Philo an opportunity to explain that 'ladder' is a figurative name for the atmosphere whose foot is earth and whose head is heaven. This air is according to him the abode of incorporeal souls, since it seemed good to their Maker to fill all parts of the universe with living beings.[9] Of these souls some, such as have earthward tendencies and material tastes, descend on the ladder to be fast bound in mortal bodies, while others ascend, being selected to return according to the numbers and aeons determined by nature.[10] Of these last some longing for the familiar and accustomed ways of mortal life again retrace their steps, while others pronouncing that life great folly call the body a prison and a tomb, and escaping as though from a dungeon or a grave, are lifted up on light wings to the upper air and range the heights for ever.[11]

Because of the strong influence of Philo on the exegesis of the Alexandrian School [12] we cannot be surprised to find in Origen the same interpretation of Jacob's ladder as the air through which the disimbodied souls make their way to and from the earth. He declared that Moses by the vision of the ladder which was presented to the view of Jacob obscurely pointed to the same truths which Plato had in view in his *Timaios* asserting that souls can ascend and descend through the planets. Origen indicates the source for his interpretation adding: "On this subject Philo has written a treatise to which all lovers of truth should give thoughtful and intelligent attention." [13]

[8] *The Book of the Dead*, translated by E. A. Wallis Budge (*Egyptian Literature*, London-New York, 1901), p. 80.

[9] Philo, *De somniis*, I, 22, 134 (Loeb's Class. Libr., V, 369).

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 138 (p. 371).

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 139 (p. 371).

[12] Cf. P. Heinisch, "Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste christliche Exegese," *Alttestamentl. Abhandlungen*, Heft 1-2 (1908). W. Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom (1915)*; J. Quasten, "Der Gute Hirte in hellenistischer und frühchristlicher Logostheologie," *Heilige Ueberlieferung*, ed. O. Casel (Münster, 1938), p. 56.

[13] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VI, 21 (*ANF*, IV, 583).

But it is much more important for us that Origen in his defence of Christianity against Celsus reveals that this pagan philosopher "desiring to exhibit his learning" in his treatise against the Christians had compared Jacob's ladder with a symbol in the mysteries of Mithra. Origen quotes Celsus as saying:

> These things are obscurely hinted at in the accounts of the Persians, and especially in the mysteries of Mithra, which are celebrated amongst them. For in the latter there is a representation of the two heavenly revolutions—of the movement, viz., of the fixed stars, and of that which takes place among the planets, and of the passage of the soul through these. The representation is of the following nature: There is a ladder with lofty steps, and on the top of it an eighth step. The first step consists of lead, the second of tin, the third of copper, the fourth of iron, the fifth of a mixture of metals, the sixth of silver, and the seventh of gold. The first step they assign to Saturn, indicating by the 'lead' the slowness of the stars; the second to Venus, comparing her to the splendor and softness of tin; the third to Jupiter, being firm and solid; the fourth to Mercury, for both Mercury and iron are fit to endure all things, and are money-making and laborious; the fifth to Mars, because, being composed of a mixture of metals, it is varied and unequal; the sixth, of silver, to the Moon; the seventh, of gold, to the Sun,—thus imitating the different colors of the two latter.[14]

It is only natural that Origen calls this comparison inappropriate. From the viewpoint of the ancient Christian Apologists all parallels in pagan ceremonies or symbols are "inappropriate" or imitations of the demons. But Celsus' words as reported by Origen are valuable for us as a source of the information that the initiated of the mysteries of Mithra knew the ladder as a symbol for the passage of the soul through the planets.

This was not only a pale idea of philosophers but a popular belief. Small ladders of bronze have been found in many tombs in Roman paganism. I think they have been rightly interpreted as given to the dead to be a means of attaining to the upper world.[15]

But unfortunately all these parallels from the Jewish and pagan world of ideas leave unexplained the dragon as Perpetua saw it in her vision, lying beneath the ladder waiting for those going up and trying to frighten them. The Roman Catacomb of SS. Marcus and Marcellianus[16] contains a painting which is of high importance in this

[14] *Ibid.*, VI, 22, F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I (Brussels, 1894), 118 f., II (1900), 525.

[15] F. Cumont, *After-Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven, 1922), p. 154.

[16] For this catacomb see C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, 3rd ed. (Paderborn, 1922), pp. 130-136.

connection. It presents a man who is climbing a ladder. Beneath the ladder we see a dragon or serpent which tries to threaten him. The ladder leads to an *imago clipeata* in which a bust of Christ is depicted.[17] In other words, the ladder under which the dragon appears leads to Christ. This corresponds exactly to Perpetua's Vision. We will not be mistaken if we assume that the person ascending and being frightened by the dragon is none other than one of the two martyrs, Marcus or Marcellianus.[18] According to J. Wilpert the painting belongs to the fourth century.[19] We have here a pictorial illustration of the Vision of Perpetua and this proves that her idea was not unique.[20]

For the martyrs, martyrdom is precisely a transit from here to the other world, to Christ. But this transit is a pilgrimage amid constant dangers and perils on a very difficult road. These dangers originate from the devil. Sufferings are inflicted on the martyrs not by human beings but by demons and death by martyrdom is in reality a struggle with Satan. These and similar ideas return again and again in the visions and prayers of martyrs[21] and they explain Perpetua's Vision as well as the painting in the Catacomb of Marcus and Marcellianus. The dragon is the devil who is trying to frighten them and so deprive them of attaining to Christ.[22] The whole procedure is regarded as supernatural by the Martyrs.[23]

[17] Cf. J. Wilpert, *Erlebnisse und Ergebnisse im Dienste der christlichen Archäologie* (Freiburg i. Br., 1930), p. 45, fig. 29. J. Wilpert, *La Fede della Chiesa nascente* (Citta del Vaticano, 1938), pp. 273-74.

[18] Wilpert thinks that the other side of the painting which has been destroyed presented a counterpart with the other martyr climbing a ladder.

[19] J. Wilpert, *loc. cit.*

[20] An anonymous homily on Polyeuctus from the year 363 refers to the vision of the ladder, cf. B. Aubé, *Homélie inédite, Polyeucte dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1882), p. 77.

[21] See J. Quasten, "Die Grabinschrift des Beratius Nikatoras," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, LIII (1938), p. 65-68. F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, III (1932), 177-88.

[22] For the dragon's role in the *transitus animae* cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *Homilia 14 de exitu animae* (*Patr. gr.*, LXXVII, 1073 ff.): Καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀνθρωποκτόνος διάβολος καὶ ἐνεδρεύει ὡς λέων ἐν τῇ μάνδρᾳ αὐτοῦ, ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ἀποστάτης, ὁ ἄδης, ὁ πλατύνων στόμα αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, ὁ ἔχων τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κράτος . . . . Ὁποῖον φόβον καὶ τρόμον δοκεῖς τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ;

[23] Cf. K. Holl, "Die Vorstellung vom Martyrer und die Martyrerakten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchenge-*

One of the many illustrations of religious and monastic life in the manuscripts of the *Climax* or "Spiritual Ladder" by John Climacus, abbot of the monastery of S. Catherine on Mount Sinai in the sixth century,[24] is a miniature showing monks who are climbing the heavenly ladder of virtues and are welcomed at the top by Christ. But the ascent is difficult because winged demons try to pull them down to where a dragon has its jaws open to devour them.[25] According to ancient Christian mentality, the monk is a brother to the martyr.[26] Just as the martyr has to fight against the demons in his martyr's death, so the monk has to struggle against the devils who try to drag him down from the ascent to Christ by temptations and obstacles. The result if he fails is the same: the ugly dragon will swallow him.[27]

The best parallel to Perpetua's Vision known to me is in the Coptic *Martyrium Sancti Theodori Orientalis,* contained in *Codex Vatic. Copt. 63* (pp. 28-542) of the tenth century.[28] The original text of these Acts had been composed in Greek, perhaps in Constantinople, in a monastery which was dedicated to this Saint.[29] The Coptic

schichte, II (Tübingen, 1928), 73. J. Schlier, "Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen," *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* VIII (Giessen, 1929), 136.

[24] Cf. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 480; *East Christian Art* (Oxford, 1925), p. 316. O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* (Berlin, 1914), p. 536.

[25] C. R. Morey, *East Christian paintings in the Freer collection* (New York, 1914), pp. 17 ff.

[26] Cf. M. Viller, "Le martyre et l'ascèse," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique,* VI (1925), 105-142; L. Gougaud, "Les conceptions du martyre chez les Irlandais," *Revue Bénédictine,* XXIV (1907), 360-73; J. Ryan, *Irish Monasticism* (Dublin, 1931), pp. 197 f.

[27] Cf. J. Stoffels, "Die Angriffe der Dämonen auf den Einsiedler Antonius," *Theologie und Glaube,* II (1910), 721-32, 809-30. For Antonius and the demons in the *transitus animae* see J. Quasten, *Römische Mitteilungen* (1938), p. 62 f.

[28] Cf. H. Hyvernat, *Album de Paléographie Copte* (Paris, 1888), pp. 25 and 41. P. G. Balestri, "Il Martirio di S. Teodoro l'Orientale e de' suoi compagni Leonzio l'Arabo e Panegirio il Persiano, *Bessarione,* Serie II, Vol. X, anno X [1906], No. 89, pp. 137 ff. A. Hebbelynck et A. van Lantschoot, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices manu scripti recensiti, Codices Coptici,* I (Rome, 1937), 451.

[29] For the Martyrdom of St. Theodore the Eastern, cf. Amélineau, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Eglise copte* (Paris, 1890), pp. 179-183. H. Delehaye, "Les Martyrs d'Egypte," *Analecta Bollandiana,* XL (1922), 129. O'Leary, "Littérature Copte," *Dictionnaire d'archéol. chrétienne et de liturgie,* IX, 1629.

version [30] is one of the most legendary compositions in the Coptic Martyrology.[31] In a vision which he had before his martyrdom, Theodore saw this:

Ac hora quidem lucis, ait, videbam viam super terram enixam, scalae instar, et summitas eius ad caeli absidem pertingebat. Videbam, ait Theodorus, iuvenem facie incorruptibili, quasi annorum viginti, sedentem super summitatem gradus cathedrae . . . .[32]

Veni deorsum per scalam, virtute Christi me dirigente. Cum autem ad ultimum gradum venissem, vidi draconem magnum ligatum naso anulo ferreo. Caput eius et collum eius erant tamquam hominis, corpus autem eius totum tamquam draconis: terrorem ac conturbationem iniiciebat. Et iacebat in ultimo gradu ultimae scalae coeli, vigilans ne sineret ullum hominem ad Deum ingredi. Si quando vero Angeli adveniebant adscendentes vel descendentes, cum Iustis ac Beatis omnibus, operiet faciem suam cum rubore magno, ac retrahebat se sub scala.

Dixi ad angelum, qui mecum ambulabat: "Quis est hic, Domine mi?" Dixit mihi angelus: "Hic est inimicus Dei et hominum, ac totius iniquitatis pater; hic est qui seduxit Diocletianum et Maximinianum reges idolorum cultores: hic est pater Antichristi. Nunc vero non praevalebit in te, neque in duos amicos tuos, Leontium ac Panygiridi, quia baptizati estis in nomine salvatoris Christi, omnium Domini." Ait virtus quae ambulabat nobiscum: Ego veniam vobiscum et cum exercitu Romanorum, qui est iuxta flumen Tanubis donec accipiatis martyrii coronam, et revertamini per scalam ad Deum Christum Jesum Dominum meum."

Diluculo autem evigilavi, et ecce erat somnium et miratus sum de iis quae videram in visione, et certus factus sum vera esse quae dicta fuerant mihi; dedi gloriam Deo, quem decet omnis gloria.[33]

The similarity of Perpetua's and Theodore's vision is striking. Here as there we have a ladder stretching from earth to heaven and a dragon hindering the passage. Perpetua locates it *sub scala* and uses it as the *primum gradum*, Theodore says "iacebat in ultimo gradu ultimae scalae coeli," but the dragon retreats *sub scala* when angels

[30] An Ethiopic version has been published from a codex (*Orient. 686*) of the British Museum by M. E. Pereira, "Acta Martyrum," *Corpus Script. Christ. Orientalium*, Series Aethiopica II, t. 28). Bohairic fragments of the same Acts have been edited and translated by E. O. Winstedt, *Coptic texts on Saint Theodore the general, St. Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul and Justus* (London, 1910), 1-166.

[31] H. Hyvernat, *Cath. Encyclopedia*, XI, 710. Cf. W. Hengstenberg, "Der Drachenkampf des heiligen Theodor," *Oriens Christianus*, Neue Serie, II (1912), 79-106, 235-280.

[32] I. Balestri et H. Hyvernat, "Acta Martyrum," *Corpus Script. Oriental., Scriptores Coptici, Series tertia*, I, 37.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

ascend or descend. The intention of the dragon, however, is the same in both visions. Perpetua says "ascendentibus insidias praestabat et exterrebat ne ascenderent" and Theorodore describes it as "vigilans ne sineret ullum hominem ad Deum ingredi." Perpetua declares: "Non me nocebit in nomine Jesu Christi," Theodore receives this consolation from the angel who accompanies him: Nunc vero non praevalebit in te, neque in duos amicos tuos, Leontium ac Panygiridi, quia baptizati estis in nomine salvatoris Christi." Perpetua, having reached the end of the ladder, saw a vast expanse of garden, and in the midst a tall man with white hair, in the dress of a shepherd, milking sheep with many thousands clad in white surrounding him. Theodore saw "iuvenem facie incorruptibili, quasi annorum viginti, sedentem super summitatem gradus cathedrae." Perpetua was welcomed by the shepherd with the words: "Bene venisti tegnon! Theodore was addressed by the young man in whom he recognized Christ with the words: "Theodore, vis filius meus esse?"[34] Both Perpetua and Theodore drew the same conclusion from the vision. Perpetua when she awoke understood *passionem esse futuram.* Theodore says: "Diluculo autem evigilavi, et ecce erat somnium et miratus sum de iis quae videram in visione, et certus factus sum vera esse quae dicta fuerant mihi," in other words that he would have to undergo martyrdom. Perpetua immediately reports the vision to her brother, her companion: "Et retuli statim fratri meo," Theodore does the same: "Cum vero diluculo surrexissem, narravi amico meo Leontio quae in visione videram."[35] Perpetua concludes the whole report: "Et coepimus nullam iam spem in saeculo habere," Theodore closes his narration saying "Deus nobiscum est, non timebimus quid faciat nobis homo."

To sum up, the parallelism is so striking that I am tempted to assume an influence of the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas in the Coptic *Martyrium Theodori Orientalis.* There is something else which confirms me in this opinion. The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas in two different places,[36] call martyrdom a Second Baptism. The same idea is prevalent in the Acts of Theodore the Eastern. Martyrdom is

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 39 f.

[36] *Passio Perpetuae,* XVIII, 3 (p. 52 f. ed. van Beek): "lotura post partum baptismo secundo." *Ibid.*, XXI, 2 (p. 60): "ut populus revertenti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamaverit: 'Salvum lotum, salvum lotum.'"

described as a pool of fire in which Theodore and his companions have to be baptised:

Salvator rursus locutus est mecum dicens: "O Theodore si vere tibi placet ut meus filius sis, demitte te in hoc stagnum ignis ut munderis." Perrexi dicens ei "Timeo, Domine mi." Et qui ei adstabant suspenderunt me, ait Theodorus, crine capitis mei, tribus vicibus submerserunt me, statuerunt me super pedes meos, et veste munda corpus meum induerunt. Illico factus sum confidens. . . . Unus autem ex eis, qui circum cathedram stabant, extendit manum suum, apprehendit Leontium ac Panygiridem crine capitis eorum, abluit eos in stagno ignis, ac tradidit eos in manum meam tamquam depositum et instar patris tradentis filios suos in manum magistri . . . .[37]

Dixit ei Panygiris: "Ego cognovi te, quia tu es magister meus ex quo eram in caelo tecum, et a baptismo quod a Christo in stagno accepi, quo baptizaverunt me ac fratrem meum Leontium, et tradiderunt nos tibi tamquam depositum."[38]

We know from St. Augustine how wide the diffusion of the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas was and how general the reverence for them. He has to warn his listeners not to put them on a level with canonical Scriptures.[39] The fact that a Greek translation appeared at the same time or shortly after their publication in Latin contributed in a considerable way to make them known to the Oriental Church. From this the counterpart to Perpetua's vision in the *Martyrium Theodori Orientalis* receives an explanation.

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[37] I. Balestri et H. Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum*, p. 38.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[39] Augustine, *De natura et origine animae* I, 10 (*CSEL*, LX, 312, ed. Urba-Zycha): "Nec scriptura ista canonica est."

SYNESIUS, A *CURIALIS* OF THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR ARCADIUS[1]

By C. H. COSTER

There are certain persons who have great influence upon history, not so much because of their genius—indeed, genius is rare in the category of which we speak—as because they embody the spirit of the age in which they live; they crystallize its latent possibilities, and create an era. Such were Augustus, Diocletian, Louis XIV. Ford, it may be, and perhaps Roosevelt, will be seen by our descendants to belong to this group. Synesius, on the other hand, not only occupies a far less important position than these men in the history of the world, but his relationship to his own time was fundamentally different in character. He seems at once an echo of an era that had already passed when he was alive, and a pioneer of times that were yet to come.

But every man is in large measure the child of his own day, and if anyone seems to posterity not to have been so, that is, at least in part, because posterity views the past in broad perspective. It sees currents of history that were destined to prevail, but it does not so easily notice counter-currents and eddies that still were strong, it does not observe weak spots in the bank, through which the stream, in some flood that was yet to come, was to carve itself a new channel. One ought not to make the mistake of over-emphasizing figures apparently out of har-

[1] The author had the honor of reading this paper before the Classical Club of Yale on November 18, 1940. Some minor changes and omissions have been made to make it more suitable for publication, and in the notes advantage has been taken of some very helpful suggestions made by members of his audience, and of references very kindly given by them.

The translations of Synesius which appear in the text and in these notes are from Augustine FitzGerald, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene* (London, 1926), and from the same author's *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene* (2 vols., London, 1930). When references are made to letters, essays, hymns, etc., without mention of the author, those of Synesius are meant. The works of Synesius are published in J. P. Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, LXVI, but the numbering of the letters in Migne is not in all cases the same as that in Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris, 1873), the text followed by FitzGerald. See FitzGerald, *The Letters of Synesius*, pp. 6-7, but note also a variation from letters 80 (79 bis) through 101 (100). For the convenience of the reader, the numbering of Migne is given in parentheses when it differs from that of Hercher and FitzGerald.

mony with the age in which they lived, but if one can succeed in taking them into account without exaggeration, one will obtain a somewhat truer picture of the past.

By no means was every *curialis* a Synesius, but the central fact in the life of Synesius was that he was a *curialis*:[2] he consistently looked at the world from the point of view of a *curialis* of Cyrene. If we study some aspects of his life and writings with that fact in mind, it may well be that his activities and his opinions will shed some light on the position and on the opinions of the *curiales* of his time.

Professor Rostovtzeff, in his epoch-making book, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*,[3] has some most interesting remarks concerning the fate that overtook this class after the third century. He writes:

> The social revolution of the third century had been directed against the cities and the self-government of the cities, which had practically been concentrated in the hands of the city *bourgeoisie*. . . . Diocletian made no effort to change the conditions which he inherited from the military anarchy of the third century. . . . He took over the legislation of his predecessors, which tended to transform the *bourgeoisie* into a group of unpaid hereditary servants of the state, and developed it in the same spirit. The *curiales* (those who were eligible for the municipal council and the magistracies) formed a group

[2] Cf. *De Regno*, 2: "Cyrene sends me to crown your head with gold. . . ." Such missions were curial functions. See *Digest*, 1, 7, 8-9; also, the *Paratitlon* of Gothofridus to *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 12. The passages in the *Digest* and some of the laws cited by Gothofridus (*Cod. Theod.*, vi, 22, 1; viii, 5, 23; xii, 1, 25, 36) show us that it was customary to grant such emissaries exemption from curial duties, at least for two years. This is consistent with the statement (in allegorical form) of Synesius in *De Providentia*, i, 18, that the philosopher (Synesius) had received from Osiris (the Pretorian Prefect Aurelian) exemption from public services. It is also consistent with *Ep.*, 100 (99). Synesius there wrote that he had been exempted from curial obligations by the emperor as a reward for the mission which he had undertaken, but that he had voluntarily resumed them, and now wished to be released a second time because they left him too little leisure. From *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 172, 177, we see that those who became *curiales* voluntarily, remained bound to that order. These statutes, however, date from 410 and 413 respectively; Synesius is generally thought to have become Bishop of Ptolemais in 410 or 411 (see note 18, *infra*, for the authorities on his life), so that *Ep.*, 100 may have been written somewhat earlier. Synesius and the other texts cited, apart from the *Digest*, say nothing of a restriction of the immunity from curial service to two years; it may well be that, at least in earlier times, rescripts conferring immunity on legates were not, or not necessarily, limited to this term.

[3] English ed. (Oxford, 1926), pp. 460, 468-470.

of richer citizens . . . responsible to the state through the magistrates and the council both for the welfare, peace and order of the city and for the fulfillment by the population of all its obligations towards the state. . . . An army of officials was on the spot to keep close watch on them, and to use compulsion and violence if any of them tried to break away from the enchanted circle in which he was included. . . . It is no wonder, therefore, that the reforms of Diocletian and of Constantine . . . brought no relief to the people of the Empire and did not lead to any revival of economic life and restoration of prosperity. . . . Oppressive and unjust taxation . . . ; the immobilization of economic life . . . ; the cruel annihilation, consciously pursued and gradually effected, of the most active and the most educated class of the Roman Empire, the city *bourgeoisie*; the steady growth of dishonesty and of violence among the members of the imperial administration, both high and low; the impotence of the emperors . . . to check lawlessness and corruption, and their boundless conservatism as regards the fundamental principles of the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine—all these factors did not fail to produce their natural effect. The spirit of the population remained as crushed as it had been in the times of the civil war. The only difference was that a wave of resignation spread over the Roman Empire.

Ernst Stein, Ferdinand Lot, Otto Seeck, Bury, Gibbon, all paint the same picture. And rightly, because it is a true picture. We shall think of these words again when we deal with the relations between Synesius and Andronicus. But they present a panoramic view, and therefore necessarily lose details of topographical relief, thus giving us, perhaps, a somewhat one-sided impression. We should remember four things. First, it is unanimously agreed that the chief drawback to membership in the curial class was that its responsibilities were extremely burdensome from the financial point of view. Now, the people of the turn of the fifth century, A. D., were neither the first nor the last to complain of excessive and unequal taxation—which was in effect what those burdens amounted to—and people who complain of the taxes are likely, even when their complaints are justified, to exaggerate, and to refer to themselves as ruined long before they are so. Second, most of our information concerning the *curiales* during the later Empire comes from legal texts—the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian, the Breviary of Alaric, the Edict of Theodoric, and various passages in the official correspondence of Cassiodorus. But laws tend to deal with exceptional rather than normal cases. In America, our countless statutes do not mean that every contract is broken, or that every American is a criminal; our laws, taken alone, would give a very revealing picture of American society, but one gloomier than would be drawn if other sources were available. Third, the later Empire

strove to form a rigid system of castes, and of these castes, the curial class was one. But at all times, in every society, there is a tendency towards change. Some men have the ability to rise, and do so whatever the obstacles; others cannot hold their position in society, and can hardly be prevented from sinking to a more humble condition. A system that tries to stop such natural movements will always encounter difficulties; we cannot assume that all attempts to escape from the curial class imply that the position of the members of that class was, necessarily and always, intolerable to the mass of its members. Fourth and last, the curial class did in fact survive the reforms of Diocletian by many centuries. When Leo the Wise abolished it by his Novel 46, he was no doubt not so much making an innovation as recognizing an accomplished fact.[4] Still, if the position of the *curiales* had been so hopeless as it has been painted as early as the time of Diocletian, the class would scarcely have survived even nominally until the end of the ninth century. In Gaul, Pirenne believed the curias to have disappeared in the confusion of the eighth century,[5] and Ernst Mayer tells us [6] of their continuance and gradual modification in Istria and Dalmatia until they insensibly merged into the form of municipal government prevalent in Italy between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

All this, though, does not affect the fundamental truth of the picture given us by Professor Rostovtzeff; neither the cities nor, where they survived, the *curiales* of the later Empire or the Dark Ages could be compared with the brilliant municipalities or with the prosperous, cultivated, and patriotic *curiales* of earlier times. It does, however, go a long way to explain Synesius, to explain how it is possible that

[4] Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, IV, 2351. But see also G. I. Bratianu, *Études Byzantines d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* (Paris, 1938), p. 122.

[5] Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (3rd ed., Paris & Brussels, 1937), p. 175.

[6] *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, XXIV (1903), *Germanistische Abteilung*, 211 ff. On the question of the survival of the *curiae*, see also "Les curies municipales et le clergé au Bas-Empire," by J. Déclareuil, in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th series, 14th year (1935), p. 26 ff. A very illuminating analysis of the position of the *curiales* in the Empire in the East is contained in *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, 1940), by A. H. M. Jones. Chapters 12 and 18 in particular bear on the aspects of the subject discussed in this paper. It is a pleasure to thank Professor Rostovtzeff for his kindess in calling this most valuable work to the attention of the author.

in the time of Arcadius we come across a figure that we might almost have expected to find in the age of the Antonines.

Synesius was a direct descendant of Herakles, through Eurysthenes, who led the Dorians into Sparta and founded one of the lines of the Spartan kings, and this august lineage was engraved on the public monuments of Cyrene.[7] If the family was no longer divine or even royal, it was still wealthy and well-considered.[8] Synesius himself,

[7] *Ep.*, 57, at p. 135 FitzGerald and p. 1393 Migne. This "letter," as FitzGerald rightly points out, is not a letter at all, but an address by Synesius to his congregation. See also *Catastasis*, at p. 367 FitzGerald and 1572 Migne. The *Catastasis*, conversely, seems to be, not an address, but a letter. See FitzGerald, *Essays and Hymns of Synesius*, II, 475-6.

[8] Euoptius, the brother of Synesius, owned a property, perhaps near the port of Phycus, which was famous for its garden, in which silphium was still grown. See *Ep.*, 106, 114, 132 (131). He evidently took a considerable part in the political life of Cyrene. See *Ep.*, 50, 93 (92), and 95 (94). He was made a *decurio*, but was not willing to accept office unless his mother-in-law was excused from certain obligations not very clearly defined by Synesius. He left the province while Synesius tried to arrange the matter for him. See *Ep.*, 93 (92). To judge from the tone of Synesius, no very serious difficulty was to be expected. This letter is a most curious commentary on the operation of such laws as *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 16 (*Cod. Iust.*, x, 32, 18); xii, 1, 161 (*Cod. Iust.*, x, 32, 51), etc. It is probable that Euoptius, like his brother, became Bishop of Ptolemais; a Euoptius, Bishop of Ptolemais, took a prominent part in the Council of Ephesus, and enjoyed the esteem of Cyril of Alexandria. See Smith and Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* (London, 1880), II, 430; H. Druon, *Oeuvres de Synésius* (Paris, 1878), p. 10.

Stratonice, a sister of Synesius, was married to a member of the Imperial Guard (*ὑπασπιστής*). See *Ep.*, 75.

Herodes, a cousin, was born of parents of senatorial rank, and himself, while still young, held the office of *praeses*. It has often been said that the family of Herodes was of curial rank. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, VIII, 921; Druon, *op. cit.*, p. 455 and note; George Grützmacher, *Synesios von Kyrene, ein Charakterbild aus dem Untergang des Hellenentums* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 112. This seems quite inconsistent with the Greek of *Ep.*, 38. Synesius writes: *ὅστις ἐκ προγόνων λαμπρότατος ὤν, καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν βῶλον ὑποτελῆ τῇ συγκλήτῳ διαδεξάμενος, ἐπειδὴ γέγομεν ἡγεμών, ἀξιοῦται συντελεῖν ὥσπερ οἱ νεόβουλαι, καὶ γενέσθαι διπλοῦς λειτουργός· τὸ μέν τι διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὸ δὲ δι' ἣν ἦρξεν ἀρχήν.*

The word *λαμπρότατος* is a clear translation of *clarissimus*, and means of senatorial, not of curial, rank. *Συγκλήτῳ*, also, can refer only to the Imperial Senate, not to the *curia* of Cyrene. In *Ep.*, 19 and 21, for example, Synesius refers to the *curia* of Alexandria as *τοῦ βουλευτηρίου* and as *τῷ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀλεξανδρείας βουλευτηρίῳ*. As for the office held by Herodes, the Greek word used is *ἡγεμών*. FitzGerald, *Letters of Synesius*, 110, n. 1, following Petavius, takes this to mean *dux*. *Ep.*, 21, is headed *τῷ ἡγεμόνι*, and in this instance,

though not extremely rich, was at least very well off: he certainly had one large and productive estate in the Pentapolis; he probably had two;[9] he may also have owned lands in Egypt.[10] In Alexandria, he

FitzGerald translates "To the Governor." In *Ep.*, 62, the same heading occurs again, and this time FitzGerald is uncertain whether to render it "To the General" or "To the Governor." The normal usage of the time is probably shown by the Greek heading of the *Catastasis* (Migne, *P. G.*, LXVI, 1565): ΣΥΝΕΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ *ῥηθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφόδῳ, ἡγεμονεύοντος Γενναδίου, καὶ Δουκὸς ὄντος Ἰννοκεντίου.* But this of course cannot be relied upon to show the usage of Synesius himself, since it was obviously by the publisher of the address. Difficulty arises only from *Ep.*, 62. This was written in praise of a certain Marcellinus, and apparently addressed to him, under, as we have seen, the heading *τῷ ἡγεμόνι*. Seeck and Enssalin, perhaps infinenced by this heading, state that Marcellinus held the office of *praeses*. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, XIV, 1444, and Seeck, "Studien zu Synesios," *Philologus*, LII (1894), 442 ff., especially pp. 471 and 479. But the contents of the letter seem to establish that Marcellinus was a military, not a civil, officer. But even if Seeck was mistaken, and Marcellinus held the office of *dux* and not of *praeses*, the heading of this letter would not establish *dux* as the proper translation of *ἡγεμών* in Synesius. As Seeck very rightly remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 466), such headings as that of *Ep.*, 62, were obviously added by the publisher of the letters when Synesius had not preserved the superscriptions among his papers. From some other passages in Synesius (see *Ep.*, 94 (93); *Constitutio*), one is inclined to think that Synesius used *στρατηγός* to translate *dux*, though it is hard to feel certain that the word was used in a technical, not a general, sense.

For the ill-time magnificence of another relation, see *Ep.*, 3.

[9] The estate of which Synesius wrote so delightfully in *Ep.*, 148 (147), was in the remote country at the southern extremity of Cyrenaica. The place was apparently named Anchemachus. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, IV A, 1362, but cf. FitzGerald, *Letters of Synesius*, p. 245, n. 1; the passage in the letter of Synesius might just as well be, as Fitzgerald thinks, an obscure literary allusion. Whatever its name, this place, as Fitzgerald points out (*op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 1) can scarcely be the property spoken of in *Ep.*, 95 (94), since that was so near Cyrene that the enemy were using the house as a base from which to menace the city. Perhaps a particle of corroborative evidence, apparently unnoticed hitherto, is found in *Ep.*, 125. In that letter, Synesius nrged his brother to enroll his peasants to resist the barbarian invaders of the Pentapolis. He added: "I myself enrolled companies and officers with the resources I had at my disposal. I am collecting a very considerable body at Asusamas also. . . ." It seems probable that Synesius was writing from Anchemachus or a camp near by, and that Asusamas was the name or the location of his other estate.

[10] The second part of *Homily II* is clearly a defence of the water-rights of an agricultural community against the inhabitants of Leontopolis. There were

was the student and lifelong friend of Hypatia; he was the disciple and friend of the great bishop, Theophilus; he was highly considered by the senate of the city; he was on excellent terms with the *praefectus augustalis,* Pentadius.[11] When he went to Constantinople, he delivered an oration before the Emperor; he was on terms of close friendship with such outstanding figures as the pretorian prefect and consul, Aurelian, who was later elevated to the rank of patrician; with Simplicius, *comes et magister utriusque militiae per orientem,* who seems later to have risen to even higher rank; with Constans, perhaps the Constans who was *magister militum per Thracias* in 412 and consul in 414; with the Count Paeonius; with Marcian, the ex-*corrector* of Paphlagonia; and with many others of whom we know less, though they seem to have been considerable figures in the worlds of culture and of politics.[12] In his own province of the Pentapolis, he was a great personage, playing an important part in the political life of Cyrene and of the province, supporting imperial officials, both civil and military, when they were honest and capable, and having much to do with the removal of others who were neither the one nor the other.[13] When marauding tribes invaded the province, and the imperial troops retired to the fortified cities,[14] it was Synesius who, taking the la- into his own hands,[15] assumed the lead in organizing the resistance of the provincials.[16] When the situation became still more

several communities of that name in Egypt. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, XII, 2054 ff. The wife of Synesius came from Alexandria, and he and his brother spent much time there. For Euoptius in Alexandria, see *Ep.*, 4 and 105. From *Ep.*, 93 (92), we learn that Euoptius was not in the Pentapolis at the time it was written, but we do not know that he had gone to Alexandria.

[11] See *Ep.*, 10, 15, 16, 33, 81 (80), 124, 154 (153); 9, 66-69, 76, 80 (79), 90 (89), 105; 18-19, 21, 29-30, 127.

[12] *De Regno*; *Ep.*, 31, 34, 38; Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, II, 2428 ff.; *Ep.*, 24, 28, 130 (129*), 134 (133); Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, III A, 203 (from the dates given here for the term of Simplicius as *comes et magister utriusque militiae per orientem*, it is evident that *Ep.*, 24 refers to a subsequent promotion); *Ep.*, 27; Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, IV, 952; *Ep.*, 154 (153); *Sermo De Dono Astrolabii* (FitzGerald, *Letters of Synesius*, p. 258 ff., Migne, *P. G.*, LXVI, 1577 ff.); *Ep.*, 101 (100) and 119; Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, XIV, 1514; cf. Grützmacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-72.

[13] See *Ep.*, 37, 47, 57, 58, 62, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 90 (89), 91 (90), 93 (92), 94 (93), 95 (94), 100 (99), 110, 130 (129*), 135 (134), and 144 (143).

[14] *Catastasis*, at p. 1568, Migne, and cf. *Ep.*, 130 (129*) and 133 (132).

[15] See *Ep.*, 107.

[16] See *Ep.*, 113, 125, 108. It is difficult to establish the order of the letters

desperate, owing to incompetence and corruption among the military and civil rulers of the province, it was Synesius who was chosen Bishop of Ptolemais; who led the fight on behalf of the *curiales* against the oppressive governor, Andronicus; Synesius who appealed, through his powerful friends, to the *Consistorium*[17] for help against the invading barbarians.

In short, Synesius was a provincial nobleman of considerable wealth, extremely active, and successfully so, in the political life of his province, and of such culture and rank in society that wherever he went, he was well received by the most important and interesting people of his time. He was far better born than Montaigne; his literary and philosophic works, though distinguished, were by no means on a par with the essays of the great Frenchman; otherwise, allowing for the great differences of time and place, the two men occupied comparable positions.

Without going in greater detail into the life of Synesius, the facts of which are sufficiently well known,[18] it is evident that he was a *curialis* who was not ruined, one who, though he passed through moments of profound depression,[19] was not crushed in spirit, one who spent his whole life in the active and successful service of his native

of Synesius dealing with the barbarian invasions, but these three and the account of the spirited resistance of the priests of Axomis (*Ep.*, 122) appear to mark the opening stage of the first campaign.

[17] In the opening paragraph of the *Catastasis*, Synesius writes: ". . . since they who wield the sceptre of the Romans ought, themselves also, to know this, do you write to whomsoever you may of those empowered to bring a statement before the council of the emperor. Let some one announce to this body, in brief, that until the other day Pentapolis was still a province valuable to an emperor."

[18] For brief summaries of the life of Synesius, see Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, IV A, 1362 ff., and Bury's Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (J. B. Bury, 5th ed., London, 1912), III, 482. An excellent bibliography will be found in FitzGerald's *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*, and an even more complete one in the first volume of the same author's *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene*. The introductions to these works are also of great value. For the chronology of the life of Synesius, two works are indispensable: O. Seeck, "Studien zu Synesios," *Philologus*, LII (1894), 442-483, and Georg Grützmacher, *Synesios von Kyrene, ein Charakterbild aus dem Untergang des Hellenentums* (Leipzig, 1913). But even with the aid of these works, it remains impossible definitely to establish more than a few dates in the life of Synesius.

[19] Cf. *Catastasis*; also, *Ep.*, 10, 16, 46, 57, and 69.

town and province. Let us now turn to a closer analysis of two episodes in his life, which, we think, will prove particularly illuminating: his address to the Emperor Arcadius, his contest with Andronicus.

The speech of Synesius before Arcadius was certainly one of the most extraordinary, one of the frankest addresses that a monarch has ever been called upon to listen to. So much so that it has been doubted that it was ever delivered in the form in which it has come down to us.[20] But Synesius was a man of rare honesty and courage; we must believe, with Gibbon [21] and with Seeck,[22] that he did deliver the address in substantially the form in which it was published. The more so since, in a later work, Synesius wrote of his undaunted conduct in the presence of the Emperor.[23] In any case, the speech as published was, we hope to show, no mere exposition of the personal ideas of Synesius, but a political program of the first importance. To establish this fully, it will be necessary to quote from it and to comment on it at some length.[24]

"Must a man abase his glance in entering here," Synesius opens,

[20] See FitzGerald, *Letters of Synesius*, p. 22. FitzGerald himself is not inclined to accept the criticism cited by him. Cf., also, Grützmacher, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Synesius was not, of course, independent of earlier authors. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, V, 874, and IV A, 1364, and the authorities cited in those articles, especially J. R. Asmus, "Synesius und Dio Chrysostomus," *Byz. Zts.*, IX (1900), 85-151. But it is no belittlement of the proven courage of Dio if one remarks that it was one thing to praise the military virtues before Trajan, and another to praise them before Arcadius. Seeck goes so far as to say that the frankness of Synesius was proof of the contempt in which Arcadius was held. See *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1921), V, 266 ff. And this point of view is shared by E. Stein. See his *Geschichte des Spätrömischen Reiches*, I (Vienna,1928), 345. But it is perhaps easier to treat Arcadius with contempt at the safe interval of almost a millenium and a half than it would have been to do so in his presence. And the speech of Synesius, however it may have affected Arcadius himself, must have been extremely offensive to a party powerful at his court. See p. 27 *infra*, and cf. *De Providentia*, I, 18.

[21] Bury's Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, III, 246-7.

[22] See note 20, *supra*.

[23] *De Insomniis*, ix.

[24] The *De Regno* is published in English in FitzGerald, *Essays and Hymns of Synesius*, I, 108 ff., and in Latin and Greek in Migne, *P. G.*, LXVI, 1053 ff. Since the quotations from the *De Regno* in this article are many, and since they follow the order of the speech, it would only weary the reader to give the exact page of each quotation; it will be easier for anyone wishing to check the quotations, direct or indirect, to follow the speech through. The author, as has already been stated, follows the English text of FitzGerald.

"if he carry not with him his city's prestige, as though he had no freedom even to open his mouth in a royal palace unless he has come from a community great and wealthy, . . . ? . . . Freedom of speech should be of great price in the ears of a monarch. Praise at every step is seductive, but it is injurious. . . . Cyrene sends me to you to crown your head with gold and your spirit with philosophy, Cyrene, a Greek city of ancient and holy name, sung in a thousand odes by the wise men of the past, but now poor and downcast, a vast ruin, and in need of a king, if perchance she is to do something that may be worthy of her ancient history. This very need you can remedy whenever you so desire, and it is for you to decide whether I shall bring back to you a second crown from my great and then happy city." Synesius then goes on to describe the greatness of the Empire, and to praise the military virtues of Theodosius. "For him the soldier's art procured the control of Empire, you that Empire enlists as a soldier and virtue is your debt to Fortune. . . . He whom the Divinity has most largely endowed with fortune, and whom, when still a mere boy, He has made to be called a great king, must choose all labour and abandon all ease. . . . In truth the tale of his sheep makes not the shepherd more than the butcher who drives the sheep before him to the slaughter, . . . he who does not fatten his flock, but himself desires to be fattened by it, that man I call a butcher amongst his cattle, and I declare him to be tyrant whenever that which he rules over is a people endowed with reason." The "houses, cities, peoples, races and continents" of his empire will "have the benefit of earnest solicitude and forethought" from the true king; the true king will be in contact with his friends and neighbors. He will live and toil with his army, "so that not merely in semblance shall he call them fellow soldiers. . . . What could be more shameful than to be a king who is recognized only through the painters by the very men who war in his defense? . . . how . . . shall the king understand how to use his tools, namely soldiers, when he does not know these tools? . . . nothing has done the Romans more harm in past days than the protection and attention given to the sovereign's person, of which they make a secret as though they were priests, and their public exposure in barbarian fashion of the things that pertain to you. . . . Accordingly, this majesty and the fear of being brought to the level of man by becoming an accustomed sight, causes you to be cloistered and besieged by your very self, seeing very little, hearing very little of those things by which the wisdom of

action is accumulated. . . . Consider as ancestral institutions of the Romans not the things which yesterday or the day before came into the commonwealth when it was already changed in its habits, but those by which they won their empire . . . at what period do you esteem the affairs of the Romans to have been in the most flourishing condition? Is it from the time in which you have been robed with purple, and bedecked with gold, when you wear gems from foreign mountains and seas, placing them, now on your brow, now on your feet, now round your waist, now suspended from your person, now buckled on your garments, now used as a seat? . . . Or was it then when men living in the throng, blackened by the sun, led armies to battle, . . . bearing themselves . . . simply and artlessly, . . . ?"

Synesius, in these biting words, was making a direct attack on what used to be called "the orientalizing of the monarchy," [25] on this treating the emperor as a god, on his costly magnificence and seclusion, on the consequent passing of power into the hands of corrupt officials, responsible neither to the people of the Empire nor to an informed and active emperor, but only held in check by the intrigues of rival candidates for office. Professor Rostovtzeff, speaking of the reforms of Diocletian, has well written: [26] "The idea of the ruler as first magistrate of the Roman citi ens, whose authority was based on the conception of duty and on consecration by the great Divine Power ruling the universe, was one which did not reach, and was not comprehensible

[25] This theory has been much modified by later research. See A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitt. d. Deutschen Archäol. Inst., röm. Abt.*, XLIX (1934), 1-118, and, in the same publication, *röm. Abt.*, L (1935), 1-158, the same author's "Insignien und Tracht der röm. Kaiser." Also, O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938), a work which the author has unfortunately been unable to consult. The author is much indebted to Professor Grégoire and Professor Rostovtzeff for these citations, which are particularly valuable in this connection.

Alföldi, in the second article cited, writes (p. 58 ff.): "Dass das römische Selbstbewusstsein sich noch im 3. Jahrhundert gegen diesen barbarischen Prunk empörte, erweist die einmütig ablehnende Stellungnahme der Schriftsteller. . . . Sie verurteilen die barbarische Gold- und Edelsteinpracht in der Kleidung des Macrinus, empören sich über die nicht minder prunkvollen syrischen Priesterkleider des Elagabal, rügen sowohl Aurelianus, wie Diocletianus und Constantinus wegen der 'Erfindung' des edelstein- und goldstrotzenden orientalisch-autokratischen Herrscherkostüms." Synesius, in his criticisms, was as usual remaining true to the classical tradition.

[26] *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 455.

to, the mass of semi-barbarians and barbarians who now formed the staff of officials, the army, and the class which supplied both—the peasant population of the Empire." That is true. But its truth only makes it the more interesting that, almost a hundred years after the abdication of Diocletian, more than half a century after the death of Constantine, we should find a *curialis* who, speaking in his official capacity of envoy to the emperor, advocated in unmistakable terms that very idea. It is evident that the idea died hard, harder than we had supposed, and that even at the beginning of the fifth century, the *curiales* had not resigned themselves to its abandonment.

The true king, continued Synesius, would choose his soldiers and his officials from the natives of his kingdom, not from barbarians. "... the shepherd must not mix wolves with his dogs, even if caught as whelps they may seem to be tamed, or in an evil hour he will entrust his flock to them; for the moment that they notice any weakness or slackness in the dogs, they will attack these and the flock and the shepherds likewise.... Even now some skirmishings of this sort are manifest." Gainas was fighting with very doubtful loyalty in Asia Minor against the revolting Gothic leader, Tribigild; Alaric was for the moment more or less quiescent as *magister militum per Illyricum;* the ambitions of Stilicho had resulted in extremely strained relations between the two halves of the Empire.[27] "Even now some skirmishings of this sort are manifest and certain parts of the Empire are becoming inflamed, as though it were a human body in which alien portions are incapable of mingling in a healthy state of harmony.... Rather than to allow the Scythians to be under arms here, we ought to seek from the agriculture so dear to them the men who would fight to defend it, and we ought to ... summon the philosopher from his study, the craftsman from his lowlier calling, and from the shop its salesman. As to the crowd of drones who pass their lives in the theatres by reason of their unlimited leisure, we should beg of them to make haste for once in their lives, before they should be turned to tears from their laughter...." (We are reminded of Salvian's description [28] of the sieges of Carthage and Cirta—the shouts of the soldiers battling outside the walls mingled with those of the crowds applauding at the games within.) The barbarians should be excluded, said Synesius, not only from the armies, but from the high magistracies and from the

[27] Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, I, 1287; II, 1147-8, 2429; VII, 487; VIII, 2280.
[28] *De Gub. Dei*, vi, 69 and 71.

Imperial Council. This infiltration of barbarians into high offices existed "in face of the fact that every house, however humble, has a Scythian for slave .... that these fair-haired men ... should be slaves in private to the same men whom they govern in public, this is strange, perhaps the most incredible feature of the spectacle, ... Remember that ... there are ... great and pernicious armies who, kinsmen of our own slaves, have by evil destiny poured into the Roman Empire, and furnished generals of great repute both amongst themselves and amongst us, ... Consider also that in addition to what forces they already possess, they may, whenever they will, have the slaves as soldiers, ... This fortress of theirs you must pull down; you must remove the foreign cause of the disease before the festering abscess actually declares itself, before the ill-will of these dwellers in our country is exposed."

Synesius, to use the modern jargon, was protesting against the "fifth column" and against "appeasement." More seriously, in asking for a citizen-army, in protesting against the barbarization of the military and high civil offices, Synesius was once more faithful to an earlier point of view, again asking for the return to a state of things any permanent return to which was probably impossible. Indeed, some years later, we find him grateful and loud in his praises of the Unnigardae, barbarian mercenaries who had distinguished themselves in the defence of the Pentapolis. Even then, however, he emphasizes that they should be kept in hand, and that it is important that for this reason they should remain under the command of a certain Anysius,[29] who, to judge by his name, was no barbarian. More important than the personal views of Synesius is the fact that, in demanding a citizen-army, he was not merely voicing his own opinion; he was acting in accordance with a formal vote taken, apparently, in the *curia* of Cyrene.[30]

More still, this demand must have had wide general support: it was actually accepted, and an anti-barbarian policy was instituted in the East, and lasted throughout the administrations of Aurelian and Anthemius, some fifteen years. As Seeck points out,[31] with the ex-

[29] *Ep.*, 78; *Constitutio.*

[30] *Ep.*, 95 (94). Synesius does not tell us that the vote took place in the *curia* of Cyrene, nor how it came out, but he has just been speaking of his embassy, so that one supposes the vote to have taken place in the *curia* and to have concerned the instructions of Synesius as envoy.

[31] Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, II, 1151. See also, E. Stein, *Geschichte des Spätrömischen Reiches*, I, 362 ff.

ception of a few Armenian or Persian names, we know of no military officers in the Empire in the East during this period with barbarian names,—they are all Roman or Greek. If, as we have seen from the evidence of Synesius himself,[32] the barbarian troops were not done away with, we may at least deduce that the high-ranking barbarian officers were generally replaced, and that the proportion of barbarian troops in the eastern armies was reduced. Seeck, in the passage cited, comments on the disastrous results of this policy in Cyrenaica itself and elsewhere, but it may be that these disasters were trivial and transient in comparison with what would have taken place if the pro-barbarian policy of Stilicho and Caesarius, the brother and rival of Aurelian, had been continued. If some Gothic leader had taken it into his head to adopt the policy later followed by Gaiseric, had seized some strategic point, and held it as the open foe, not as the restive ally, of the Empire, it might well have been that the Roman Empire would have disintegrated in the East as it did in the West, that there would have been no Byzantine Empire to preserve a large part of classical civilization and law and letters, and to transmit them to later ages.

The reaction against the barbarians, indeed, was not confined to the East. It spread to the West somewhat later, and resulted in the execution of Stilicho and the overthrow of his regime.[33] But the western portion of the Empire lacked the intrinsic strength of the East; its frontiers had been forever broken, and not even the repeated victories of Constantius, the brilliant general of Honorius, were sufficient permanently to restore the situation.

To return, however, to our subject, Synesius continued his speech with an analysis of the duties of the king in time of peace. "He will visit again and again in his tours as many races and as many cities as possible; and whatever portion of his Empire he does not reach, even to that he will devote his attention in what is apparently an effective and excellent way." This way, said Synesius, the ambassador from Cyrene, was by receiving embassies from his subjects. By rendering himself accessible to embassies and conferring with them, he would familiarize himself with the needs of the most distant of his peoples.

Synesius then turned to the needs of the subjects which the true king would set himself to satisfy. "First of all, let the soldiers be

[32] See note 29, *supra*; cf., also, E. Stein, *op. cit.*, I, 377.

[33] Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, VIII, 2284; E. Stein, *op. cit.*, I, 386-7.

enjoined to show consideration to the city populations, and to the rural also, and to be as little as possible a burden to them, remembering the duties they have undertaken on their account. . . . Whosoever . . . keeps the foreign enemy from me, but does not himself treat me with justice, such a man as this seems to me in no wise to differ from a dog who pursues wolves as far away as possible for no other reason than that he may himself slaughter the flock at his leisure, whereas in his fill of milk he has received the due reward of his guardianship."

It is needless to emphasize that this is the point of view of a *curialis*. We see from countless sources, including other writings of Synesius himself,[34] how oppressive the soldiery could be in their treatment of the citizenry when the armies were commanded by lax or indifferent officers.

No less naturally does the next point come from the mouth of a *curialis*. "It is by no means a kingly trait to exhaust cities by levying taxes, . . . the good king . . . can become a most harmless collector of these revenues by cancelling the inevitable deficits and by being satisfied with the imposition of such amounts as are commensurate with the means of the taxpayers. . . ." It would be possible, argued Synesius, for the king to do this because, by pursuing the policy previously outlined, he would reduce his expenses both in war and peace.

The good king will order everything well so far as he himself reaches, and he will extend his beneficient influence further by making suitable choices for subordinate positions. "Let his choice of those who are to rule be of the best, and not of the richest, as it now is . . . . the . . . man who has become rich by hook or by crook, and has thereby purchased his office, could never know what manner of man a dispenser of justice might be. For it is evident, for example, that such a one would not easily hate injustice, or show a contempt for possessions, nor would he fail to make the magistrate's house a place of sale for decisions in the courts.[35] It is little likely that he should look gold in the face with stern eyes, and pass on."

[34] *Ep.*, 130 (129*). Cf., also, *Ep.*, 62; *Constitutio.*

[35] Cf., *Cod. Theod.*, i, 20, 1, of February 3, 408: "Honorati, qui lites habere noscuntur, his horis, quibus causarum merita vel fata penduntur, residendi cum iudice non habeant facultatem: nec meridianis horis a litigatoribus iudices videantur. Quina itaque pondo auri tam iudici quam eius officio atque honoratis parem multam adscribendam esse cognoscas, si quis contra praeceptum huiusmodi venire temptaverit."

This law, as far as through the word *facultatem* appears also as *Cod. Iust.*,

We shall have more to do with this topic when we come to the struggle between Synesius and the corrupt and tyrannical governor, Andronicus. For the moment, it is enough to say that such officials were one of the greatest plagues of the *curiales*.[36]

Finally, Synesius prayed, "May you, my liege, be enamoured of Philosophy and real education. . . . Would that I might see you take to yourself Philosophy in addition to Kingship . . . . in this one word, I have summed up all."

In asking for a philosopher-king, Synesius had indeed "summed up all." At the extreme end of the fourth century, we find a *curialis* who is still hoping for the return of a Marcus Aurelius to the throne.

It has been suggested that Synesius in this speech was expressing the views of his patron, the Pretorian Prefect Aurelian.[37] That is true. Synesius had advocated that the emperor should abandon his hieratical seclusion and splendor, and return to classical standards of life. That did not take place, but in the administrations of Aurelian and Anthemius, in the practical regency of Pulcheria, in her rule and that of Marcian, we seem to see at least an attempt to attain the ideal preached by Synesius. The fifth century could not return to the second century, but these rulers, too, do seem to have tried to base their authority, in the words of Professor Rostovtzeff,[38] "on the conception of duty and on consecration by the great Divine Power ruling the universe."

Synesius had asked that the emperor should familiarize himself with the needs of his subjects, both by travel and by facilitating the reception of embassies. Except for an occasional trip to Ancyra dur-

i, 45, 1, and it is repeated integrally in the *Breviary* as i, 7, 1. The *Interpretatio* in the *Breviary* is particularly interesting: "Honorati provinciarum, id est ex curiae corpore, si et ipsi in lite sunt constituti, tempore, quo causae a iudicibus ventilantur, cum iudice non resideant, et litigatores meridianis horis iudicem non salutent. Si aliud praesumpserint, multam supra scriptae legis exsolvant." The *curiales*, far from having been ruined in the Visigothic dominions, remain so powerful that the governor is not expected to withstand without difficulty the corrupting influence of those of them that are actually holding office as municipal councillors.

[36] See, for other examples, *Cod. Theod.*, ix, 27, 6 (*Cod. Iust.* ix, 27, 4); xi, 30, 32 (*Cod. Iust.*, vii, 62, 24); xii, 1, 85 (*Cod. Iust.*, x, 32, 33); xii, 1, 186 (*Cod. Iust.*, xi, 59, 16).

[37] See Grützmacher, *op. cit.*, p. 38; E. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

[38] See p. 20, *supra*.

ing the heat of summer,[39] Arcadius did not travel, but we find Synesius praising Aurelian for his detailed knowledge of the needs of the citizens of the Empire,[40] and we find a law, *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 12, 14, of September 18, 408, addressed by Theodosius II to Anthemius, directing the Prefect to weigh the requests of the provincial legations, and to submit to the Emperor all matters worthy of his attention. " Nam remedia fessis quibusque necessaria nostro arbitrio decernentur." Gothofridus, in his commentary to this law, suggests that it was probably made at the request of Anthemius himself, and of his councillor, the philosopher Troilus, the great friend of Synesius.

Synesius had strongly urged the de-barbarization of the army; we have seen that this policy was drastically carried through by Aurelian and Anthemius.[41]

Synesius had asked that civilians should be protected from oppression by the soldiers. His own later writings show that this abuse was not eliminated, but they show, too, that at least some generals would not tolerate it.[42]

Synesius had asked for lower taxes and for cancellation of arrears. Not only did he obtain relief for Cyrene and exemption from curial duties for himself,[43] but Aurelian went so far in his measures for relieving and assisting the municipalities of the Empire[44] as to earn the severe censure of Otto Seeck.[45] We find his successor, Anthemius, taking steps to assist the *curiae* of the towns in Illyricum, and remitting arrears of taxes for forty years past throughout the Prefecture of the East.[46]

Synesius had asked for the appointment of honest officials and the abolition of the sale of offices. From his own later experiences,[47] we

[39] See Otto Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste* (Stuttgart, 1919), pp. 291, 293, 295, 309, and sources there cited.

[40] *De Providentia*, i, 12.

[41] See pp. 22-23, *supra*.

[42] See note 34, *supra*.

[43] *De Providentia*, i, 18; *Ep.*, 100 (99).

[44] *De Providentia*, i, 12.

[45] See Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, II, 1147.

[46] *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 177; xi, 28, 9. Both laws are cited by J. B. Bury in his *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), I, 213. The former law allowed well-disposed persons of means to come to the assistance of the *curiae* of the Illyrian towns without rendering themselves liable to curial duties in the future. It thus constituted an exception to *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 172.

[47] See *Ep.*, 130 (129*). Of his relations with Andronicus, the worst of such venal officials, we shall have more to say presently.

see that no miracle was achieved in this direction, but his praise of the administration of Aurelian,[48] though in exaggerated terms, was probably sincere, and he tells us that Anthemius promulgated a law tending to prevent at least some of these abuses.[49] We also learn from him that Andronicus, the worst official with whom he had to deal, was brought to trial for his crimes.[50]

But if Synesius was the mouthpiece of Aurelian, Aurelian was, at least to a great extent, the mouthpiece of the *curiales*. That the measures advocated by Synesius, as the ambassador of Cyrene, were precisely those which Aurelian and Anthemius strove to put into effect, and that they were every one of them favorable to the *curiales*—this cannot have been an accident. And, as we have seen, even the replacement of barbarian officers by natives of the Empire—the measure which might be supposed to have interested the *curiales* least directly—had been the subject of a formal vote, apparently in the *curia* of Cyrene.[51] It becomes clear that the two prefects[52] based their power largely on the support of the *curiales*.

Indeed, it would have been difficult for them to do otherwise. The personal power of the notorious eunuch, Eutropius, had been destroyed, and it was as a result of its destruction that Aurelian had come into power.[53] The Germanophile party of Stilicho and Gainas and Caesarius had next been destroyed—the speech of Synesius was an incident in this struggle; his *De Providentia* is a thinly veiled description of its course—and it was as a result of its destruction that

[48] *De Providentia*, i, 12.

[49] In *Ep.*, 73, Synesius tells us that Aethemius had caused a law to be made supplementing an old one which forbad anyone to administer his native province. This was obviously designed to prevent abusive use of the powers of the administrator. The author has not succeeded in finding this law in the Theodosian Code, but *Cod. Iust.*, i, 41, 1 is obviously to the same effect. Cf., also, *Ep.*, 72.

[50] *Ep.*, 90 (89).

[51] See note 30, *supra*.

[52] Anthemius succeeded Aurelian toward the end of 404, shortly after the death of the Empress Eudoxia. But he had held the office of *magister officiorum* under his predecessor, and the philosopher, Troilus, the old friend of Synesius, became his advisor. See E. Stein, *op. cit.*, I, 375. Cf. *Ep.*, 26, 73, 91 (90), 111, 112, 118, 119, and 123. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find no evidence of any change in policy, at least concerning the matters with which we are dealing in this paper.

[53] Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, II, 2428.

Aurelian, after a brief eclipse, had been restored to power.[54] The imperial government in the East had, as Ernst Stein tells us,[55] always striven to avoid falling into the power of the great senatorial landowners, and we see that under Anthemius, and presumably under Aurelian, it was aware of that danger.[56] The power of these two prefects, then, could not have been based on any of the foregoing elements, but must of necessity, and presumably from conviction, have been based on the elements that were opposed to the forces which Aurelian had destroyed: on the support of the Empress Eudoxia,[57] herself, amusingly enough, the daughter of a Frankish general; on the support of the church, which disliked the barbarian officers because they were Arians;[58] and on the support of the well-to-do citizens of the Empire—the *curiales*—who wanted neither the outrageously corrupt bed-chamber government of Eutropius nor the barbarian domination of Stilicho and Gainas. It would be an absurd anachronism to insist too strongly on this point, to pretend that the city-state and its dominating class, the *curiales*, played a part in the Empire of Arcadius and Honorius in any way comparable to that which they had played during the Principate. But that does not mean that we should ignore the evidence that as late as the reign of Arcadius the city-state remained a reality in the eyes of the *curiales*, and that these *curiales*, though harassed, remained an important factor in the Empire, that they held to classical standards, and were at once the agents and the supporters of a vigorous reaction against the processes of barbarizing the government of the Empire, and of shutting off the emperor behind a screen of hieratic splendor.

Perhaps the best way for us to keep our picture of this reaction, if we are right in seeing a reaction, within proper proportions, is to examine one other episode in the life of Synesius. His contest with Andronicus forms the true pendant to his address before the Emperor Arcadius.

At the time of this contest, Synesius was, it will be remembered, no

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] E. Stein, *op. cit.*, I, 101.

[56] *Op. cit.*, I, 375.

[57] Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, II, 2428.

[58] The downfall of Gainas, and ultimately of Caesarius, appears to have been precipitated by an attempt to assign to the barbarians a church within the City for their Arian services. See *De Providentia*, i, 18; E. Stein, *op. cit.*, I, 361.

longer a *curialis*, but Bishop of Ptolemais, the metropolitan see of the Pentapolis. In one aspect, though, and perhaps the most important aspect to Synesius, the episcopate might be considered the proper culmination of the curial career. As the *curiales* became weaker and weaker owing to the oppressive fiscal policy of the Empire, as their field of action became ever more limited owing to the increasing regulation of the *curiae* by the officials of the imperial administration, the bishops came more and more to be the local representatives of the people, their protectors against the abuses of the imperial bureaucracy, against the tyrannical and venal officials of that bureaucracy, and, when occasion arose, against the barbarians. Thus it happened that the people, who still retained a great share in the election of bishops,[59] tended in time of trouble to choose local magnates for the episcopal office, men who knew the local needs, men competent through birth, education, and experience, to meet the problems with which they had to deal as the political as well as the religious heads of their communities.[60]

This, at any rate, was certainly the point of view of Synesius. In a letter written to his brother while he was still hesitating to accept the bishopric, he said:[61] "He [the bishop] is a teacher of the law, and must utter that which is approved by law. In addition to all this, he has as many calls upon him as all the rest of the world put together, for the affairs of all he alone must attend to, or incur the reproaches of all. . . . I know well that there are such men. . . . I regard them as really divine men, whom intercourse with man's affairs does not separate from God. But I know myself also. I go down to the town, and from the town I come up again, always enveloped in thoughts that drag me down to earth, . . ." We see this even more clearly in a very curious address made by him to his congregation.[62] He did not at the moment seem to be meeting with success in his contest with Andronicus, he felt himself unable to cope with these political duties, and he asked his congregation either to accept his resignation as

[59] See *Ep.*, 67, 96 (95), 105. See, also, Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.*, iv, 25; vii, 9. The letters of Sidonius are published in *M. G. H., A. A.*, VIII (Berlin, 1887). There is an excellent English translation in two volumes, *The Letters of Sidonius*, translated by O. M. Dalton (Oxford, 1915).

[60] No better illustration of this can be found than in the letters of Sidonius, or than the case of Synesius himself. Cf., also, the very significant case of Siderius and Orion, mentioned in *Ep.*, 67.

[61] *Ep.*, 105. [62] *Ep.*, 57.

bishop, or else to appoint a coadjutor. "The past ages made the same men priests and judges. . . . Then, later, . . . God separated the two ways of life. . . . Why then do you move backwards, why do you seek to fit together those things which have been separated by God, you who demand not that we should govern, but that we should govern badly? . . . He has need of leisure, who is a bishop and a philosopher. I do not condemn bishops who are occupied with practical matters, for knowing of myself that I am hardly equal to one of the two things, I admire all the more those who are competent in both fields. Power to serve two masters is not in me. Nevertheless, if there are some who are not injured even by a condescension, they would be able both to be bishops, and to conduct the affairs of the cities. . . . Therefore you must all choose the most useful man in place of us, . . . Let the man be chosen to succeed us, or chosen to act with us, but by all means let him be chosen."

It is interesting, by the way, to notice that Synesius, who had once been relieved of curial duties but had voluntarily resumed them, and had asked to be again relieved, not because of any expense, but because they interfered with his need for philosophic contemplation,[63] now asked, for the same reason, to be relieved of the political duties inherent in his position as bishop. His was a nature which had profound need of leisure and contemplation, yet one which drove him again and again to active life.

Such, then, was the position of bishop in the time of Synesius, and as understood by him. The governor, on the other hand, was the representative in his province of the Imperial government in all civil matters, both administrative and judicial. There were in theory considerable restrictions on his power, but in practice he could do nearly what he liked with the provincials—excepting always the great magnates, with whom he quite often could do nothing at all.[64] In theory, the provincials

[63] See note 2, *supra*.

[64] A striking example is found in Symmachus, *Relationes*, 31, printed in *M. G. H., A. A.*, VI, 1, 304-5. Here we are told of a Valerianus, *vir clarissimus*, who repeatedly evaded the summons of the authorities, and finally used violence against an *apparitor* of the Prefect of the City. It is a pleasure to thank Professor Max Radin for his correction of a serious misunderstanding by the author of one passage in this letter. See Professor Radin's review, in the October, 1936, issue of *The American Journal of Philology*, of the author's *The Iudicium Quinquevirale* (The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1935).

In *Nov. Theod.*, xv, 2, we hear of another Valerianus, a *curialis*, who, fraudu-

could appeal, but the vicar or the prefect or the emperor was far away, and a well-placed friend or a timely bribe could usually turn matters in such a way as to make an appeal ineffective,—and an ineffective appeal could easily be not only expensive, but very dangerous for the maker.[65] The situation is dramatically revealed by an edict *ad provinciales* issued on June 22, 386 from Constantinople, an edict of universal and lasting validity, as is proved by its inclusion in the Codes of both Theodosius and Justinian.[66] "Iubemus hortamur," say the emperors, "We order, we urge that if perchance any *honoratus* or *decurio* or landed proprietor, or lastly even any *colonus* or person of any rank whatever shall have been subjected to extortion in any matter by a judge, if anyone knows a judgment of law to have been venal, if anyone shall be able to prove a criminal sentence to have been remitted for a bribe, or imposed because of vicious greed, if, finally, anyone shall be able to prove a judge unjust in any matter whatsoever,—we urge, we exhort that he come forth publicly, whether during the term of office of the judge or after his administration, that he denounce the crime, that he prove his charge. When he shall have proved it, he will gain both victory and glory." *Iudex* is the word used in this law, which is translated as *judge*; it most emphatically included the provincial governor.[67] The word that we have translated *subjected to*

lently securing the insignia of a *vir illustris*, and gathering a band of barbarians about him, burst into the *secretarium* of the governor of the province, sat himself at the right hand of the governor, cleared out the governor's staff, and proceeded to run things to his liking. This text is cited by A. H. M. Jones, in *The Greek City*, p. 201.

Synesius himself tells us of the bold contempt with which a certain Julius treated the Governor, Andronicus. See *Ep.*, 79. This Julius seems to have been a considerable figure in the political life of Cyrene, and a rival of Synesius. See *Ep.*, 50 and 95 (94).

[65] For an instance of official tyranny and corruption, see the well-known story of Count Romanus and the people of Tripolitania, as told us in the *History* of Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii, 9, 1-2; xxviii, 6, 1-29; xxx, 2, 9-12. Cf., also, *op. cit.*, xxix, 5, 2. An outline of this story is also given in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, I A, 1065. Count Romanus was of course far more powerful than a provincial governor, but the story is so complete that it is perhaps the best instance that can be given.

For an amusing trick by which an oppressive governor of Lydia escaped the consequences of his misdeeds, see *Ep.*, 127.

[66] *Cod. Theod.*, ix, 27, 6; *Cod. Iust.*, ix, 27, 4.

[67] See Heumann-Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts* (9th ed., Jena, 1926), under the heading *Iudex 3*. The exception that proves

extortion is *concussus*; perhaps a better translation would have been *shaken down*. That slang expression gives us the true analogy. The emperor is helpless. He cannot bring his corrupt officials to justice for the very same reason that we are having such a hard time in bringing our gangsters to book: the victims do not dare to accuse the malefactors. "Iubemus hortamur," said the emperors, and one feels more than a literary elegance in the words. "Iubemus hortamur,"—but it would have taken a bold man to heed them.

Synesius, though, was a bold man, and he knew Andronicus. Andronicus of Berenice [68] was a man of the most obscure origin. He had made his way in politics by, we may presume, not too laudable means: Synesius tells us that he had twice saved him from prison.[69] Now, he had bought the Governorship of the Pentapolis,[70] partly with a view to making money and partly to settle old political quarrels.[71] Indeed, even before his arrival in the province, he had started to take his revenge on his opponents: his supporters had imprisoned a man and held him *incommunicado* until he had agreed to bring a charge of embezzlement against Gennadius, the outgoing governor.[72] It is significant that Synesius praised Gennadius for his mild and successful administration; [73] just as Synesius, the *curialis* born, stood for an administration based upon the support of his class, so Andronicus, the son of the fisherman, still hated the *curiales* with all the hate that had found expression in the civil wars of the third century.

the rule is *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 85 (*Cod. Iust.* x, 32, 33), a law of July 21, 381. This law, also a good example of the difficulty experienced by the emperors in controlling the tyranny of the provincial governors, opens with the words: "Omnes iudices provinciarumque rectores a consuetudine temerariae usurpationis abstineant sciantque neminem omnino principalium aut decurionum sub qualibet culpae aut erroris offensa plumbatarum cruciatibus esse subdendum." It might seem that the legislator was here referring to two separate categories of officials, *iudices* being the one and *provinciarum rectores* being the other. The law, however, goes on to impose stringent penalties on any *iudex* who may violate it, and upon the staff of such a *iudex* if it fails to restrain him, but it says not a word about penalties for its violation by the *provinciarum rectores*. It is evident that the judges include the provincial governors, and that the latter are only specifically mentioned for emphasis, presumably because they were the chief offenders.

[68] For the story of Andronicus, see *Ep.*, 57, 58, 72, 73, 77, 79, 90 (89); also, Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, I, 2164.

[69] *Ep.*, 79.

[70] *Ep.*, 58 and 72.

[71] *Ep.*, 72 and 73.

[72] *Ep.*, 73.

[73] *Ibid.*

If Andronicus did not even wait to arrive in the Pentapolis before commencing to persecute his enemies, Synesius did not wait for his arrival either before taking steps to secure his recall. While the new governor was still at sea, Synesius wrote to his friend Troilus, the advisor of the Pretorian Prefect Anthemius, setting forth in the strongest language his objections to the appointment.[74] In addition to the reasons we have already mentioned, he emphasized that by a law which had received fresh confirmation from Anthemius himself, it was illegal for a man to be appointed governor of his native province.[75]

Andronicus on his arrival fulfilled the worst prognostications of Synesius. *Curiales* were scourged even when they were quite able to pay their taxes.[76] The Governor further used tortures, such as the thumbscrew, and instruments to torture the feet, ears, lips, and nose,[77] which it was illegal to use against *curiales* under any circumstances, unless of course they were accused of *crimen maiestatis* or kindred offences such as magic. It is interesting to notice that Synesius remarks that such practices had not hitherto been known in the Pentapolis,[78] though adding that he wished he could say that Andronicus alone had made use of them—from which it is evident that he had heard of similar abuses elsewhere.

Among other specific cases of which Synesius tells us, was that of Leucippus. This man had had ten thousand staters of public funds stolen from him. He had repaid nine thousand, and wished to sell some property to repay the rest from the proceeds. But Andronicus, who was a personal enemy of Leucippus,[79] held off possible purchasers

[74] *Ibid.* For the influence of Troilus with Anthemius, see Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, I, 2365, and the authorities (Socrates and Synesius himself) there cited. Cf., also, note 52, *supra.*

[75] See note 49, *supra.*

[76] *Ep.*, 79.

[77] *Ep.*, 58 and 79. For an analysis of the laws regulating the punishment of *curiales*, see the *Commentary* of Gothofridus to *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 85, a law which we have already cited, and to *Cod. Theod.*, xii, 1, 39.

[78] *Ep.*, 58.

[79] *Ibid.* Leucippus is named only in *Ep.*, 79, but he seems clearly to be the unfortunate man referred to in *Ep.*, 57 and 58: in *Ep.*, 79, it is said that Andronicus keeps off prospective purchasers of the property of Leucippus by threatening them; the same is true of the victim mentioned in *Ep.*, 57; in *Ep.*, 57, we are told of the theft of public funds from the victim, and in *Ep.*, 58, it is said that the victim got into difficulties through misfortune, not misfeasance.

by threat, and kept his unfortunate victim in prison and without food for five days, alleging that he was afraid that Synesius would try to carry him away.[80]

At about this time, Synesius received a letter from his influential friend, Anastasius, in Constantinople,[81] asking help on behalf of the priest, Evagrius, whom Andronicus was attempting to compel to take up curial duties. Synesius, in answering, took the opportunity to complain of the outrageous behavior of Andronicus, and to say that the latter had told Evagrius himself that it would be useless to attempt a legal defence, since he, Andronicus, would give his opinion against him. The letter ended with a moving appeal for help against the Governor.

The letter to Anastasius, like the earlier letter to Troilus, may, as we shall see, have had a material effect on the outcome of the struggle, but in the meantime, that struggle went on. The unhappy Leucippus was taken out of prison, but only that he might be tortured in the full glare of an African noon. When Synesius heard of this, he went at once to comfort his friend. This is the last we hear of Leucippus.[82] The silence concerning him, though, may be construed favorably: Synesius tells us more about the misdeeds of Andronicus, he tells of other victims; he would not have forborne to tell us more of Leucippus if his affairs had not taken a turn for the better.

[80] *Ep.*, 57. We must remember that we have only Synesius's account of these events. We do not know what happened to Leucippus, and there may have been some justification for the fear of Andronicus. Later, when Andronicus himself was in danger of condemnation, Synesius, wishing to help him, seems to have spirited him off to Alexandria. See *Ep.*, 90.

[81] See *Ep.*, 79. It is often said, on the authority of *Ep.*, 22, that this Anastasius was tutor to the children of the Emperor Arcadius. See FitzGerald, *Letters of Synesius*, p. 102, n. 1, and the authorities there cited. Seeck, however, takes *Ep.*, 22, to mean that Anastasius had secured permission to legitimize his own illegitimate children. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, I, 2067. In fact, *Ep.*, 22, does not seem necessarily to imply more than this. But even so, it is evident that Anastasius was a person of considerable influence at Court. Besides the two letters just cited, see *Ep.*, 43, 46, 100 (99).

It seems reasonable to date the letter from Anastasius to Synesius at this point because Synesius in his reply mentions only the facts that Leucippus is not allowed to sell his property and that Andronicus tends not to respect the Church. If Andronicus had already uttered the blasphemous words that were to lead to his excommuncation, Synesius would certainly not have kept silence about it.

[82] See *Ep.*, 58, for Synesius's account of these events.

But if the affairs of Leucippus did take a turn for the better, the struggle between Synesius and Andronicus did not. On the contrary, it entered upon an even more acute phase. Andronicus, when he heard of the intervention of the Bishop, flew into a rage. In his fury, he called out three times that Leucippus had placed his hope in the Church in vain, and that no one should be torn from the hand of Andronicus, "not even should he be embracing the foot of Christ Himself." Not only that, but he nailed to the door of the church edicts of his own, denying his victims the right of sanctuary at the altar, and threatening the priests in case they should attempt to give sanctuary to them.[83]

This was blasphemy, and Synesius was a bishop; the Governor had afforded him an opportunity to carry the struggle into a new field. Perhaps encouraged by St. Isidore of Pelusium,[84] he drew up a decree of excommunication.[85] When Andronicus heard of this, he at once promised to reform. Synesius had little belief in his protestations of repentance, but his clergy were unanimous in urging moderation. Synesius therefore suspended publication of the decree.[86]

Synesius was right. Andronicus construed his moderation as an act of weakness, and proceeded anew upon his course of tyranny. He demanded money of a certain Magnus, the son of a man of senatorial rank, but himself a *curialis*.[87] Magnus, who had spent much of his

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] Four letters of St. Isidore of Pelusium are addressed to Synesius: i, 232, 241, 418, 483. His letters are published in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, LXXVIII. No. 483 concerns a Cappadocian of whom we know nothing more than appears in the letter itself. No. 241 defines a point of theology, apparently in connection with Synesius's campaign against Eunomianism. Cf. Synesius, *Ep.*, 5, and, perhaps, 45. Nos. 232 and 418 encourage Synesius to action. They might well have been written in connection with the Eunomian controversy, but they are perhaps applicable, as Grützmacher suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 142), to the excommunication of Andronicus.

[85] See *Ep.*, 58.

[86] See *Ep.*, 72.

[87] *Ep.*, 72, speaking of Magnus, says: παῖς ἀνδρὸς λαμπροτάτου, and again, ἅπασι τοῖς οὖσι λελειτουργηκὼς τῇ πόλει. We need not take the ἅπασι quite literally: the letter of Synesius shows us that Magnus still had an estate to sell.

There are many laws forbidding *curiales* to become members of the Senate or to acquire senatorial rank, before the completion of their curial duties. But such advancement was not, except for a few short intervals, forbidden to *curiales* who had fulfilled all their curial duties. If, though, it was legal under certain circumstances for a *curialis* to become a senator, it was the deliberate policy of the emperor (never very successfully pursued, as the constant

fortune on public objects, wished to sell an estate to raise the amount requested. A *curialis,* however, was forbidden by law to sell his lands without the consent of the governor of the province.[88] Perhaps by pure intimidation, perhaps under color of this law—if so, then a perversion of the law amounting almost to genius—Andronicus was compelling Magnus to sell the property, not to a friend who would give him a good price, but to a certain general, evidently a man acting in collusion with the Governor. But before the sale could go through, the unfortunate Magnus, who had been repeatedly flogged, died, apparently as a result of the tortures to which he had been subjected. "Up to that moment," said Synesius, "confiscation of property had not been ventured upon, and murder had not been taken in hand."

But now they had, and Synesius issued his decree of excommunication against Andronicus:[89] "Andronicus of Berenice let no man call a Christian . . . but rather as accursed of God, let him with his

repetitions of statutes and constant condoning of old evasions show) to make such advancement difficult. As Constantius very frankly says in *Cod. Theod.,* xii, 1, 48: "Qui [ex-*decuriones*] vero praetorum honore perfuncti sunt residentes in senatu, redhibere debebunt quae ex rationibus fisci aut urbium visceribus abstulerunt, ita ut omnibus deinceps adipiscendi honoris huiusce aditus obstruatur." One method of making such advancement difficult, and of protecting the interests of the *curiae* was the insistence, as a general rule, that if a *curialis* became a senator, his son, or all but one if he had several, should remain bound to the *curia.* In all probability, Magnus, though the son of a *vir clarissimus,* remained bound to the *curia* under these laws. For citations and analyses of the many laws on this subject, see the *Paratitlon* of Gothofridus to *Cod. Theod.,* xii, 1, and the excellent treatment of the subject in A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City,* pp. 193-6.

[88] *Cod. Theod.,* xii, 3, 1 of November 24, 386, and *Cod. Theod.,* xii, 3, 2 of August 9, 423, both substantially incorporated in *Cod. Iust.,* x, 34, 1. It has been stated by A. H. M. Jones (*op. cit.,* p. 199) that for many years it was assumed that the provisions of the earlier of these two laws applied only in case of a sale by a *curialis* to a *principalis,* not to sales to persons exempt from curial connections, and that it was to remedy this defect that the second law was promulgated. The terms of the second law leave no doubt that such an assumption had been made and that the second law was promulgated in order to do away with it. But the terms of the first law were general, and there seems no need to suppose that the abusive interpretation was made long before the case which gave rise to the promulgation of the later one. The situation of Magnus would be somewhat affected by this, since the period we are discussing is precisely the time between the first law and the second.

[89] The decree appears as *Ep.,* 58; the covering letter to the bishops, with which it was finally issued, is *Ep.,* 72.

whole household be turned out of every church." The decree goes on to recount his violence and misdeeds in the fields of politics, but says that it is not for these that he is excommunicated. "The reason for this condemnation is, that first amongst us, and alone of our number, he blasphemed Christ both in word and deed." The decree then recites his outburst against Leucippus and his nailing of edicts to the church door. It concludes: "For these reasons the church of Ptolemaïs enjoins her sister churches everywhere in these terms: Let the precincts of no house of God be open to Andronicus and his associates, or to Thoas [a creature of Andronicus] [90] and his associates. Let every holy sanctuary and enclosure be shut in their faces. There is no part in Paradise for the Devil: even if he has secretly crept in, he is cast out. I exhort, therefore, every private individual and ruler not to be under the same roof with them, nor to be seated at the same table, particularly priests, for these shall neither speak to them while living, nor join in their funeral processions when dead. Furthermore, if any one shall flout the authority of this church on the ground that it represents a small town only, and shall receive those who have been excommunicated by it, for that he need not obey that which is without wealth, let such a one know that he is creating a schism in the Church which Christ wishes to be one. Such a man, whether he be deacon, presbyter, or bishop, shall share the fate of Andronicus at our hands, and neither shall we give him our right hand, nor ever eat at the same table with him, and far be it from us to hold communion in the holy mysteries with those desiring to take part with Andronicus and Thoas."

Here this paper ought to end. We have seen a *curialis* of the beginning of the fifth century, prosperous, well-educated, still full of the local patriotism of the cities of ancient Greece. We have seen him stand in the presence of the Emperor Arcadius, and advocate—unsuccessfully of course, but perhaps not altogether unsuccessfully—a return to the ideals of the time of Marcus Aurelius. Now, this same man is confronted at home with the incarnation of the evils against which he has protested, with a tyrannical and venal governor bent on enforcing and exceeding the harsh laws which control and crush the *curiales*. What happens? This *curialis* born, Synesius, is not crushed. This embodiment of classical patriotism and culture has become a Christian bishop; this pupil of Hypatia, while yet her friend is the disciple of Theophilus; this mitred descendant of Herakles thunders

[90] See *Ep.*, 58 and 79.

against the oppressor with the voice that, in the fullness of the centuries, is destined to bring an emperor to Canossa.

But Synesius was too civilized, too classical, too pleasant a man for us to take our leave of him on any such note of hyperbole. We have still space, perhaps, for one more letter, a short one, and in need of little explanation. Synesius has triumphed. His letters to his friends in Constantinople, or his decree of excommunication, or both, have been effective. He is writing to his ecclesiastical superior, Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria:[91]

Justice has gone from out mankind. In the past Andronicus did injustice, but now he in turn is treated with injustice. Nevertheless it is the character of the Church to exalt the humble and to humble the proud. The Church detested this man Andronicus on account of his actions, wherefore she pressed for this result, but now she pities him for that his experiences have exceeded the measure of her malediction. On his account, we have incurred the displeasure of those now in power.[92]

After all, it were dreadful if we could never take our stand with those that are prosperous, and if we were ever weeping with them that weep. So we have snatched him from the fell tribunal here, and have in other respects greatly mitigated his sufferings. If your sacred person judges that this man is worthy of any interest, I shall welcome this as a signal proof that God has not yet entirely abandoned him.

WARWICK, N. Y.

[91] *Ep.*, 90 (89).

[92] It is evident that, just as Synesius's opposition to Andronicus must have offended the latter's supporters, so his rescue of Andronicus must have offended the latter's enemies. Now, *Ep.*, 79, shows that Anastasius had at one time been a supporter of Andronicus. (*σὺ γὰρ δὴ φήμην ἔχεις προστατεῖν ἀνδρὸς λυσσῶντος*. And cf. Seeck, *op. cit.*, p. 480, and Grützmacher, *op. cit.*, p. 141.) But this same letter shows that he had then found it necessary to ask the help of Synesius against Andronicus on behalf of Evagrius (see p. 34, *supra*). He may well, then, have yielded to the appeal of Synesius, and have taken an active part in bringing about the trial of Andronicus. If so, the break in the friendship of Synesius and Anastasius (see *Ep.*, 46) was caused, not, as Seeck and Grützmacher supposed, by Synesius's attack upon Andronicus, but because Synesius rescued Andronicus from the tribunal which Anastasius had helped to have set up.

THE CALENDAR REFORM AT ANTIOCH IN THE FIFTH CENTURY *

By GLANVILLE DOWNEY

Scholars who have to deal with the inaccuracies and confusions of dates which sometimes occur in the ancient chronicles may occasionally be apt to forget the difficulties which faced the compilers when they had to synchronize dates which were fixed by different modes of reckoning in different sources, or again had to convert dates from one mode of reckoning to another. Sometimes we may be totally ignorant of the sources of errors which arose in this way; on other occasions the reasons for the mistakes are perfectly clear. The present study is concerned with a confusion which is of interest because we can first trace it to its inception in a reform of the calendar, and then follow its transmission, in rather peculiar circumstances, from one writer to another.

Two Greek inscriptions of Syria, published in 1870, prove, by their synchronisms, that there was a change in the beginning of the year of Antioch from 1 October (Julian reckoning) to 1 September, made at some time between A. D. 449 (the date of the latest known inscription from which it can be shown that the year began on 1 Oct.), and 483 (the date of the earliest known inscription from which it can be shown that the year began on 1 Sept.).[1] In synchronizing the year

* The writer is indebted to Professor John Q. Stewart of the Department of Astronomy in Princeton University for his kind assistance in connection with methods of determining the days of the week in dates reckoned by the Julian calendar. The results of the present investigation have been given briefly in the *Journal of Calendar Reform*, IX (1939), pp. 37-39; an abstract appears in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 1938, p. xxxiv.

[1] Waddington, *Inscr. grecques et latines de la Syrie*, 2667, 2689. The significance of these texts for the change of the calendar was pointed out by W. K. Prentice, who republished them in 1914, with new material: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (*Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. to Syria*, III B), commentary on no. 1108 (where the material is collected). See also the commentary of Jalabert and Mouterde, *Inscr. grecques et latines de la Syrie*, 524 (= P. A. E. S. III, 1108), also an inscription of Gerasa, edited by C. Bradford Welles in *Gerasa*, ed. by C. H. Kraeling (New Haven, 1938), pp. 467-468, no. 274. Other inscriptions (cited by Prentice) show that the year of Antioch began on 1 Sept. from A. D. 497 to 598, and doubtless it continued to do so

of the era with that of the indiction series, the new arrangement was a convenience for contemporary dates. Like all such changes, however, the shift would inevitably present certain difficulties to later historians who had to establish the dates of events which occurred at about the time when the change was made. Some later writers might not know of the change at all; others might not know precisely when it occurred, or might not always be sure whether a date which they found in a source was reckoned by the old or the new method. Attempts must sometimes have been made to convert an "Old Style" date into "New Style," and an error of a year would result from a miscalculation. Of course only events dated in September were exposed to such confusion. It is curious to find that there is evidence that precisely such a confusion occurred in the accounts of an earthquake (or of two earthquakes) which took place at Antioch in this period.

Malalas mentions an earthquake which he dates as follows:[2]

ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Λέοντος
μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ ιγ'

later. As a matter of convenience, especially for administrative purposes, it is likely that the change was made at the beginning of an indiction cycle, i. e., (in the period in question) in A. D. 462 or 477. The calendar change was recognized originally by Enrico Noris (Henricus Norisius), who in his book *Annus et epochae Syromacedonum* (Leipzig, 1696), pp. 208-217, pointed out a passage in Evagrius (*Hist. eccl.*, IV, 4) in which it is recorded that Severus, bishop of Antioch, was deposed and exiled in the first year of Justinus (who came to the throne 9 Apr. A. D. 518), in the month Gorpiaios or September, in the year 567 of Antioch. Since 567 Ant. = A. D. 518/9, the year of the era must have begun on 1 Sept. in A. D. 518. There are also references and synchronisms in Arabic and Syriac writers which show the change; see L. Ideler, *Handb. d. math. u. tech. Chronologie* (Berlin, 1825-1826), I, pp. 453-457, 463-465, and F. K. Ginzel, *Handb. d. math. u. tech. Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1914), II, pp. 40-42, 44. Scholars who happen not to know about the change in the New Year of course fall into various difficulties; recently, for example, the Reverend M. J. Higgins has, from a synchronism in Evagrius, been forced to conclude, contrary to all the established evidence, that "the exact beginning of the Era of Antioch was September 1, 49 B. C." (*The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice. Part I: The Chronology.* The Catholic University of America, *Byzantine Studies*, I [1939], p. 41). Actually this is the passage in Evagrius, mentioned above, which merely shows that the year of Antioch began on 1 Sept. in A. D. 518.

[2] P. 369, lines 5-8, Bonn ed. The translation of this passage which appears in the Church Slavonic version of his chronicle is hopelessly corrupt; see the analysis of it by Matthew Spinka in the *Chronicle of John Malalas, Books VIII-XVIII*, translated from the Church Slavonic by Matthew Spinka in collaboration with the present writer (Chicago, 1940), p. 89.

διαφαούσης κυριακῆς
ἔτους κατὰ . . . Ἀντιόχειαν χρηματίζοντος φϛ′
ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας Πατρικίου.

Evagrius dates the same disaster with greater detail:[3]

ἀνὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος
ἕκτον καὶ πεντακοσιοστὸν ἔτος χρηματιζούσης τῆς πόλεως
περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτός
τετάρτην καὶ δεκάτην ἄγοντος ἡμέραν τοῦ Γορπιαίου μηνός, ὃν Σεπτέμβριον Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύουσι
κυρίας ἐπικαταλαβούσης ἡμέρας
ἀνὰ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην ἐπινέμησιν τοῦ κύκλου
ἕκτος τυγχάνειν ἱστορούμενος, ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων διῳχηκότων ἐνιαυτῶν ἐξ ὅτου ὁ κατὰ Τραϊανὸν γέγονεν· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἕνατον καὶ πεντηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἀγούσης τῆς πόλεως ἔτος τῆς αὐτονομίας γέγονεν, ὁ δέ γε ἐπὶ Λέοντος, ἕκτον καὶ πεντακοσιοστόν, ὡς τοῖς φιλοπονήσασιν ἐκτέθειται.

Evagrius then describes the damage done in the earthquake, and quotes his account of it from Malalas.[4]

The fixed chronological points are as follows: the year 506 of Antioch = A. D. 457/8, beginning in the autumn; Patricius was consul in A. D. 459; Indiction XI = 1 Sept. 457-31 Aug. 458 A. D.; Leo came to the throne 7 Feb. 457 A. D. Evagrius' statement that the disaster occurred at about the fourth hour of the night, κυρίας ἐπικαταλαβούσης ἡμέρας, can only mean that it began on the evening of Saturday, as Sunday was approaching.[5] Evagrius thus dates the event on Saturday, 14 Sept., and the 14th was a Saturday in A. D. 457, while Malalas places it on Sunday, 13 Sept., and the 13th was a Sunday in A. D. 459. As will have been noticed, the other data of Evagrius and Malalas are hopelessly contradictory, and some of the chronological points with which each author seeks to fix the date do not even agree with the other points which that author himself uses. The result is that the year in which this earthquake occurred would seem, from these accounts, to be quite uncertain.[6]

[3] *Hist. eccl.*, II, 12, p. 63 ed. Bidez-Parmentier.

[4] On the use of Malalas by Evagrius, see E. Patzig, *Unerkannt u. unbekannt gebliebene Malalas-Fragmente* (Progr., Leipzig, 1891), pp. 17-20, and K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Lit.*[2] (Munich, 1897), p. 328.

[5] Henricus Valesius, *Theodoriti et Evagrii hist. eccl.*[2] (Mainz, 1679), translation, p. 305.

[6] There are also, in various chronicles, notices of an earthquake at Antioch which the compilers date in A. D. 457 (Theoph. A. M. 5950, p. 110, 22 ed. De

There are also accounts of two earthquakes at Antioch in the Syriac *Liber Chalifarum.*[7] The first is dated in the year 767 of the "era of Alexander" (the Seleucid era), and in the year 506 of Antioch, on 14 Elul (= 14 Sept.), on Saturday, about midnight, as Sunday was approaching (these latter details are identical with those of Evagrius). Immediately thereafter, in a similar passage, this chronicle records an earthquake "in the whole region of Antioch" in the year 771 of the era of Alexander, in the year 507 of Antioch, on 19 Haziran (= 19 June), in the evening, at the time when people were leaving church. There is obviously a mistake here, for the year 767 Sel. (A. D. 455/6) cannot correspond to 506 Ant. (A. D. 457/8), and 771 Sel. (A. D. 459/60) to 507 Ant. (A. D. 458/9) at the same time (in both eras the year began in the autumn).

In addition, the Syriac biography of St. Symeon Stylites, who died in A. D. 459, either on 2 Sept. (as Lietzmann believes) or on 24 July (as Delehaye argues),[8] mentions an earthquake which affected Antioch, and the biographer dates the saint's death with reference to this disaster.[9] This would appear to be identical with the second of the earthquakes mentioned in the *Liber Chalifarum.* The *Liber Chalifarum* records this earthquake of A. D. 459 separately from another disaster which certainly is identical with that described by Evagrius. Therefore, since the reckonings in Evagrius could refer only to A. D. 457 or 458, while one of Malalas' two reckonings (that by the year of Antioch)

Boor; Cedrenus, I, p. 608, 3 Bonn ed.; Abul Faraj, called Bar Hebraeus, *Hist. dynast.*, transl. E. Pococke [Oxford, 1663], p. 92); or in A. D. 459 (Marcell., *Chron.*, ad ann. 459, in Mommsen, *Chron. min.*, II, p. 87); or merely during the reign of Leo (John of Nikiu, presumably using Malalas, ch. 88, transl. Charles; Nicephorus Callistus, presumably using Evagrius, XV, 20; Zonaras, XIV, 1, 20). Discussion of these records may be deferred for the moment, since the purpose of the investigation is to show how the contradictions in Malalas and Evagrius can be explained with reference to their understanding of the way in which the date was given in their sources. Their accounts are the important records not only because of the detail which they give, but because both writers lived at Antioch (unlike the other chroniclers who mention the event), and so could have had access to local records.

[7] Ed. and transl. by E. W. Brooks and J.-B. Chabot, *Corpus scr. christ. orient., Scr. Syri, ser. III, tom. IV, Chronica minora, pars II* (Paris, 1904), text, pp. 139-143 = transl., pp. 108-111.

[8] H. Lietzmann, *Das Leben des heil. Symeon Stylites* (*Texte u. Untersuch.*, XXXII, 1908), pp. 230-234; H. Delehaye, *Les Saints stylites* (Brussels, 1923), pp. x-xv.

[9] Lietzmann, *loc. cit.*

ould refer to A. D. 457 or 458, and the other (that by the consul) to . D. 459, it looks as though there were actually two disasters, a year r two apart, which Malalas confused and consolidated into one. Evarius, in verifying Malalas' account, would reject those parts of his date hich indicated A. D. 459. It is inherently much more likely that the ontradictions in Malalas represent such a confusion than that the lements which indicate A. D. 459 are simply the result of a meaningless lunder.

In any case it is plain that Evagrius was in some uncertainty. He eems, from the number of reckonings which he employs, to have been t pains to fix the date exactly; the passage contains the most elaborate et of synchronisms which Evagrius records, and it is the only instance a which he uses the indiction in giving a date. This, the regnal year, nd the calculation from the earthquake under Trajan all look as hough they were added by Evagrius to the date which he obtained rom Malalas, either from another source or as a result of his own alculations; and he seems conscious of having fixed the date with ome care. It might be supposed that some or all of these synchronisms ere taken from Malalas, for the extant Greek text of his chronicle is nown to be an abridgment;[10] but it is significant that Evagrius does ot have Malalas' reference to the consul, which would disagree with ll of his own reckonings.

Possible procedures on the part of Malalas can be suggested with me confidence. If the year 506 of Antioch began on 1 Oct. 457 A. D., he earthquake would be dated, by this reckoning, in A. D. 458; if 506 nt. began on 1 Sept. 457 A. D., the event would be dated in A. D. 457. he 13th of September was a Friday in A. D. 457, a Saturday in 458, Sunday in 459. It seems possible that Malalas, finding in his source or sources) records of two earthquakes which were dated in September, 06 Ant. (A. D. 457/8) and in the consulship of Patricius (A. D. 459), ight, especially if the dates were given by different reckonings, conuse them (e. g. through a faulty mental calculation). If the earlier aster occurred in 458, he could readily confuse this with one dated 459. Or if the earlier disaster occurred in 457, he might either conuse this immediately with the one dated in 459, or he might, through isunderstanding of the way in which the date was reckoned, suppose hat it occurred in 458, which was closer to Patricius' consulship, and confuse the events the more easily. In such circumstances he could

[10] Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330.

adjust the day recorded for the earlier disaster to the day required by the year in which the later disaster was placed; i. e., he might "correct" the original date of a Sunday in September to the 13th because the nearest Sunday in September, A. D. 459, was the 13th. Possibly he did not know, or could not determine, the month and day of the earthquake of 459.

As for Evagrius, it is also possible to see how the way in which he dates the disaster may have been influenced by factors connected with the change in the calendar. All the dates given by him could represent 457, and the indiction and the days of the month and the week would only represent this year. The year 506 of the era of Antioch and the regnal year could, however, represent 458 (Leo's second year being in this case 7 Feb. 458-6 Feb. 459, and 506 Ant. being 1 Oct. 457-30 Sept. 458). Therefore it may be suggested that Evagrius, finding (in a source other than Malalas) a calculation which placed the earthquake in 458 by reference to Leo's second year, reckoned from the anniversary of his accession, thought that this regnal year began instead with the indiction which followed Leo's accession (this method of counting regnal years is found in other Byzantine writers),[11] and so would place the event in September 457. In such a case the reference to the regnal year would be a vestige, unwittingly retained, of an original dating in 458. Accordingly Evagrius would conclude that the year 506 Ant. began on 1 Sept. (i. e., 1 Sept. 457), as it did in his own time, and would add the indiction in order to fix the date more firmly, so that his own date might not be mistaken (e. g. if it were compared with Malalas'). Or, proceeding conversely, he may have mistakenly thought that the year 506 Ant. began on Sept. (i. e., 1 Sept. 457), as it did in his own time, and so concluded that Leo's second year began on the same date, and then added the indiction. Or possibly he added both the regnal year and the indiction to an original reference to the year of the era. In any case he could easily adjust an original month and week date of 458 (Saturday, 13 Sept.) to the combination required for 457 (Saturday, 14 Sept.). And of course, if Malalas had already confused two earthquakes, the confusion was concealed and Evagrius

[11] H. F. Clinton, *Fasti Romani* (Oxford, 1845-1850), II, p. I. For evidence of a similar simplification see N. Lewis, "On the Chronology of the Emperor Maurice," *Amer. Journ. of Philol.*, LX (1939), pp. 414-421. In this case there was an adjustment (naturally a very convenient one) by which regnal years and consular years were treated as not only coterminous but completely identical.

might have no indication that there were two. In such circumstances he would not understand Malalas' reference to the consul and would simply reject it as an error.

From the opposite point of view, the problem and the results are the same. If one starts from the hypothesis that the year 506 Ant. began on 1 Sept. (i. e. 1 Sept. 457), so that an earthquake in September of this year would occur in September A. D. 457, Malalas may have misunderstood the reckoning and confused the disaster with that dated in 459 (in which case Evagrius would correct Malalas only by suppressing the reference to Patricius and adjusting the days of the month and the week), or he may have mistakenly supposed that the year 506 Ant. began on 1 Oct., so that he would assign the earthquake to the equivalent of September, A. D. 458, and at the same time confuse it with that which occurred in A. D. 459; and in this case Evagrius could correct Malalas' understanding of the year of the era either consciously or unconsciously. If, again, one supposes that the year 506 Ant. began on 1 Oct., so that an earthquake in September of this year would occur in September, A. D. 458, the relative possibilities of confusion and adjustment remain. Malalas could again fall into the same confusion of the two disasters, and Evagrius might again mistake the reckoning and suppose that the year 506 Ant. began on 1 Sept. One might hesitate to suppose that Evagrius and Malalas were not aware that a change in the calendar had taken place, though it is conceivable that they were ignorant of it (we should hardly expect them to mention it, or to indicate which method they were using); but it is surely possible that they did not know precisely when it occurred, and above all it must be remembered that in a given instance they may very likely have had no way of knowing or determining whether a source used the new reckoning, or mistakenly adhered to the old. It is easy to imagine how Evagrius may have been troubled by this point when he came upon the date in Malalas; he would have been doubly perplexed if, in addition to doubting the correctness of Malalas' data, he were not entirely sure that he could rectify the mistake. The date which Evagrius gives for the exile of Severus from Antioch of course shows that he knew that the year began on 1 Sept. in A. D. 518, but this proves nothing with regard to his understanding of the date of the earthquake.

Another significant discrepancy is that Malalas and Evagrius place the disaster on different days of the week, Evagrius late in the evening of Saturday, 14 Sept., Malalas early on Sunday, the 13th. The 14th

was a Saturday in A. D. 457, a Sunday in 458, while the 13th was a Saturday in 458, a Sunday in 459. This suggests either the use of different sources, or a condition in one or more sources which made it difficult to tell when the disaster began. Disagreement among the survivors is not impossible (there would scarcely be an official written record made at the precise moment of the outbreak), and such disagreement could readily be perpetuated by both contemporary and later writers if they had different sources; Evagrius' contradiction of Malalas may point to something of this nature. One must reckon, then, with the possibility that the two either reproduced or adjusted dates of the month without making the necessary adjustment of the day of the week.

This seems to be the most plausible explanation of the difficulty. Four scholars have already studied this problem, but all of them worked in ignorance of the inscriptions which date the calendar change (these inscriptions, indeed, were not yet published when three of these scholars lived), and most of them were unacquainted with the work of the others. Thus, not knowing even approximately when the New Year in the calendar of Antioch was shifted, these students investigated the accounts of the earthquake with the purpose of fixing its date and thereby determining whether the year of Antioch began on 1 Oct. or 1 Sept. in A. D. 457 or 458, or whether Evagrius, who lived from about 540 to about 600 A. D., reckoned the year from 1 Oct. or 1 Sept. Approaching the problem from this point of view (and in some cases also not having the evidence for the two earthquakes in the *Liber Chalifarum*), they had to conclude that Malalas and Evagrius are mistaken in certain synchronisms; the evidence which disagrees with what seems to be the correct chronology was rejected; and refuge was sought in textual emendation in order to make the texts agree.

In this way Ideler [12] pointed out that Evagrius' data are really harmonious if one supposes that he reckoned Leo's second regnal year from the beginning of the indiction (1 Sept. A. D. 457) which followed his accession, rather than from the first anniversary of his accession. Ideler dismisses the testimony of Malalas, remarking that while his evidence disagrees in certain points with that of Evagrius, it is not sufficient to place the event in A. D. 458.

Clinton, on the other hand, not knowing Ideler's study, concluded

[12] See above, note 1.

that Evagrius named the wrong indiction, Malalas the wrong consul.[13] Clinton thus dated the earthquake on Saturday, 13 Sept., A. D. 458, and concluded that the year 506 of Antioch began on 1 Oct., A. D. 457. Ideler dated the event on Saturday, 14 September, A. D. 457, and concluded that the year 506 of Antioch began on 1 Sept., A. D. 457.

Finally, Lietzmann, who knew the passages in the *Liber Chalifarum* and the inscriptions, but did not entirely understand them, adopted Evagrius' date (like Ideler).[14] It is curious to note that Clinton, in order to arrive at the date which he preferred, proposed to correct the day of the month given by Evagrius (14 Sept.) to that given by Malalas (13 Sept.), while Lietzmann considered it necessary to make exactly the opposite correction, and emend the text of Malalas on the basis of that of Evagrius.

It is needless to point out that the efforts of these scholars, who were so seriously hampered by lack of evidence and lack of knowledge of each other's work, no longer carry conviction in the light of the epigraphic evidence and the passages in the *Liber Chalifarum*. The student who adopted the right point of view, and came closest to the true solution, was Noris.[15] Though unable, for lack of evidence, to perceive the full implications of the condition of the material, he nevertheless recognized the importance of inquiring what the evidence could indicate, instead of concluding (as the others did) that it ought to indicate one date or another. What gave Noris part of his advantage was that he knew (unlike his successors) that a passage in Evagrius shows that the calendar change had taken place in or before A. D. 518, and was thus freed from the necessity of using the evidence for the earthquake in order to show that the year of Antioch was reckoned from 1 Sept. at the time of the disaster.[16] Noris saw, of course, that the data given by Evagrius would place the earthquake in September, A. D. 457, if Evagrius supposed that the year 506 of Antioch began on 1 Sept. If the earthquake did occur in September, A. D. 457, Noris observed, Malalas could alter the date, or could add *suo marte* data which would place it in 459. At the same time, however, Noris perceived that it would be possible to suppose that the earthquake was originally dated in September, A. D. 458, by reference

[13] *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 658-660; II, pp. 213-214.
[14] *Loc. cit.*
[15] See above, note 1.
[16] See above, note 1.

to the year 506 of Antioch, and that the dates given by Malalas and Evagrius reflect two different misunderstandings of the original date, of the kind which have been discussed above. In the circumstances Noris could propose these solutions only as hypotheses, and he was forced to conclude that the problem was insoluble.[17] But his point of view was the correct one, and there can be little doubt that if he had had the inscriptions, and the *Liber Chalifarum*, he would have solved the problem.[18]

YALE UNIVERSITY.

[17] His point of view was not completely understood, for Clinton was at pains to refute his opinion that the disaster occurred in September, A. D. 457, while C. O. Müller (*Antiquitates Antiochenae* [Göttingen, 1839], p. 15, n. 10) believed that Noris fixed on September, A. D. 458 as the date. Evagrius quotes Ioannes Rhetor, and it is now known that by this he means Ioannes Malalas. Noris, by a mistake which was inevitable in his time, thought that Ioannes Rhetor and Ioannes Malalas were different writers (the former's work being no longer extant), and so suggested as one possible explanation (p. 213) that Malalas and Evagrius misunderstood the date given by Ioannes Rhetor. J. S. Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*, I [Rome, 1729], pp. 211-214) believed that Evagrius and Malalas refer to the earthquake of 459. Malalas' date by the consulship of Patricius (459) shows, to Assemani, that he reckoned the year of the era from 47 B. C. (so that 506 Ant. = A. D. 459/60); 459 is also indicated in the Chronicle of Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (which Assemani quotes), in which the disaster is placed in the year 770 "of the Greeks" (the Seleucid era), which would correspond to A. D. 459. And so, finding that Noris concluded that Malalas and Evagrius had added false synchronisms in their accounts, Assemani dismissed the elements of their data which do not indicate 459, because this date agrees with that given by the Syriac biography of Symeon, which records an earthquake just before the saint's death. Assemani's conclusion is of course invalidated by his mistake concerning the era of Antioch and by his dismissal without adequate consideration of the problem in Malalas and Evagrius.

[18] It has become plain that a study such as this must of necessity deal primarily with the passages in Malalas, Evagrius, and the *Liber Chalifarum*. Comparable importance cannot be attributed to the records in other chronicles (mentioned above) of an earthquake at Antioch which is dated in 457 or possibly in 459, or merely in the reign of Leo. These dates must have been fixed mechanically in the routine of compilation, whether they were transcribed from sources without change or reduced from elaborate reckonings. Certainly they have no bearing on the way in which Malalas and Evagrius operated, and if they result from confusion, no clue remains to the sources of error; at most one can suppose that something like what happened with Malalas and Evagrius occurred here also. Such evidence would be usable only if it were possible first to fix the date of the disaster of 457 or 458.

CORONATION AND ITS CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

By PETER CHARANIS

In 1910 John B. Bury published an important essay which he entitled the *Constitution of the Later Roman Empire.*[1] But such a document never existed, a fact which was carefully pointed out by Bury. What he called the constitution of the later Roman empire was a body of principles which he drew from custom, law and political institutions. Among the Byzantines no constitutional questions ever arose and the constitution was never differentiated from the actual usages of the empire.[2]

An important Byzantine institution, the coronation of the emperor by the patriarch, was not included by Bury among the constitutional usages of the later Roman empire.[3] In this he followed W. Sickel, who, in 1898, published the basic article on coronation and its significance.[4] For Sickel the introduction of the patriarch in the coronation ceremony was not a constitutional innovation. The patriarch in crowning the emperor performed a function of the state; he acted not as priest, but as the representative of the electors. Coronation, therefore, despite the fact that it was performed by the patriarch, had no ecclesiastical significance.[5]

Although Sickel's opinion has had an important following among the students of the institutions of the Byzantine empire[6] and has

[1] J. B. Bury, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire,* in *Selected Essays,* ed. Harold Temperley (Cambridge, 1930). This essay was the Creighton Lecture delivered in 1909 and published in 1910 by the Cambridge University Press.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 118.

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 103 ff.

[4] W. Sickel, "Das byzantinische Krönungsrecht bis zum 10. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* VII (Leipzig, 1898), 511 ff.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 518.

[6] Franz Dölger, *Gnomon,* XIV (Berlin, 1938), 210; *Byz. Zeitschrift,* XXXVIII (Leipzig, 1938), 240; Otto Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938), p. 27; Arthur E. R. Boak, "Imperial coronation ceremonies of the fifth and sixth centuries," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XXX (Cambridge, 1919), 46 f. The position of Professor Boak is somewhat contradictory. While agreeing with Bury that the patriarch in crowning the emperor acted as the representative

found its way into its general histories,[7] it has not been accepted by all the scholars. Bury himself, who in his *Constitution*, following Sickel, states emphatically that "no new constitutional theory or constitutional requirement was introduced by the assignment of the privilege of crowning Emperors to the Patriarchs," expresses exactly the opposite view in his *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, which he published two years later. In this work Bury is of the opinion that the coronation of the emperor by the patriarch "definitely introduced the new constitutional principle that the profession of Christianity was a necessary qualification for holding the Imperial office" and "implied that the new Emperor had not only been elected by the Senate and the people, but was accepted by the Church."[8] M. Manojlović, whose study on the people of Constantinople as a political and constitutional element, published in 1904, has not yet been surpassed, says categorically that Marcian, by conferring the privilege of crowning the emperors upon the patriarch, made the church a constitutional factor.[9] A somewhat similar sentiment has been expressed by the Russian scholar George Ostrogorski,[10] and André Grabar, the French historian of imperial Byzantine art.[11] The author of this study too has pointed out on two different occasions the religious and ecclesi-

of the state, he maintains at the same time that "the significance of the act (the patriarch's coronation of the emperor) was that the Patriarch . . . being the highest ecclesiastical officer in the state, was the logical person to bestow the symbol which indicated that the emperor ruled 'by the grace of God.'"

[7] Ernst Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, I (Vienna, 1928), 466; S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization* (London, 1932), p. 65; Charles Diehl and Georges Marçais, *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081* (Paris, 1936), p. 489.

[8] J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I* (London, 1912), p. 39. Bury, however, qualified this statement by stating in a note "that coronation by the Patriarch, though looked on as a matter of course, was not a constitutional *sine qua non*," and in 1923 he returned to the view which he had expressed in the *Constitution: History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), I, 11.

[9] M. Manojlović, "Le peuple de Constantinople, de 400 à 800 après J.-C. Etude spéciale de ses forces armées, des éléments qui le composaient et de son rôle constitutionnel pendant cette période," translated from the Croatian by Henri Grégoire, *Byzantion*, XI (Brussels, 1936), 617. This work was originally published in *Nastavni Vjesnik*, XII (Zagreb, 1904), 1-91.

[10] George Ostrogorsky, "Otnošenie Cerkvi i Gosudarstva v Vizantii," *Sesminarium Kondakovianum*, IV (Prague, 1931), 129.

[11] André Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), pp. 176 f.

astical significance of the coronation of the emperor by the patriarch.[12] Despite the protests of these scholars, however, the opinion of Sickel is still the prevalent view.

It is among the German scholars that the view of Sickel has been most tenaciously held. Franz Dölger, doubtless the outstanding Byzantinist in Germany at the present time, has repeatedly stated that the coronation of the emperor by the patriarch had no ecclesiastical significance, that it was not necessary, and that it could be dispensed with if the emperor so desired.[13] Wilhelm Ensslin, in an important article on the imperial power as a gift from God, points out that from the reign of Marcian the idea developed that, in addition to the army and the senate, the emperor owed his election to God also, but denies that his coronation by the patriarch, a practice which came into use about the same time, was the institutional expression of that idea.[14] The same view is expressed by Otto Treitinger, a student of Dölger, who adds further that the patriarch performed the coronation ceremony as "the first Roman citizen" and not as patriarch.[15] Ernst Stein saw in the coronation of Marcian by the Patriarch an attempt to strengthen the legitimacy of his occupation of the throne, nevertheless he follows Sickel in maintaining the non-ecclesiastical nature of the coronation function of the patriarch.[16] These German scholars are thoroughly familiar with the Byzantine idea that the emperor received his power from Christ, and hold further that the coronation of the emperor by the patriarch came to represent a sacrament whereby the emperor became connected with God,[17] yet they still cling to the view that the coronation ceremony was not necessary, that it could be dispensed with if the emperor so desired, and that when it was performed by the patriarch, the latter represented the state and not the

[12] Peter Charanis, "The Imperial Crown Modiolus," *Byzantion*, XII (Brussels, 1937), 193 ff.; "The Crown Modiolus Once More," *Byzantion*, XIII (Brussels, 1938), 377 ff. See also G. Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine* (Paris, 1896), I, 13, and J. M. H. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185* (Oxford, 1937), p. 149.

[13] Dölger, *Gnomom*, XIV, 210; *Byz. Zts.*, XXXVIII, 240.

[14] Wilhelm Ensslin, "Das Gottesgnadentum des autokratischen Kaisertums der frühbyzantinischen Zeit," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, V (Rome, 1939), 158.

[15] Treitinger, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 7.

[16] Stein, *op. cit.*, I, 166.

[17] Treitinger, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

church. This view is neither in accord with the actual usages of the empire nor is it supported by any of the Byzantine writers.

The Byzantine writers who have described the coronation ceremony leave no doubt of its religious character.[18] When the patriarch was first introduced into the ceremony, the military and the secular elements still dominated and the coronation did not take place in the church;[19] but as the empire took its definite form, these elements receded in the background and the ceremony became wholly religious. The coronation generally took place in St. Sophia.[20] The emperor, flanked by the patriarch, lighted tapers as he entered the nave, proceeded before the sanctuary where he offered his prayers and lighted more tapers, and then, still flanked by the patriarch, he mounted the ambo where the imperial insignia, the chlamys and the crown, had been placed on a table in advance. The emperor bowed his head, a deacon recited the *ektene*, the patriarch blessed the chlamys, which he handed to the *vestitores* who put it on the emperor. The patriarch next blessed the crown and with his own hands placed it on the head of the emperor saying, " in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." Thereupon, the people responded by shouting thrice: " holy, holy, holy, glory to God in the highest and on earth peace." [21] This was the coronation ceremony in the tenth century and in its essentials it remained the same down to the fall of the empire.[22] Its religious character is quite apparent. The patriarch, who was

[18] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. Johan J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829-30), I, 191 ff.; Jacob Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* (Paris, 1647), p. 925; John Cantacuzenus, *Historiae*, ed. J. Schopen (Bonn, 1828-32), I, 196 ff.; Pseudo-Codinus Curopalates, *De officiis*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1839), p. 86 ff.; Symeon, Bishop of Thessalonica, *De Sacro Templo*, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CLV (Paris, 1866), 352 ff.; Ignatius of Smolensk, *Voyage*, ed. S. V. Arseniev, in *Pravoslavny Palestinski Sbornik*, IV (St. Petersburg, 1887), 14 ff.: French translation by Mme. B. De Khitrowo, in *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, I, 1 (Geneva, 1889), 143 ff. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* is cited hereafter as *MPG*.

[19] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *op. cit.*, I, 410 ff.

[20] Phocas (602-610) was the first Byzantine emperor to be crowned in a church. Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. Karl De Boor (Leipzig, 1887), p. 303; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Ludwig Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), I, 693.

[21] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *op. cit.*, I, 191 ff.

[22] For a more complete account of the coronation ceremony itself see F. E. Brightman, " Byzantine Imperial Coronations," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, II (London, 1901), 359 ff., and Boak, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff.

looked upon by the Byzantines as the living image of Christ,[23] received the emperor in the church and performed the coronation ceremony by virtue of his sacerdotal power.[24]

The patriarch was introduced in the coronation ceremony for the first time in 450 in connection with Marcian's elevation to the throne.[25] The motives which led the Byzantine authorities to make this innovation are not known. It has been suggested that Marcian, who had been raised to the throne without the consent of Valentian III, his western colleague, and had thus violated the old constitutional principle according to which the reigning emperor chose his colleague, sought to legitimatize his authority by having himself crowned by the patriarch.[26] The suggestion seems plausible. The idea of ecclesiastical coronation as the concrete expression of the divine will in the election of a new emperor had gained currency among Byzantine circles during the first half of the fifth century. This may be inferred from the statement of Theodoret that Thedosius' I dream, that Miletus, the bishop of Antioch, invested him with the imperial insignia, the chlamys and the crown, was a divine revelation of his approaching elevation to the throne.[27] Marcian himself declared on several occasions that he was elected to the throne not only by the senate and the army but by God also.[28] Although the idea of God as the source of the imperial power was not new,[29] Marcian was the first emperor to name God, the

[23] *Jus Graecoromanum: Ecloga Privata Aucta*, ed. K. E. Zachariae von Lingental and reproduced by J. and P. Zepos (Athens, 1931), p. 59: *πατριάρχης ἐστὶν εἰκὼν ζῶσα Χριστοῦ καὶ ἔμψυχος, δι' ἔργων καὶ λόγων χαρακτηρίζουσα τὴν ἀλήθειαν*. That the patriarch was the representative of Christ was the official view. The patriarch wrote in 1396 to Basil I, Grand Duke of Moscow, who seems to have treated him with disregard: *οὐ γινώσκεις, ὅτι ὁ πατριάρχης τὸν τόπον ἔχει τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κάθηται τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ; οὐδὲν παρὰ φρονεῖς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τιμῶν τὸν πατριάρχην, αὐτὸν τιμᾷ τὸν Χριστόν*: Fr. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi* (Vienna, 1862), II, 189.

[24] Symeon, Bishop of Thessalonica, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[25] This is the date usually accepted for the introduction of the patriarch in the coronation ceremony, but the sources are not absolutely clear on the point. For a discussion of the problem see Sickel, *op. cit.*, pp. 517 f., 539 f.

[26] Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 466. Stein's explanation is rejected by Ensslin (*op. cit.*, p. 158), who rejects also the generally accepted opinion that Marcian was crowned by the patriarch.

[27] Theodoret, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Léon Parmentier (Leipzig, 1911), p. 285.

[28] Ensslin, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[29] This idea became current as early as the third century. Aurelian is

senate and the army together as the three active elements responsible for his election to the throne.[30] While the senate and the army were concrete elements and could act for themselves, God could be represented only by the church, and this representation could be most clearly expressed by ecclesiastical coronation.

Coronation by the patriarch became the customary practice in Byzantium following its introduction by Marcian in 450. There is no evidence in the history of the later empire of an official coronation performed by a layman while every emperor, except Constantine XI who was never officially crowned, was crowned by the patriarch. Much has been made of the fact that the usurper Nicephorus Bryennius crowned himself,[31] but this is not significant, for Nicephorus never became officially and legally emperor because his revolt was unsuccessful. Had he been successful in seizing the throne he would have doubtless been crowned by the patriarch in the traditional way. The usurper John Cantacuzenus, who, like Nicephorus, announced his revolt by placing the crown on his head with his own hands, had himself recrowned by a clergyman and when he became master of Constantinople he was consecrated on the throne by the patriarch of the capital.[32] The opinion often expressed that Constantine XI, the last emperor of the empire, was crowned by laymen [33] is no longer tenable, for recent studies have definitely shown that that coronation, if it actually did take place, was not official, and was never accepted by the Byzantine pubic. Constantine XI was never officially crowned and for that reason he was not admitted in the official list of the emperors.[34]

reported to have said to his army that it was mistaken if it thought that it was his source of power. God, not the army, had granted him the sovereignty. Petrus Patricius, *Fragmenta*, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. by Karl Müller (Paris, 1851), IV, 197: *Αὐρηλιανὸς πειραθείς ποτε στρατιωτικῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἔλεγεν ἀπατᾶσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰ ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν χερσὶ τὰς μοίρας εἶναι τῶν βασιλέων ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. Ἔφασκε γάρ τὸν Θεὸν δωρησάμενον τὴν πορφύραν πάντως καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ὁρίσαι.*

[30] Ensslin, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[31] Bury, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*, p. 123, n. 7; Runciman, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LVIII (London, 1938), 127.

[32] See below, pp. 62 f.

[33] Georges Phrantzes, *Chronicon*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1838), p. 205; Bury, *The Constitution . . .*, p. 104.

[34] Charanis, "The Crown Modiolus Once More," pp. 379 f.; John K. Bogiatzides, *Τὸ ζήτημα τῆς στέψεως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου* in *Λαογραφία*, VII (Athens, 1923), 449-56. Both these studies have shown that Constantine XI

As proof of the non-ecclesiastical nature of coronation some scholars have pointed out that the patriarch did not always perform the actual coronation.[35] Indeed, the coronation of a co-opted emperor was performed by his senior colleague. This, however, did not diminish the role of the patriarch. The ceremony was religious; the patriarch, who officiated, blessed the crown and with his own hands placed it on the head of the senior emperor who, in turn, crowned his junior colleague.[36] This ceremony was doubtless the institutional expression of the principle that the emperor, once vested with sovereignty, had the right to transmit it to his successor, but he did so by the will of Christ, who was the ultimate source of all power. Justin II, who crowned Tiberius in a ceremony performed by the patriarch, is reported to have said to the new emperor: "Know that it is God who exalts you and confers this dignity, not I. Honor it that you may be honored by it." [37] But the senior emperor did not always perform the actual coronation; often he entrusted it to the patriarch, whose participation in the ceremony was indispensable. It was really the consecration by the church that

was not officially crowned on the basis of new information drawn from the works of John Eugenicus. To the testimony of Eugenicus may be added also that of John Dokeianos, a friend of Gennadius Scholarius, who wrote in a manuscript alongside the name of Constantine XI the word ἀστεφοῦς: G. Jorio, *Codici ignorati nelle biblioteche di Napoli* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 10. Thus both Eugenicus and Dokeianos corroborate the tradition represented by the historian Ducas, an important and truthful source for the reign of Constantine XI. Treitinger (*Byz. Zts.*, XXXIX, 202), who quotes an isolated statement from the article of Bogiatzides in order to show that Bogiatzides rejected the testimony of Ducas, is absolutely inaccurate. The point of Bogiatzides' article was to show that the tradition represented by Ducas expresses the fact that Constantine XI was not crowned officially. Ducas states further (*Historia Byzantina*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, Bonn, 1834, p. 223) that John VIII, the predecessor of Constantine XI, was the last emperor of the Romans. The only interpretation that can be given to this passage is that Constantine was not considered officially emperor. This is in fact the interpretation given by Bullialdus in his notes appended to the *History* of Ducas (*ibid.*, p. 604), and Jorio (*op. cit.*, p. 10), commenting on the note of Dokeianos that Constantine XI was not crowned, remarks that Dokeianos belonged to the party of Gennadius Scholarius, which saw in Constantine the traitor of the ancestral faith, refused him coronation, and did not admit him in the official list of the emperors.

[35] Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 520; Bury, *The Constitution . . .*, p. 107.

[36] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *op. cit.*, pp. 191 ff., 431 ff.

[37] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Karl De Boor (Leipzig, 1883), I, 248; Theophylact Simocatta, *op. cit.*, p. 132; Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Joseph Bidez and Léon Parmentier (London, 1898), p. 208.

raised one to the imperial dignity.[38] Basil I was co-opted and actually crowned by Michael III, but it was his consecration by the church, according to Photius, who performed the ceremony, that invested him with the imperial dignity.[39] This was also the position taken by the court historians of the tenth century who maintained that Basil derived his power from God through the intermediation of the bishop, and spared no effort to calumniate Michael in attempt to justify his assassination by Basil and his friends.[40] That the consecration by the church was essential even in the elevation of a co-emperor to the throne is also expressed by John Cantacuzenus whose co-optation of his son Matthew met the obdurate opposition of the patriarch Callistus.[41] The consecration of Matthew did not take place until Cantacuzenus, using the machinery of the State, replaced Callistus by another more amenable to his wishes.

The patriarch exercised his function of crowning the emperor in the interest of orthodoxy and for the maintenance of the religious traditions of the empire and the privileges of the church. The coronation of Anastasius I offers the first instance of the successful exercise of the patriarch's coronation function in the interest of orthodoxy. Anastasius, despite the fact that he had been selected by Ariadne, the widow of the emperor Zeno, with the advice and consent of the senate and had been accepted by the army and the people, met the obdurate opposition of the patriarch Euphemius, who suspected him of heretical views. Euphemius refused to crown the new emperor unless he was given a definite guarantee written and signed by Anastasius himself that he would not change the Chalcedonian doctrine or introduce any other innovations in the church. It was not until Anastasius yielded that Euphemius performed the coronation ceremony.[42] It is difficult

[38] Joseph Genesius, *Historia*, ed. C. Lachmann (Bonn, 1834), p. 26: *διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔθιμον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως στειλαντος πρὸς αὐτὸν* (Leo V) *Νικηφόρου τοῦ πατριάρχου τόμον διά τινων ἀρχιερέων ἐγγράψασθαι τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καταπράξασθαι τοῦτο διανεβάλετο ἕως ἂν αὐτῷ ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπέλθοι διὰ στέφους μεγαλοπρέπεια.*

[39] Photius, *Opera*, in *MPG*, CII, 772.

[40] Genesius, *op. cit.*, p. 113: *τὸ αὐτοκρατορικὸν στέμμα χειρῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐκδέχεται, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν καθιστῶν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείας ἣν συμμαχίᾳ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων κεκλήρωτο*; Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1838), pp. 207, 239, 255.

[41] Cantacuzenus, *Historiae*, III, 270: *συνεώρα γὰρ ἤδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην δέον δν Ματθαῖον τὸν νέον βασιλέα τῷ μύρῳ χρίεσθαι κατὰ ἔθος.*

[42] Peter Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire: The Religious Policy of Anastasius I* (Madison, 1939), pp. 10, 12.

to draw any other conclusion from this important incident than that coronation was an ecclesiastical act, performed by the patriarch as the highest official of the church. Had it been a political act performed by the patriarch as the representative of the state, there could be no justification for Euphemius' refusal to crown the new emperor, who had won the support of the senate, the army and the people, the three elements constitutionally empowered to elect the emperor, and whose subsequent conduct shows that he had yielded to the patriarch contrary to his better judgment.[43]

The example set by Euphemius became a precedent. Emperors whose orthodoxy was questionable were first required to give a written assurance, guaranteeing the traditional faith. Then they were crowned. At first this was traditional, but toward the end of the eighth century it was incorporated in law. It is related by Constantine Porphyrogenitus that not long after the death of Leo IV (d. 780), who seems to have seized, in opposition to the wishes of the patriarch, the imperial crown kept in St. Sophia, a law was passed prohibiting the coronation of a new emperor unless he took an oath of fidelity to the established traditions.[44] The sources mention several emperors who were required to take such an oath, but they do not describe this oath in detail. It was probably not dissimilar to the oath, preserved by the pseudo-Codinus in his *De officiis* where he describes the court ceremonials of the later centuries of the empire.[45]

The oath, written in the emperor's handwriting, was delivered to the patriarch by the emperor himself shortly before his coronation. The oath is as follows:

I, ————————, in Christ God faithful emperor and autocrator of the Romans put forth with my own hand that I believe in one God, the father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible etc. Further I accept and confess and confirm the apostolic and divine traditions, the ordinances and definitions of the seven oecumenical councils and the local synods convened from time to time, and the privileges and cus-

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[44] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1840), p. 84: *ἔκτοτε τύπος ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μέλλειν στέφεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα πρότερον ὀμνύειν καὶ ἀσφαλίζεσθαι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐναντίον τῶν προστεταγμένων, καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ φυλαττομένων τολμήσῃ ποιήσειν, ἢ ἐννοήσασθαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου στέφεσθαι.*

[45] Codinus, *De officiis*, pp. 86 ff. See also Brightman, *Byzantine Imperial Coronations*, pp. 387 f.

toms of the most holy great church of God. In addition I confirm and accept all doctrines that our most holy fathers here or elsewhere decreed and declared rightly and canonically and irreproachably. Likewise I promise to abide and perpetually prove myself a faithful and true servant and son of the holy church, to be gracious and kind to my subjects as is reasonable and fitting, to refrain from infliction of death and mutilation and anything resembling these insofar as it is possible, and to submit to all truth and justice. Furthermore all things which the holy fathers rejected and anathematized, I also reject and anathematize, and I believe with my whole mind and soul and heart the aforesaid holy creed. All these things I promise to keep before the holy catholic and apostolic church of God. In ——— month, on ——— day, and indiction ——— of year, I, ———, in Christ God faithful emperor and autocrator of the Romans, having submitted it with my own hand, deliver this to my most holy lord and oecumenical patriarch, lord ———, and with him to the divine and sacred synod.

By this coronation oath, without which the coronation act could not be performed, the emperor bound himself to respect the religious traditions of the empire and to rule his subjects with kindness and justice. This was a solemn promise given the patriarch as the custodian of the religious tradition, who in return performed the coronation ceremony whereby the emperor was invested with the power of the empire by God. If an emperor failed in his trust, violated the tradition, and acted contrary to the principles of justice, he dissolved that bond of union with God by virtue of which he exercised the sovereign power, and made himself subject to recall. There was no tribunal by which he might be called to account, but his subjects, released by the violation of his trust from all obligation to obey him might overthrow him by force. Revolution was in fact as well as in law the method of deposition.[46] The patriarch might, and often did, actively participate in the overthrow of an emperor who had failed to carry out his solemn promises. The patriarch Euphemius, for instance, encouraged an attempt to overthrow Anastasius I, who had violated his promise to respect the doctrines established at the Council of Chalcedon;[47] Sergius approved the forceful deposition of the tyrant Phocas;[48] and Callinicus led the movement which ended in the first deposition of Justinian II.[49] The influence of the patriarch in times

[46] Bury, *The Constitution . . .*, p. 103.

[47] Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire . . .*, pp. 25 ff.

[48] Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus, *Opuscula historica*, ed. Karl De Boor (Leipzig, 1880), p. 5.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 38; Theophanes, *op. cit.*, pp. 368 f.

of revolt was indeed very great and his support of the one or the other side was often decisive. When Michael VI was faced with the revolt of Isaac Comnenus and sought the counsel of Psellos, the latter advised him to become reconciled with the patriarch because his influence in such circumstances was great and his support of the usurper might enable him, as it actually did, to win.[50] The Byzantines regarded the patriarch as a pillar of the Roman constitution, equally as important as the emperor, hence his tremendous influence in time of revolt.[51] It is no wonder, therefore, that the usurpers sought his support and to win it often made important concessions to the church. The idea that the church alone was the source of the imperial power never gained currency in the later Roman empire,[52] but the coronation oath gave to the patriarch the constitutional right to participate in a movement aimed against an emperor who had failed in his duty.

Some scholars have minimized the constitutional significance of the coronation oath on the ground that since orthodoxy was a prerequisite for the election of an emperor to the throne its confirmation in the coronation oath had no particular importance.[53] Orthodoxy was indeed a prerequisite for the imperial office, but all emperors were not orthodox, and it was because of this that the coronation oath was established. It had been first exacted from Anastasius I who had

[50] Michael Psellos, *Chronographie*, ed. and trans. Emile Renauld (Paris, 1926), II, 88.

[51] George Vernadsky, "The Byzantine Doctrine Concerning the Power of the Emperor and the Patriarch," in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la memoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague, 1926), p. 154 (in Russian). Vernadsky criticizes the theory of caesaropapism as exaggerated, and puts forth the theory of a dyarchy, the idea that emperor and patriarch shared equally in the direction of the empire. They were the two most important members of society whose concord and coöperation was essential for the peace and happiness of the empire. See also Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (London, 1889), II, 390, and Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, p. 175. Vernadsky's theory has been rejected by Dölger, *Actes du IVe congrès international des études byzantines* (Sofia, 1934), p. 58.

[52] The church was only one of the four elements that contributed in the creation of a new emperor. The others were the senate, the army and the people. It is not surprising then that the Byzantines denied to the pope the power to create emperors: John Cinnamus, *Historia*, ed. Augustus Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 220: ἀλλ' ἐμοί (the pope) φησί, βασιλέας προβεβλῆσθαι ἔξεστι. ναί, ὅσον ἐπιθεῖναι χεῖρας, ὅσον ἁγιάσαι, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ πνευματικά. οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ βασιλείας ἤδη καταχαρίζεσθαι καὶ τά γε τοιαῦτα καινοτομεῖν.

[53] Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 524; Treitinger, *Byz. Zts.*, XXXIX, 198.

justly been suspected of heterodoxy and it was later made law because an emperor violated certain customs. But the oath did not only provide for the maintenance of orthodoxy. It guaranteed also the privileges of the church and bound the emperor to govern the realm according to the principles of justice. It was the nearest Byzantine document to a constitutional charter.

To the coronation oath the patriarch sometimes added certain specific conditions. Such conditions, for instance, were imposed upon John Tzimiskes, who was implicated in the murder of his predecessor, Nicephorus II Phocas. Following his proclamation, Tzimiskes proceeded to St. Sophia to be invested with the imperial symbols as was customary, but the patriarch Polyeuct refused to crown him unless he first drove Theophano, the wife of the murdered emperor and Tzimiskes' accomplice, away from the palace; revealed the actual assassin of Phocas; and repealed the laws of Nicephorus which forbade the church officials to make any decisions and to name or promote anyone to an ecclesiastical office without the consent of the emperor. Tzimiskes yielded, and the coronation was performed.[54] Polyeuct acted not only in the interest of morality, but also in that of the church. He used his power, conferred upon him by the privilege of crowning the emperor, to restore certain prerogatives which had been taken away from the church. This is another case from which it is difficult to draw any other conclusion than that coronation was an ecclesiastical act, performed by the patriarch as the highest official of the church. It contradicts also the view expressed by certain scholars that the coronation oath of orthodoxy was of no practical importance because no specific conditions could be added to it.[55]

The Byzantine emperors looked upon coronation by the patriarch as an act essential for their full investiture with the imperial power. The point will be better illustrated by the detailed examination of the coronation of several emperors.

An army revolution in 813 raised Leo V, the Armenian, to the throne. Leo, whose influence over the army was absolute, met no opposition from the reigning emperor, who even offered to facilitate his entrance in Constantinople. Before entering the capital, however,

[54] Leo Diaconus, *Historia*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), p. 98; John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), III, 520; George Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1838-9), II, 380.

[55] Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee . . .*, p. 30.

Leo sought first to win the support of the patriarch, to whom he sent an assurance of his orthodoxy asking him, at the same time, to bless and approve his seizure of power. The patriarch, assured of Leo's orthodoxy, performed the coronation ceremony.[56]

Manuel I was elected emperor by the army and was crowned by his father, John II, just before his death, far from Constantinople, in the mountains of Cilicia.[57] But this coronation, although a clear expression of the wishes of the deceased emperor and the army, was considered by Manuel inadequate to invest him fully with the imperial dignity. Between the time of Julian, when a simple coronation in the army camp raised one to the imperial dignity, and the time of Manuel I a vast change had taken place in the Byzantine conception of power. The idea of God as the source of imperial power developed and it found expression in the religious coronation ceremony which the patriarch performed.[58] Following the death of his father, Manuel made haste to return to Constantinople where he was crowned by the patriarch in the traditional way.[59]

An excellent example of the importance of coronation by the patriarch is afforded by Theodore Lascaris. Following the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, Theodore Lascaris was designated to carry on the imperial tradition by the Byzantine military, civil and ecclesiastical officials who had fled to Nicaea. The absence of the patriarch Camaterus in Bulgaria, however, made his coronation impossible, therefore Theodore did not take the title of emperor. He contented himself with the simple title of despot until his coronation in 1206 by the patriarch Autoreanus, who was raised on the patri-

[56] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 502; Scriptor Incertus, *Scriptor incertus de Leone Bardae F*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1842), p. 340; Ignatius, *Vita Nicephori*, in *Nicephori opuscula historica*, ed. Karl De Boor (Leipzig, 1880), p. 163; Genesius, *Historia*, p. 26; Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, p. 29. See also F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 22, and Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 56.

[57] Cinnamus, *Historia*, pp. 24-29; Nicetas Choniates, *Chronicle* ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1835), p. 61.

[58] The patriarch, in crowning the emperor, represented Christ for Christ alone had the power to invest an emperor with the regalia of his office. Michael Psellos, *Epistolae*, ed. K. N. Sathas, in *Bibliotheca Graeca medii aevii* (Paris, 1876), V, 508; ὁ δὲ θειότατός μοι καὶ φιλοσοφώτατος βασιλεύς, ᾧ τὸ στέφος, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν ἐνήρμοσται προσφυῶς. See also Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, pp. 112 ff.

[59] Cinnamus, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Nicetas Choniates, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

archate following the voluntary resignation of Camaterus.[60] Thus it was his coronation by the patriarch that gave to Theodore the right to bear the title of emperor.

The constitutional significance of coronation is illustrated more strikingly by the action of Michael VIII. The death of Theodore II Lascaris in 1258 had left the throne in the hands of his eight year old son, John IV, under the regency of the *protovestiarios* George Muzalon. A revolution overthrew Muzalon and put the young emperor under the custody of Michael Palaeologus, who also took possession of the imperial treasury. Michael aimed at the throne, but sought to gain it by legal means and to that end he used his position and the resources of the treasury. In particular, he was anxious to win the support of the clergy because "only the church would have still been able to clothe [him] with the cloak of legality . . . and the church alone, by legalizing [his] power, would have been able also to influence the people."[61] Michael finally convinced the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities to designate him co-emperor with John IV, and bound himself by an oath to respect the rights and privileges of the young emperor. He did not intend, however, to keep his oath. Far from respecting the rights and privileges of John IV, he meant to depose him from the throne, but as legitimately as possible, and it was for this reason that he successfully contrived to prevent his coronation while he himself was duly crowned by the patriarch.[62] Michael, whose coronation, performed according to tradition, invested him with the imperial power, could then look upon his younger colleague, who in reality was not yet emperor because he had not been crowned by the patriarch, as only a pretender to the throne, whose family and other connections made him dangerous to the imperial and family interests of Michael. John IV was dethroned and blinded.

The last outstanding Byzantine usurper was John Cantacuzenus, who, like Michael VIII, looked to the church to legitimize by coronation his seizure of power. Cantacuzenus announced his open break with the emperor John V Palaeologus by investing himself with the

[60] George Acropolites, *Annales*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1836), p. 13.

[61] John Sycutres, Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν, in Ἑλληνικά, II (Athens, 1929), 277.

[62] George Acropolites, *op. cit.*, p. 169; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. J. Schopen (Bonn, 1829-30), I, 79; Georges Pachymeres, *Historia*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1835), I, 100-105; Arsenius, *Testamentum*, in *MPG*, CIL (Paris, 1887), 952.

imperial insignia in his own house at Didymotikhon. But this investiture was only provisional and was performed by Cantacuzenus himself either because he intended it as a warning to the authorities of Constantinople that he would seek the throne in earnest if he was not restored to his former position or, what is more probable, because he had not yet won the support of the clergy.[63] The patriarch of Constantinople was a partisan of John V Palaeologus and hostile to Cantacuzenus. In the course of the struggle, however, Cantacuzenus won over a number of the bishops and, taking advantage of the presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem in Adrianople, he had himself crowned by that patriarch.[64] But this ceremony was considered inadequate by the partisans of Cantacuzenus, who were anxious to remove any doubt about the legitimacy of his position, and Cantacuzenus had himself recrowned by the patriarch of Constantinople when he became master of the capital. The coronation ceremony in Constantinople was performed by the patriarch Isidore, who had been elected to the patriarchate through the influence of Cantacuzenus. According to the historian Gregoras, whose work is one of the principal sources for the fourteenth century, Cantacuzenus and Isidore became the source of each other's power: Cantacuzenus by bringing about the election of Isidore; Isidore by crowning Cantacuzenus emperor.[65]

That Cantacuzenus considered coronation by the patriarch essential is further illustrated by his attitude in the case of his son Matthew. Matthew had been raised to the throne by his father, but the patriarch Callistus refused to perform the act of coronation, without which, according to Cantacuzenus, the elevation of Matthew on the throne was incomplete.[66] Matthew himself refused to accept the imperial

[63] Cantacuzenus, *Historiae*, II, 166; Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 612. Immediately after his coronation Cantacuzenus took off the imperial insignia and did not wear them again until after his final victory.

[64] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 564; Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 762.

[65] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, III, 29; Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 787: *ὅπως τε ἑκάτερος ἑκατέρῳ χορηγῷ καὶ ταμίᾳ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐχρήσατο*: *Καντακουζηνῷ μὲν Ἰσίδωρος τῆς πατριαρχίας, Καντακουζηνὸς δ' Ἰσιδώρῳ τῆς βασιλείας, τὸ θεύτερον. ἡ γάρ ἐν Διδυμοτείχῳ πρὶν ἀναγόρευσις τὸ τέλειον ἔχειν ἥκιστα ἐδόκει τοῖς Παλαμίταις.* Dölger has made an unsuccessful attempt to show that Cantacuzenus sought to legitimize his usurpation by establishing a fictitious relationship with Andronicus III: "Johannes VI Kantakuzenos als dynastischer Legitimist," in *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, X (*Mélanges A. A. Vasiliev*), Prague, 1938, 19 ff.

[66] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, III, 270.

insignia unless he was crowned according to tradition.[67] Cantacuzenus at first tried to persuade the patriarch to perform the ceremony, but Callistus remained obdurate and Cantacuzenus had to resort to force. He replaced Callistus by the more complacent Philotheus who performed the required ceremony.

It is thus quite evident that the emperors regarded coronation as an ecclesiastical function absolutely essential in the creation of an emperor. The church itself never had any doubts that it was vested with the power to crown the emperors. Symeon, bishop of Thessalonica, a theologian of the early fifteenth century who was interested in interpreting the tradition, distinctly states that the patriarch received the emperor and performed the coronation ceremony by virtue of his sacerdotal power.[68] But more important than the statement of Symeon is an official document addressed by the patriarch to Basil I, Grand Prince of Moscow, who seems to have treated the emperor with disregard. This document was in part translated by A. A. Vasiliev in his interesting article on the question whether or not old Russia was a vassal of Byzantium.[69] The patriarch wrote to Basil:

> If we, on account of our common sins, have lost cities and lands, it does not follow from this that we have to suffer disdain from Christians . . . with sorrow I also learn of some words spoken by Your Nobility about my Mightiest and Holy Autocrat and Emperor. It is said that you do not allow the Metropolitan to mention in the diptychs the Holy Name of the Emperor—a thing which has never been possible before—and you say: 'We have the Church, but we have no Emperor nor wish to know him.' This is by no means good. . . . If, with the will of God, the pagans have surrounded the possessions and the land of the Emperor, *yet up to this day the Emperor has the same coronation from the Church according to the same ritual and with the same prayers; he is anointed with great consecrated oil and elected Emperor and Autocrat of the Romans,* i. e., *of all Christians.* . . . If the Great Emperor, the Lord and Master of the Universe, invested with such power, has been reduced to such straits, what might not other local rulers and small princes endure? . . . Thus, it is by no means good, my Son, if you say that 'we have the Church, not the Emperor.' It is impossible to Christians to have the Church, but not to have the Emperor.

This statement removes all doubt concerning the significance of

[67] *Ibid.*, III, 271.

[68] Symeon, Bishop of Thessalonica, *De Sacro Templo*, p. 353.

[69] Alexander A. Vasiliev, "Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium?" *Speculum*, VII (Cambridge, 1932), 358 f.; Fr. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevii*, II (Vienna, 1862), 189-192.

coronation. What raised the emperor above the other rulers was not the territorial extent of his possessions or the power of his forces; it was his coronation and consecration by the Church. By that act he had become the universal ruler of Christendom, and as long as there was a church there would always be an emperor. There could be no emperor without the church, as there could be no church without the emperor.[70]

The action of certain foreign sovereigns within the periphery of Byzantium shows also that coronation by the ecclesiastics was the act that conferred the imperial title. In the beginning of the tenth century Symeon, the powerful Bulgarian prince whose armies had humiliated the military might of the empire, could be contented with nothing less than the imperial title. Unable to meet him in the field, the Byzantine authorities yielded and the patriarch crowned Symeon, who was thus granted the title of emperor. Shortly after, however, the Byzantines changed their attitude toward Symeon and contested his title of emperor, but the coronation was a fact, and to belittle its significance they spread the rumor, probably sponsored by the patriarch himself, that Symeon was not invested with the imperial insignia; he had not been crowned with the diadem, but only with the cowl (*ἐπιρριπτάριον*), of the patriarch. Whether or not Symeon was actually crowned with the diadem is comparatively unimportant; what is significant is the fact that both Symeon and the Byzantine authorities considered coronation as conferring the imperial title.[71]

This view is more strikingly illustrated by the action of the Serbian Kral, Stephen Dushan. Dushan, taking advantage of the devastating civil war that raged in Byzantium following the ascension to the throne of John V, occupied all Macedonia, except Thessalonica, and assumed the title of emperor. But Dushan "realized that, in the eyes of the people, his proclamation as Tsar of the Serbs and Greeks would be legal only if sanctioned by the higher authority of the Church," [72] and to win the support of the Greek clergy he widened the privileges and

[70] Miklosich and Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 191: *ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία πολλὴν ἕνωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἔνι δυνατὸν, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαιρεθῆναι.*

[71] George Ostrogorsky, "Die Krönung Symeons von Bulgarien durch den Patriarchen Nikolaos Mystikos," *Les Actes du IVe congrès international des études byzantines; Bulletin de l'institut archéologique bulgare*, IX (Sofia, 1935), 278 ff.

[72] Alexander A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II (Madison, 1929), 311.

increased the endowments of the Greek monasteries. The Serbian, the Greek, and the Bulgarian clergy under his control were called together to a solemn council held at Scopia in 1346. Its ultimate purpose was the consecration of Dushan as emperor, but before this could be done it was necessary to establish an ecclesiastical office with independent and wider jurisdiction than the archbishop of Serbia, a dependent of the patriarch of Constantinople, exercised. For this reason a Serbian patriarch independent of Constantinople was created, and a patriarch was elected to fill the new office. Thereupon the patriarch solemnly crowned Dushan with the imperial crown. This coronation raised Dushan to the stature of a Roman emperor.[73]

From whatever angle the usage of coronation is considered, it is quite evident that it was an ecclesiastical act, performed by the patriarch as the highest official of the Church. It is the clearest indication of the changed character of the empire. Christianity had transformed the Roman world and it was impossible for the constitution of the empire not to be affected by this transformation. The important step was taken in 450 when the patriarch was designated to perform the coronation ceremony. Henceforth coronation by the patriarch became an institution and, as such, a constitutional usage of the later Roman empire. By the introduction of the patriarch in the coronation ceremony of 450 the Church became an essential element in the constitutional system of the empire.

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[73] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

BYZANTIUM AND SOUTHERN RUSSIA

Two Notes

By George Vernadsky

I. THE EPARCHY OF GOTHIA

The *Notitia Episcopatuum* published in 1891 by C. De Boor[1] contains a list of bishoprics of the Eparchy of Gothia which is of primary importance for the study of the expansion of Christianity in both the Crimea and the North Caucasian area. No wonder that this document has become the subject of lively comment on the part of Byzantinologists. The main problem has been that of dating the list of bishoprics in question, and no solution offered so far seems convincing to me.

De Boor himself referred the *Notitia Episcopatuum* he published to the first iconoclastic period (726-787).[2] He suggested, however, that the section on the Eparchy of Gothia might reflect the conditions as they were in the reign of Justinian I (527-565).[3] Both Kulakovsky and Bertier Delagarde took exception to De Boor's views, and showed clearly that the portion of the *Notitia* referring to the Gothic eparchy cannot in any case be attributed to the period of Justinian. Kulakovsky came to the conclusion that the list of bishoprics of the Gothic eparchy belongs to the time when the whole *Notitia* was compiled, i. e., to the middle of the eighth century.[4] In Bertier Delagarde's opinion "not only under Justinian the Great but also up to the outset of the tenth century and even as far as the close of the eleventh there was no period when such a metropole might have existed; hence we may decide that this portion of the list was included on the basis of much later data; it even seemingly represents plans which were only projected and never carried into effect."[5]

[1] Carl de Boor, "Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatuum," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XII (1891), 520-534.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XIV (1894), 573.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 588-590.

[4] J. Kulakovski, "K istorii Gotskoi eparchii v Krymu," *Žurnal Ministerstva Nar. Prosv.*, February, 1898.

[5] A. Bertier Delagarde, *Izvestija* of the Tauric Learned Archive Commission, LVII (1920), p. 48. Quoted from A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 102.

In 1929 V. A. Mošin published an article on the subject in which he reverted to Kulakovsky's point of view and supported it by some additional argumentation.[6] A. A. Vasiliev in his book, *The Goths in the Crimea* (1936) accepted Mošin's theory.[7] Mošin's chief argument for dating the list by the middle of the eighth century is the consideration that, since most of the bishoprics mentioned refer to Khazaria, the list must have been compiled before the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, which event he places between A. D. 737 and 763. His authority for the date of the conversion of the Khazars is primarily the so-called Jewish-Khazar correspondence of the tenth century. After Henri Grégoire's article on the "Glozel Khazar"[8] we must consider the source spurious, and cannot use it until the problem of the authenticity of the document be carefully reexamined. From the Life of Constantine the Philosopher (St. Cyril, the Apostle to the Slavs)[9] it is quite obvious that even at the time of his mission to the Khazars (A. D. 860-861) the latter had not yet finally adopted Judaism. Thus Mošin's argumentation does not seem to be valid. The whole problem of dating the list of bishoprics of the Gothic eparchy might be reconsidered from a different point of view.

I do not intend here to determine the date of all parts of De Boor's *Notitia*. De Boor might be right in pointing out that some fragments of the *Notitia* fit the situation as prior to the Seventh Oecumenical Council (787), but it does not necessarily follow that the *Notitia* as a whole was completed before that date. As De Boor himself suggests, the *Notitia* seems to be drawn up from various sources without any attempt on the part of the compiler to harmonize their data.[10] Because of that, it may be argued that, while some of the fragments of the

[6] V. A. Mošin, ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑ ΓΟΤΘΙΑΣ v Khazarii v VIII v.," *Trudy* of the Fourth Congress of Russian Scholars Abroad, I, pp. 149-156.

[7] A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff.

[8] H. Grégoire, "Le 'Glozel' Khazar," *Byzantion*, XII (1937), 225-266.

[9] The Life of Constantine (St. Cyril) has been published several times. One of the best editions is that by F. Pastrnek, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů Cyrilla a Methoda* (Prague, 1902); French translation by F. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), pp. 349-380. The newest edition is by P. A. Lavrov in *Trudy Slavianskoj Komissii*, I (Leningrad, 1930). Lavrov has published both the Russo-Slavonic and the Serbo-Slavonic versions. On the manuscript traditions of the *Life* see Dvorník, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-343.

[10] De Boor, *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XIV, p. 574.

Notitia refer to the conditions prevailing before 787, other parts of the *Notitia* might point to a later period.

Such seems to be precisely the case of the Gothic eparchy. It is first mentioned in the list of the metropolitan sees under No. 37. The list of the bishoprics of the eparchy is given in the *Notitia* itself under No. 38. At the end of the *Notitia* there is a gloss explaining the exact location of two of the bishoprics of the Gothic eparchy; it refers once more to No. 37. One also has to note that the spelling of the name of the metropolitan see of the Gothic eparchy is different in the τάξις (No. 37) and in the *Notitia* itself (No. 38). In the former case the name, Doros is spelt with ω (ὁ Δώρου); in the second, with ο (Δόρος). Likewise, for the name of one of the bishoprics we find the spelling ὁ Χοτζήρων in the *Notitia* (No. 38) and ὁ Χοτζίρων in the gloss. In view of such confusion and discrepancies we may safely consider the list of bishoprics of the Gothic eparchy in the *Notitia* a later insertion.

We have to look to the contents of the list itself for the possible hint as to the exact date of its compilation. The list is as follows:

λη'. Ἐπαρχία Γοτθίας
α'. Δόρος μητρόπολις
β'. ὁ Χοτζήρων
γ'. ὁ Ἀστήλ
δ'. ὁ Χουάλης
ε'. ὁ Ὀνογούρων
ϛ'. ὁ Ρετέγ
ζ'. ὁ Οὔννων
η'. ὁ Τυμάταρχα.

The Bishopric of Chotziron (No. 2) is the bishopric of Phullae, as is plain from Gloss 1 which reads as follows: α'. ὁ Χοτζίρων σύνεγγυς Φούλων καὶ τοῦ Χαρασίου ἐν ᾧ λέγεται τὸ μάβρων ναιρῶν.

Chronologically, this is the first mention of the bishopric of Phullae. The name appears again in *Notitia* Gelzer II (A. D. 901-907)[11] and is included in all of the subsequent *Notitiae*. It does not appear, however, in *Notitia* Parthey VI (A. D. 806-815),[12] nor in the so-called Notitia Basilii, of the first half of the ninth century.[13] In case

[11] Heinrich Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatuum," *Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Classe der kgl. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, XXI (1901) (subsequently quoted as Gelzer), p. 551.

[12] *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum*, ed. G. Parthey (Berlin, 1866).

[13] *Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani*, ed. Gelzer (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 1-27.

we should accept V. A. Mošin's dating of our list of bishoprics of the Gothic eparchy by the middle of the eighth century, it would be hard to explain why the bishopric of Phullae, mentioned in the middle of the eighth century disappears from the list of the first half of the ninth century and then emerges again in the beginning of the tenth. It would obviously be much more convenient to date our list sometime after A. D. 850.

The situation is similar with regard to the bishopric of Tmutorokan (Τυμάταρχα). It is not mentioned either in *Notitia* Parthey VI or in *Notitia Basilii*. While it is likewise not mentioned in *Notitia* Gelzer II, the name is included into another list of Leo the Wise's time.[14] It also appears in *Notitia* Gelzer III, of the time of John Tzimisces (969-976).[15]

Now, from the life of Constantine the Philosopher (Ch. 12) we know that the people of Phullae were converted by him to Christianity on his way back from the Northern Caucasus, that is, in A. D. 861 or 862. Consequently, it is not before this date that the list of bishoprics of the Gothic eparchy could be completed. The very compilation of the list must indeed be connected with Constantine's mission to the Khazars.

There is no doubt that, upon coming back to Constantinople from Khazaria, Constantine must have presented to the Patriarch Photius a detailed report on his mission. The project of the Eparchy of Gothia as included into De Boor's *Notitia* was probably the result of the examination of Constantine's report by Patriarch Photius.

We may think that the list of bishoprics was suggested by Constantine himself on the basis of the information he gathered during his travels. It is worth attention that the sites of most of the bishoprics of the *Notitia* may be connected with Constantine's itinerary.

According to Constantine's *Life*, he set forth from Cherson first for Northern Tauria, whence he travelled by boat across the Sea of Azov and along the "Khazarian way" to the Caspian Sea. The "Khazarian way" is probably identical with the route of Russian merchants to Iran, as described by Ibn Khordadbeh.[16] Thus we may think that

[14] Gelzer, p. 575.

[15] Gelzer, p. 572.

[16] Ibn Khordadbeh ed. de Goeje (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, VI), p. 154 (of the Arabic text); pp. 115-116 (of the French translation) (De Goeje's French translation is not very precise). Cf. F. Westberg, "K analizu

Constantine went up the Don to its bend where it comes nearest to the Volga; then by portage to that latter river and down to the Caspian sea. Thus Constantine must have first reached the city of Itil of the Volga delta. It is probably there that the Khagan's official (*Life,* Ch. 9) met him. Itil was the contemporary name of the chief Khazarian river, the Volga as well of the Khazarian city at the mouth of it.[17] Now, Gloss 2 at the end of De Boor's *Notitia* identifies the site of the bishopric of Astel as follows: ὁ Ἀστὴλ ἐν ᾧ λέγεται ὁ Ἀστὴλ ὁ ποταμὸς τῆς Χαζαρίας, ἔστιν δὲ κάστρον. We thus may identify the site of the Bishopric of Astel as Itil.

From Itil Constantine must have traveled south along the Caspian shore. Consequently he might have visited the city of Khvalis (Χονάλης) which, according to Vasiliev, "most probably lay on the Khazar coast of the Caspian Sea."[18] Hence the Bishopric of Khvalis. Constantine then proceeded to the Khagan's headquarters, which must have been at Samandar at that time. Samandar has been identified as Tarku, which is situated near the modern town of Mahach-Kala (formerly known as Petrovsk).[19] It is in Tarku that the bishopric of "Reteg" may be located. According to A. A. Vasiliev's ingenious surmise, the name Ρετέγ should be read Τερέγ.[20] This points naturally to the name of the river Terek, but may be a transliteration of the name of the city, Tarku. It is of course more natural to connect the name of the bishopric with that of the city than with that of the river.

After having preached Gospel to the Khagan and his courtiers at Samandar, Constantine went back by the overland route. He must have passed by the Daryal Gates, since this locality is mentioned in the *Life* (Ch. 9) under the name of the Caspian Gates.[21] Between Samandar and the Daryal Gates the city of Balanjar was situated. It seems probable that Constantine visited it, especially since a Christian community might have already been there by his day. Christianity was first preached in this area by the Albanian (Agvanian) bishop

vostočnych istočnikov o vostočnoj Evrope," *Žurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, XIII (1908), pp. 370-374. Westberg's interpretation, in my opinion, misses the point.

[17] Cf. *Hudud al-Alam,* translated and explained by V. Minorsky (Oxford-London, 1937), pp. 161-162 and 452.

[18] Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

[19] Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

[20] Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[21] Dvornik's identification of Caspian Gates as Derbend (Dvornik, *op. cit.*, p. 183) is wrong. Caspian Gates must be identified as Daryal. See Procopius, *History of the Wars,* I, 10, 1.

Israel in the seventh century.[22] Waračan of the Armenian sources, which Marquart identified as Balanjar, was called the city of the Huns by the Armenian historian Moses Kalankatvaci.[23] The Sabeiri Huns are obviously meant here. We may thus connect Waračan or Balanjar with the bishopric of the Huns (ὁ Οὔννων) as mentioned in the *Notitia.*

From the Daryal Gates Constantine traveled across dry steppes and deserts. Both he and his companions suffered much because of lack of water (Constantine's *Life,* Ch. 12). It is obvious from this passage of the *Life* that Constantine went from the Daryal Gates not down the course of the Kuban River to the straits of Kerch but across the lowland north of Kuban to the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov. This country was in previous times the abode of the tribe of the Onogurs. Part of the tribe must have still kept there even in the ninth century. There probably had been a Christian community among them since the seventh century,[24] and it was in their locality, somewhere on the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov, that the Bishopric of the Onogurs (ὁ Ὀνογούρων) must be located.[25]

After his return to the Crimea, Constantine, as already has been mentioned, converted to Christianity the people of Phullae. The city of Phullae became the see of the Bishop of the Khazars (ὁ Χοτζίρων).

To sum up, we may think that Constantine personally visited the sites of six out of the seven bishopries assigned to the Gothic eparchy in De Boor's *Notitia.*

The only bishopric the site of which he did not visit was that of Tmutorokan (Τυμάταρχα). This does not mean that Constantine was not interested in it, but he must have found some serious obstacles on his way which caused him to postpone his trip there. Since in 862 Constantine was appointed to head the Pannonian mission, he never again had the opportunity of visiting Tmutorokan.

The creation of the bishopric of Tmutorokan, while closely connected with Constantine's mission to the Khazars, constitutes a problem by itself, and a very involved one. Tmutorokan may be considered the

[22] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 16.

[23] Cf. Marquart, *op. cit.,* pp. 16-17. On page 492 Marquart withdraws his identification of Waračan as Balanjar, but in my opinion, without sufficient reason.

[24] J. Moravcsik, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren," *Ungarische Jahrbücher,* X (1930), 64-65.

[25] Vasiliev, *op. cit.,* p. 100.

headquarters of the Khagan of the *Rus*, the "Russian Island" as described by Ibn Rusta.[26] It is apparently from there that the Russian envoys came, via Constantinople, to the court of Emperor Ludwig, in A. D. 839.[27] It is likewise from there that the Russians set forth for their raids on Sugdaia, at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century;[28] on Amastris some time before 842;[29] and on Constantinople, in 860.[30]

There is no doubt that, after the Russian raid of 860, the Byzantine government decided, in accordance with its traditional policy, to attempt to convert their new enemies to Christianity in order to pacify them. It is in connection with this plan that Constantine's mission to the Khazars must be studied. First, the Russians were making as much trouble for the Khazars as for the Byzantines. Secondly, the Russians were, at least originally, under the authority of the Khazar Khagan. Because of this, a concerted action with regard both to the Khazars and the Russians was essential.

Constantine's primary objective was to negotiate with the Khazar Khagan, since only after that could any steps be taken with regard to the Russians. That Constantine was seriously studying the Russian problem as well is shown by his interest in "Russian characters" during his stay in the Crimea. The problem of the "Russian characters" has so far remained a puzzle for the students of the period, and I do not intend to tackle it here and now.[31] Suffice it to say that the problem must be approached in connection with the problem of

[26] Ibn-Rusta, ed. de Goeje (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, VII), p. 145 (of the Arabic text). English translation, C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 213.

[27] See F. C. H. Kruse, *Chronicon Nortmannorum* (Dorpat, 1851), pp. 122-133.

[28] V. G. Vasilievski, *Trudy*, III, pp. cliii ff.; 95-96 (the Life of St. Stephen of Sugdaia).

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. cxii ff.; 64-68 (The Life of St. George of Amastris). G. Da Costa-Louillet, *Studi Bizantini*, V (1936), pp. 21-22, has voiced her doubts with regard to the authenticity of the above mentioned Lives as a source for the study of the inroads of the *Rus*. Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1940), p. 45. Da Costa Louillet's argumentation does not seem convincing to me. [But cf. pp. 231 ff. Ed.]

[30] E. E. Golubinski, *Istorija Russkoi Cerkvi*, I, part 1 (2d ed., Moscow, 1901), 41-45.

[31] For the bibliography on the "Russian characters" see G. A. Ilinski, *Opyt sistematičeskoi kirillo-mefodievskoi bibliografii* (Sofia, 1934).

the Black Sea *Rus* at large.[32] I consider the Tmutorokan *Rus* a band of Scandinavian warriors dominating a mixed population of the Slav and the Iranian As (Antae, Alani) on both sides of the Straits of Kerch. The language of the group as a whole was probably Russian, meaning it as a Slavonic dialect. We have to take into consideration that the Slavonic language became in the ninth century a sort of lingua franca for the whole area of the northern shores of the Black Sea. When speaking about Khazar law, Constantine Porphyrogennetos used the Slavic word, *zakon* (*τὸ ζάκανον*); as to the Magyars, they borrowed Slavic words wholesale.[33] There were probably many Alano-Russians both in Sugdaia and in Phullae, but since their military center was in Tmutorokan, the establishment of a bishopric there became a task of primary importance. It is from this point of view that we may better understand the inclusion of the bishopric of Tmutorokan into De Boor's *Notitia*.

It seems that, at the time of Constantine's mission to the Khazars, the Tmutorokan *Rus* were unwilling to permit him to visit them. In spite of that, Constantine did not apparently consider the task of their conversion hopeless, and while he himself, because of his Pannonian mission, had to abandon the idea of preaching the Gospel to the *Rus*, he might have suggested that somebody else would be sent to Tmutorokan. Thus, the conversion of the *Rus* might have taken place any time between A. D. 863 and 867. In his epistle of A. D. 867, the Patriarch Photius was already able to announce not only that the Russians had been baptized but also that they accepted a bishop.[34] Photius did not mention where the see of this bishop was; but I think that Golubinsky's conjecture locating it at Tmutorokan gives the only possible answer to the riddle.[35]

The question which we have now to answer is, why was it decided to place both the bishopric of Tmutorokan and the Khazarian bishop-

[32] For the bibliography of the problem V. A. Mošin, "Načalo Rusi," *Byzantinoslavica*, III (1931), pp. 33-58, 285-307. *Id.* "Varjagorusski vopros," *Slavia*, X (1931), pp. 109-136, 343-379, 501-537. I am paying much attention to this question in Volume I of my *History of Russia from the Ancient Times down to 1801* (in preparation).

[33] G. Vernadsky, "Lebedia," *Byzantion*, XIII (1939), pp. 195-196. Cf. J. B. Bury, "The Treatise De Administrando Imperio," *Byzantin. Zeitschr.*, XV (1906), p. 542.

[34] *Photii epistolae*, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CII, c. 736.

[35] Golubinski, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

rics under the authority of the archbishop of Gothia? In my opinion, the original plan might have been to create a separate Khazarian eparchy. As a matter of fact, Constantine's mission met with partial success only. The Khagan expressed his interest in Christianity and allowed those of his subjects who would desire it to be baptized. He did not accept Christianity himself, however. It might even be expected, that he would be eventually converted to Judaism, and therefore the Byzantine authorities had to proceed carefully; they certainly would not take chances by establishing a new eparchy in a country of which the ruler might turn against Christianity. On the other hand, to include the Khazarian bishoprics in a purely Greek eparchy—that of Zichia, for example, to which both Cherson and Sugdaia belonged—would be a dangerous course since it might have aroused the suspicions of the Khazars. We know how all of the newly converted peoples, like the Bulgars, the Russians, etc., were afraid of losing their independence by being subjected to the direct control of the Patriarch of Constantinople. From this point of view, the allegiance to the metropolitan of Gothia might have seemed a compromise acceptable to all parties concerned.

How well the plan worked, if at all, we do not know. In any case, by the beginning of the tenth century there was no longer any united Gothic eparchy. In *Notitia* Gelzer II (906-911) the archbishop of Phullae is mentioned as being on equal footing with the archbishop of Gothia.[36] The same is true of *Notitia* Gelzer III (969-976).[37] We know that in De Boor's *Notitia* the bishopric of Phullae is called the bishopric of the Khazars (ὁ Χοτζίρων). The emancipation of the see of Phullae and the promotion of its bishop to the rank and position of an archbishop must be considered an evidence of the emancipation of the Khazarian church from the tutelage of the Gothic archbishop. The conversion of the Khagan to Judaism which took place around A. D. 864[38] did not stop the spread of Christianity in Khazaria, since the religious policy of the Khagan remained that of tolerance. From Oriental sources we know that there were Christians both in Itil and in Samandar even in the tenth century.[39]

[36] Gelzer, p. 551.

[37] Gelzer, p. 571.

[38] Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 23. See my article, "The Date of the Conversion of the Khazars to Judaism," below.

[39] A. Harkavy, *Skazanija musulmanskich pisatelei o slavjanakh i russkich* (St. Petersburg, 1870), pp. 130 (Masudi) and 220 (Ibn Hauqal).

As to Tmutorokan, it seems that in the beginning of the reign of Basil I its bishop was likewise raised to the rank of archbishop.[40] In *Notitia* Gelzer III (969-976) the archbishop of Tmutorokan is called ὁ Ματράχων ἤτοι Ζικχίας.[41] Thus it seems that, by that time, Tmutorokan was connected with the Eparchy of Zichia. Since Prince Vladimir of Kiev's conversion to Christianity (A. D. 988), the history of the bishopric of Tmutorokan became closely connected with the history of the Russian church. The exact position of the bishopric of Tmutorokan with regard to the church of Kiev is a moot problem which is outside of the scope of my present article.[42]

II. THE DATE OF THE CONVERSION OF THE KHAZARS TO JUDAISM

The Empire of the Khazars played a dominant role in both political and cultural history of what we may call Western Eurasia from the seventh to the tenth century. Unfortunately, the sources for studying the Khazar history are both scarce and confused. Because of this, in spite of considerable amount of research devoted to the subject,[1] no comprehensive picture of Khazar history can as yet be drawn.

The ethnic aspects are not clear either. It seems that the ruling class of the Khazars were the descendants partly of so-called Western Turks, partly of the North Caucasian "Huns." Beyond this, little can be stated. Generally speaking, the Khazars as a people may be considered a mixture of Turks with native tribes of North Caucasian area, the Japhetides, if we follow the late Nicholás Marr's terminology. From the angle of linguistics we likewise are not on a firm ground. Ibn-Hauqal says that "the language of the Khazars proper is not similar to the Turkish, and no language of any other known people

[40] Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, pp. 342-343. Cf. Golubinski, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

[41] Gelzer, p. 572.

[42] Cf. V. A. Mošin, "Nikolai, episkop tmutorokanskij," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V (1932), pp. 47-62. I cannot accept Mošin's conclusions; see my forthcoming article, "The Russian church during the fifty years after Vladimir's conversion," *Slavonic and East European Review* (American Series, I).

[1] For a comprehensive bibliography of the Khazars see the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, September, 1938, pp. 695-710.

resembles it." [2] This statement seems to be in contradiction with what we have said about the Turkish strain in the Khazar background. The political history of the Khazars has its own moot problems, and the controversy on the date of conversion of the Khazars to Judaism is but one of several as yet unsolved questions bearing on their cultural life.

In view of this situation, every attempt to take stock of existing materials on the Khazars and to gather more information about them would be both timely and welcome. We like to note here Henri Grégoire's announcement in *Byzantion* that he is preparing, in collaboration with Professor P. Kahle, an exhaustive collection of the source material relating to the subject.[3] The project approved by the Institute of Caucasian Studies (Institut Kavkazovedenija) of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. in 1933, on the initiative of Professor A. Siefeldt-Simumiagi, seems to be even more ambitious. According to this project materials for the history of the Khazars are to be drawn from both historical sources and the folklore of the Caucasian tribes. Archaeological excavations of the sites of Khazar cities, such as Samandar, have also been planned.[4] I have no information in regard to the actual progress of works under this project. The State Historical Museum of Moscow has organized on its part a "North Caucasian Archaeological Expedition" among the objectives of which is likewise the exploration of the remnants of Khazar culture. Certain local institutions, like the North Ossetian Museum and the Maikop Museum, are also doing useful work in the field.[5]

While a more extensive study of the history of the Khazars must wait for the completion of the above-mentioned projects, some aspects of Khazar history may be approached even now on the basis of the data so far available. The objective of the present study is to recon-

[2] Ibn-Hauqal, ed. de Goeje (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, II), p. 281 (Arabic text); Russian translation by N. A. Karaulov, *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostei i plemen Kavkaza*, Vol. 38 (Tiflis, 1908), p. 113.

[3] *Byzantion*, XII (1937), 740.

[4] A. Siefeldt-Simumiagi, *Zur Frage über die Herkunft der Juden* (Tiflis, 1933), Ms. I am indebted to Dr. Fannina Halle for letting me use her copy of this study.

[5] See E. Krupnov, "Iz rezultatov severo-kavkazskoi arkheologičeskoi ekspedicii Gos. Istoričeskogo Museja 1937-1938 gg.," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1939, No. 1, pp. 264-267; M. Artamonov, "Dostiženija sovetskoi archeologii," *Vestn. Dr. Ist.*, 1939, No. 2, pp. 122-129; B. Lunin, "Archeologičeskie nachodki 1935-36 gg.," *Vestn. Dr. Ist.*, 1939, No. 3, pp. 210-223.

sider the source-evidence on the date of the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, about which there exists no agreement among students of the subject. While Marquart, for example, was inclined to refer the conversion of the Khazars to the middle of the ninth century,[6] Westberg insisted on the middle of the eighth as the date of the event.[7] Mošin likewise dated the conversion as between A. D. 737 and 763.[8]

In order to approach the problem from the proper angle, we have first of all to examine the main trends in the religious history of the Khazars. As the bulk of the ruling class of the Khazars was of Turkish or, in any case, of Altaic stock, their original religion seems to have been similar to that of other Altaic tribes of the Eurasian steppes. Veneration of the firmament (*Tangri*) was its prominent feature. Tangri-khan, as "hero," venerated by the Huns (*i. e.*, the Khazars) is mentioned in the *History of the Albanians* by Moses Kalankatvaci.[9] According to the *Life* of Constantine the Philosopher (St. Cyril, Apostle of the Slavs),[10] the Khazar envoys who came to Constantinople *ca.* A. D. 860 told the Emperor that they "recognize an aboriginal single God (*Bog*) who is above everything." It is obvious that the Slavic *Bog* (the Greek Θεός) is used here as a translation of the Khazar "Tangri."[11] The author of the *Life* of Constantine makes the Khazar envoys add, somewhat naively, to their main statement, the following words: "and moreover we observe some shameful customs." By these latter, practice of a sort of Shamanism was probably meant. Shamanism was widely spread among Altaic tribes. It is probably to Shamanism also that Al-Bakri refers when he says that before his conversion to Judaism the King of the Khazars was a pagan

[6] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), Chapter 2 and Exkurs I (hereafter quoted as Markwart).

[7] F. Westberg, "K analizu vostočnych istočnikov o Vostočnoi Evrope," *Žurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, Vol. 14 of the new series (1908), pp. 34-36.

[8] V. A. Mošin, "ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑ ΓΟΤΘΙΑΣ v Khazarii v VIII veke," *Trudy* of the Fourth Congress of Russian scholars abroad, Part I (Belgrad, 1929), p. 155.

[9] Moses Kalankatvaci (Kaghankatvaci), *History of the Albanians*, as quoted (in French translation) by Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie, Additions* (St. Petersburg, 1851), p. 484.

[10] One of the best editions is that by F. Pastrnek (Prague, 1902); see also the edition by P. A. Lavrov, *Trudy Slavjanskoi Komissii* (Leningrad, 1930). French translation by F. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), pp. 349-380.

[11] Likewise *Tanri* is the word for "God" in modern Turkish.

(*majūsī*).[12] In addition to Shamanism, there must have been in the religion of the Khazars a certain mixture of local Caucasian cults,[13] but it would be hard to determine its extent.

The Khazars were remarkably tolerant in religious matters, and the spread of foreign cults among them was made even easier by the geographic background of their Empire. The centre of the Khazar state was in the lower Volga region and in the North Caucasian area; the eastern part of the Crimea was likewise controlled by the Khazars. Since there were both Christian and Jewish communities in the Crimea, as well as in Transcaucasia, from at least the fourth century A. D., the Khazar Empire, which took definite shape in the seventh century, was from its very beginnings open to the influence of both Christianity and Judaism. The expansion of these two religions within the boundaries of the Khazar state was greatly facilitated by extensive foreign trade, which constituted the foundation of the economic life of the Khazar empire. Foreign merchants not only traveled in Khazaria, but some of them settled permanently in Khazar cities. Each such colony served as a transmitter, not only of economic, but of spiritual values as well. New religious ideas followed in the wake of trade caravans. In the second half of the seventh century the Arabs reached Transcaucasia, and thus a new important factor entered the stage—that of Islam.

It is but natural that the faithful of each of the three above-mentioned religions were trying to make proselytes among the natives. The missionary activities of the Moslems were supported by the whole military and political might of the Califate. Byzantine authorities were also ready to support the Christian mission in Khazaria at a certain stage. It was only the Jews who had no outside support in their activities. While this was at first to their disadvantage, eventually it turned the scales in their favor. Just because of the fact that Judaism was politically neutral, it appealed to the Khazar Khagan, who had to keep the balance between Byzantium and the Caliphate.

The Khagan's conversion came as a climax of a long and protracted competition between the three major religions. Before the final decision was arrived at, there were many cases of conversion of Khazar magnates to one of the three faiths. Both individual and group con-

[12] A. A. Kunik and Baron V. Rosen, "Izvestija Al-Bekri," *Zapiski Akademii Nauk*, XXXII (1879), Supplement No. 2, p. 61.

[13] Moses Kalankatvaci, as quoted by Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie. Additions*, p. 484. Cf. Markwart, p. 15.

versions were, at the time when they occurred, registered by the chroniclers of the mission in question. Hence cases of conversion of the Khazars to Islam or Judaism or Christianity at that time were mentioned in various chronicles and under various dates, being interpreted in each case as *the* conversion. The result is that any student of the problem faces considerable confusion and a great deal of contradiction in the sources, to such an extent that doubts have been voiced with regard to their authenticity.

In order to make things clearer, a brief record of the main missionary activities of the three religions in question seems essential. It is as follows:

A. Christian missions and missionary activities.

(1) The mission of the Albanian (Aghvanian) bishop, Israel, A. H. 62 (A. D. 681/82), to Waračan (probably, Balanjar in the eastern part of Northern Caucasus). Authority: the "History of the Albanians (Aghvans)" by Moses Kalankatvaci.[14]

(2) Travels of St. Abo in Khazaria, *ca.* A. D. 782. Authority: the life of St. Abo of Tifiis.[15]

(3) The mission of Constantine (St. Cyril, the Apostle of the Slavs) to Khazaria, *ca.* 860-861. Authority: the so-called *Pannonian Life* of St. Cyril, in Old Slavic.[16]

B. Conversions to Islam.

(1) Conversion of a Khagan whose name is unknown, as a result of the defeat of the Khazars by the Arab general Marvan ben Muhammad, A. H. 119 (A. D. 737/38). Authority: Al-Baladuri.[17]

Since the conversion took place under compulsion, its results were apparently not lasting. If not the same Khagan who accepted Islam, in any case his successor must have returned to the "pagan" faith of his ancestors.

(2) Conversion of the Khazars as a result of their defeat by al-Mamun, between A. H. 198 (A. D. 813) and A. H. 203 (A. D. 818/19). Authority: al-Muqaddasi.[18]

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[14] Moses Kalankatvaci, as quoted by Brosset. The Russian translation of Moses' work (St. Petersburg, 1861) has not been accessible to me. I have used, however, excerpts translated into Russian by I. I. Chopin, *Novyja Zametki* (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 458 ff. On Moses as a historian see A. Manandian, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1897).

[15] See P. Peeters, "Les Khazars dans la passion de St. Abo of Tifiis," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LII, 23-28 (Latin translation of the excerpts of St. Abo's Life bearing on Khazaria).

[16] Cf. note 10.

[17] P. K. Hitti, transl., *The Origins of the Islamic State*, I (New York-London, 1916), 325-326.

[18] A. Harkavy, *Skazanija Musulmanskich pisatelei* (St. Petersburg, 1870), p. 282 (Russian translation).

Muqaddasi wrote his book A. H. 375 (A. D. 985/86), long after the event; besides, he does not seem to have had very precise information about the Khazars. Even if we credit his story, it is not clear whether it was a conversion of the bulk of the nation, or of only part of it which he meant.

(3) Conversion of the Khazars to Islam, A. H. 354 (A. D. 965). Authority: Ibn al-Athir.[19] Shams ad-Din Dimashki quotes this passage, dating it erroneously A. H. 254 (A. D. 867-68) instead of A. H. 354.[20]

C. Conversion to Judaism.

(1) Alleged conversion of the Khazar king Bulan, A. D. 620. Authority: the so-called "expanded" version of the letter of the Khazar King Joseph, of A. D. 961 (spurious).[21]

(2) Alleged conversion of a Khazar Khagan in the first half of the eighth century *ca.* A. D. 740. Authority: Jehuda Halevi, an author of the twelfth century.[22]

(3) Conversion of the Khazars in the reign of Harun ar-Rashid (786-809). Authority: Mas'udi, *Murūj*, ch. 17.[23]

The above outline may serve us as a starting point for a more intensive discussion of the problem. Let us examine all of the three dates suggested as dates of conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, one by one.

The earliest case (A. D. 620) cannot be taken seriously. To begin with, the source is spurious. The date has been arrived at somewhat artificially. The letter of the Khazar King Joseph is considered to have been written around A. D. 961. In the so-called "expanded" version of this letter it is said that the conversion of the king Bulan occurred 340 years ago. Hence the date, A. D. 620. The date is, of course, historically impossible. At that time, the Khazar Khaganate had not even emancipated itself from the Empire of the Western Turks.

[19] Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 418 (inaccessible to me); cited by Markwart, p. 4.

[20] C. M. Fraehn, "Veteres Memoriae Chasarorum," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VIII (1822), pp. 597-598. Cf. Markwart, p. 4.

[21] P. K. Kokovtsov, *Evrejsko-Chazarskaja perepiska v X veke* (Leningrad, 1932), pp. 89-103. The authenticity of the "Jewish-Khazar correspondence" has been denied wholesale by H. Grégoire in his article "Le 'Glozel' Khazar," *Byzantion*, XII (1937), pp. 225-266, 739-740. Not being a Hebraist, I am not in a position to discuss the problem at large. It is obvious, however, that neither of the two versions of "King Joseph's Letter" represents the original copy, even if we admit that such copy had existed.

[22] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

[23] Mas'udi, *Murūj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard ("Les Prairies d'or"), II, 8.

Moreover, from the report on the mission of the Albanian bishop, Israel (see above), we know that around A. D. 681/82 the Khazars were still " pagans."

The whole story of Bulan's conversion, as told in King Joseph's letter, is obviously a mere legend. It seems that this legend was built up around some actual episodes of the Khazar-Arabian wars of a later date. According to Joseph's letter, King Bulan was converted to Judaism before his campaign to Ardvil. The names Bulan and Ardvil throw some light on the origins of the legend. According to the Georgian Annals, during the 45th Reign (A. D. 718-786) the Khagan sent his general, Bloutchan, to Kakhetia. The name is spelt in Armenian chronicles as Bouldchan or Boulghtchan (all the above transcriptions are given according to Brosset).[24] The name Bulan in Joseph's letter may be considered a corruption of it. As to the name, Ardvil, it probably is another spelling for Ardabel, a fortress in Albania (Azerbaijan), which was captured by the Khazars A. H. 112 (A. D. 730/31).[25] We see that both episodes occurred more than a century after Bulan's alleged conversion. They were artificially put together by the compiler of " King Joseph's letter." Neither in Arabic nor in Georgian sources is any conversion of the Khagan to Judaism mentioned under A. H. 112 or around this date.

The second case (A. D. 740) is no better than the first. The date is tentative, being derived from Jehuda Halevi's words that the conversion occurred 400 years before his time. He wrote *ca.* A. D. 1140. The date is untenable from historical point of view. As has been mentioned above, the Khagan accepted Islam in A. D. 737. Some time after that he, or his successor, must have reverted to " paganism." It is hardly possible to place a conversion to Judaism anywhere in between. *Ca.* A. D. 782 the Khagan still kept his " pagan " faith, as we know from the Life of St. Abo.

The third case (A. D. 786-809) deserves more attention. The main source for it is Chapter 17 of Mas'udi's *Murūj*. Mas'udi's statement on the subject is very brief. For the full story of the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism he refers the reader to his former works. Unfortunately the latter have been lost or, in any case, no version of Mas'udi's full story of conversion has so far been discovered. In ad-

[24] Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 265.
[25] Markwart, p. 11.

dition to Mas'udi, there is a brief notice on the conversion of the Khazars in Shams ad-Din Dimashki's work.[26] Dimashki cites Ibn al-Athir as his authority, but, according to Markwart there is no corresponding passage in Ibn al-Athir's History.[27] It seems that Dimashki's statement is based upon Mas'udi's work either directly or indirectly.

Another Arabic author who mentioned the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism is al-Bakri. We may think that his story has been based not upon Chapter 17 of the *Murūj*, but upon one of Mas'udi's lost works to which Mas'udi himself refers the reader in *Murūj*. To sum up, Mas'udi's works are the source of all later Arabic authors on the subject of conversion.

Mas'udi's statement on the religion of the Khazars (*Murūj*, II, 8) in Barbier de Meynard's French translation reads as follows:

> Le roi, sa cour, et toux ceux qui sont de race Khazare, pratiquent le judaisme, qui est devenu la religion dominante dans cet état, depuis le Khalifat d'Haroun er-Rechid: beaucoup de juifs sont venus s'établir chez les Khazars, de toutes les cités musulmanes et des pays de Roum, parce que de nos jours, l'an 332, Armanous, roi de Roum, a persecuté les Israélites de son empire pour les convertir au christianisme.

The statement is somewhat confused. We notice that Mas'udi speaks primarily of the conditions in Khazaria as they were in his own time. It is characteristic that he pays special attention to the event of a recent date—the persecution of the Jews in Byzantine Empire during the reign of Emperor Romanus Lecapenus, A. H. 332 (A. D. 943/44), as a result of which so many Jews escaped to Khazaria and reenforced the Jewish element there. The reference to the historical background (the reign of Harun ar-Rashid, A. D. 786-809) is rather vague and does not seem to fit in well. We may therefore suspect some corruption of the text. It is known that Mas'udi's original manuscript had been lost, and that the *Murūj* is but an abridgment of the original work. We therefore cannot be sure that in the passage of the *Murūj* as quoted, the original information has been adequately preserved.

As the reader is referred (*Murūj*, II, 9) for a full story of conversion to Mas'udi's former works, we may try to use this reference. We have mentioned that Mas'udi's original story to which reference is

[26] Dimashki, ed. Mehren (reimpression, Leipzig, 1923), p. 263 (Arabic text); Fraehn, *Mémoires Acad.*, VIII, 597 (Arabic text) and 598 (Latin translation).

[27] Markwart, p. 6.

made in the *Murūj* must have been partly preserved in Al-Bakri's work We therefore must turn to Al-Bakri for more precise information.

According to Al-Bakri, the king of the Khazars "sent to the Christians for a bishop, and the king had with him a man of the Jews, skilled in debates." There follows a report on the discussion between the bishop and the Jew which ended in the victory of the Jew." Then the king sent to the Moslems, and they sent to him a learned man, wise and skilled in controversy, but the Jew sent someone secretly against him to poison him on the road, and he died. So the Jew won the king over to his faith, and he became a Jew." [28]

It seems that Al-Bakri's (= Mas'udi's) story can be dated with reasonable accuracy. The only known case when the Khagan "sent to the Christians for a bishop" was that which resulted in the mission of Constantine the Philosopher to the Khazars, A. D. 860-861. It is to this mission that Al-Bakri's story apparently refers. From the *Life* of Constantine we know that a lengthy discussion took place between him and the Jewish scholar at the court of the Khagan.[29] True, according to Constantine's *Life* it was he, and not the Jew, who won the debates, but no other interpretation could be expected in an apologetic piece of literature. On the other hand, it is clear from the *Life* that Constantine's mission was, at best, only partially successful. While the Khagan was very polite and allowed the baptism of such of his subjects as were willing, he did not embrace Christianity himself. Thus, there is no discrepancy between Constantine's *Life* and Al-Bakri's story as to the actual results of the mission. The Christian preacher is called a bishop by Al-Bakri. Constantine was not a bishop, but might easily be referred to as one because of his learning and his authority as special envoy of the Patriarch.

Since Mas'udi's (al-Bakri's) story dovetails quite well with that of the *Life* of Constantine, we must come to the conclusion that, according to Mas'udi, the Khagan was not converted to Judaism until after Constantine's mission to the Khazars. Mas'udi's reference to the reign of Harun ar-Rashid, even if valid, might be interpreted in the sense, that at that time part of the Khazars had been converted, but not yet the

[28] Kunik and Rosen, *Zapiski Akademii Nauk*, vol. 32, Supplement No. 2 (1879), p. 44 (Arabic text); p. 61 (Russian translation). For English translation see C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 201.

[29] Life of Constantine, Chs. 9-11.

whole nation. Having this in mind, we must consider the date of Constantine's mission (A. D. 860-861) as the *terminus post quem* of the official conversion of the Khagan.

Proceeding beyond this limit, we may think that at least two or three years must have elapsed between Constantine's return from Khazaria and the conversion of the Khagan to Judaism. It is quite probable that during this interval the Moslems made another attempt or a final plea for the cause of Islam, as mentioned in Al-Bakri's story, but that this attempt failed. Such details as the poisoning of the Moslem missionary by the Jews have been probably added to the story by the Moslems for the sake of saving face.

For determining the *terminus ante quem* of the Khagan's conversion one may turn to a Latin source, the *Expositio in Matthaeum* by Christianus of Stablo, surnamed Druthmar. Christianus says: "Nescimus iam gentem sub caelo in qua Christiani non habeantur. Nam et in Gog et Magog, quae sunt gentes Hunnorum, quae ab eis Gazari vocantur, iam una gens quae fortior erat ex his quas Alexander conduxerat, circumcisa est, et omnem Judaismum observat. Bulgarii quoque, qui et ipsi ex ipsis gentibus sunt, cottidie baptisantur."[30] We notice that Druthmar mentions the baptism of the Bulgars, and it is known that Khan Boris of Bulgaria was converted to Christianity A. D. 864.[31] In view of this Markwart has dated Druthmar's *Expositio* by that same year.[32] M. Manitius suggested the date, *ca.* A. D. 865.[33] As a matter of fact, it seems more probable that Druthmar became aware of the spread of Christianity among the Bulgars only after the latter addressed themselves to the Pope, A. D. 866. Because of this consideration we may date Druthmar's *Expositio* by this last year. Since Druthmar knew about the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, his *Expositio* may be considered as the *terminus ante quem* for that conversion (*ca.* 866).

Our conclusion is, then, that the Khazars must have been officially converted to Judaism some time between A. D. 862 and 866. We may add that Ibn al-Faqih, in his revision of Ibn-Khordadbeh's book, makes

[30] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CVI, 1456.

[31] Vaillant and Lascaris, "La date de la conversion des Bulgares," *Revue des Études Slaves*, XIII (1933).

[32] Markwart, pp. 23-24.

[33] M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (Munich, 1911), p. 431.

the following statement: "The Khazars are all Jews, and it is but recently that they have accepted Judaism."[34] Ibn al-Faqih wrote around A. D. 903. His words fit in well into the picture in case we date the Khazar conversion by the 860's. But they obviously exclude the possibility of placing the conversion into the eighth century.

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[34] Ibn al-Fakih, ed. de Goeje (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, V), p. 298 (Arabic text); Markwart, p. 270.

DIGENIS AKRITAS: A BYZANTINE EPIC AND ITS ILLUSTRATORS

By Alison Frantz

A completely illustrated manuscript of the epic of Digenis Akritas would be a happy addition to the monuments of Byzantine secular art. That such existed is known from the lines of Dapontes:

> Δύο λογιῶν τὸ εἶδ' αὐτό, μὲ εἰκονογραφίαις
> τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων του, καὶ δίχως ζωγραφίαις,[1]

and only the procrastination of some miniaturist has deprived us of the illustrations for the *Escorialensis* for which spaces were left on thirty-four pages, occupying from six to nine lines each.[2] But there is reason to believe that some of the exploits of Akritas were memorialized in the humbler art of the potter, and to this we are indebted for the only existing representations of Byzantium's great hero.

A fortunate discovery in the Agora at Athens suggested the connection between pottery and epic. Although the piece in question has already been published [3] it is included here since on it hinges the identification of further Digenis scenes. On a fragment of a plate of the late twelfth or very early thirteenth century (Fig. 1) is preserved, in sgraffito technique, part of a man and a dragon, in whose neck are five arrows or darts. Although the picture fits no episode in the epic it does coincide closely with a description in the songs of an exploit in which Akritas slew a dragon with five κοντάρια, which would seem to be taken as darts, or, alternately, that he killed him with bow and arrow.[4] That both versions may have been current is suggested by a fragment from Corinth (Fig. 2) in which the warrior seems to hold a bow.[5]

The identification of this scene, with its close correspondence with the specific language of the song, is significant for two reasons: first, because it suggests a source for other scenes, and second, for its

[1] Lambros, *Collection de Romans Grecs*, p. c.

[2] D. C. Hesseling, Λαογραφία, Γ' (1911), 538.

[3] *Hesperia*, X (1941), 9-13.

[4] For the passages describing this deed, see *Hesp., loc. cit.*, 11-12.

[5] *Corinth*, vol. XIV, *The Byzantine Pottery*, by Charles H. Morgan, Pl. XLIX, a. I am indebted to Professor Morgan for permission to include this and other pieces from Corinth.

bearing on the question of the relation of the τραγούδια to the epic, a subject which has received considerable attention in the pages of this periodical. Professor Grégoire [6] believes that the death of the Byzantine Roland in 788 must have given rise, just as that of the western Roland, to many folk-songs. But many of these, unlike the western cantilenes, have survived down to the present day—a miracle which is very easily accounted for when one considers that the vulgar form of Greek, especially in Cappadocia, Cyprus and other outlying districts, has undergone no important change for eleven centuries, unlike the evolution of modern languages in the west. The so-called Epic of Digenis to which our Greek texts and even the old Russian version undoubtedly go back, was certainly composed in the tenth century, and it is clear that its author knew some ballads about Digenis quite similar to those which have come down to us through the channel of oral tradition.

The identification of a scene on a twelfth-century plate lends color to the theory of the existence of a body of songs, some, but not all of which were used by the compiler of the epic, and in our search for prototypes for figures on pottery both songs and epic may be accepted as equally valid sources.

It has long seemed that a recurrent type on plates of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is intended to represent no ordinary warrior, and the resemblance to the Agora fragment in general, if not in detail, suggests that Digenis was a favorite subject with Byzantine potters, who would reasonably be supposed to be well acquainted with his exploits. One of the best preserved is a plate from the Agora (Fig. 3) [7] from a twelfth century context, with a warrior resplendent in *fustanella,* with sword, shield and falcon, and a club which is undoubtedly his ῥαβδί. His rather moon-faced countenance and wealth of long curly hair are similar to those of the hero in Figures 1 and 2, and to all would apply the description of Digenis as having κόμην ξανθήν, ἐπίσγουρον, ὀμμάτια μεγάλα, . . . κατάμαυρον ὀφρύδιν.[8] To add to the probability of this being another Akritas, a dragon is coiled around the plate; not the dragon of Figure 1, perhaps, indeed, not any specific dragon, but included here merely as an attribute of this great dragon-slayer [9] and the more readily acceptable to the artist for its special adaptability to his round composition.

[6] Cf. H. Grégoire, *Byzantion,* VII (1932), 290 ff.

[7] *Hesp.,* VII (1938), 464.

[8] Grottaferrata, iv, 197-8.

[9] Cf. *Hesp.,* X (1941), 11.

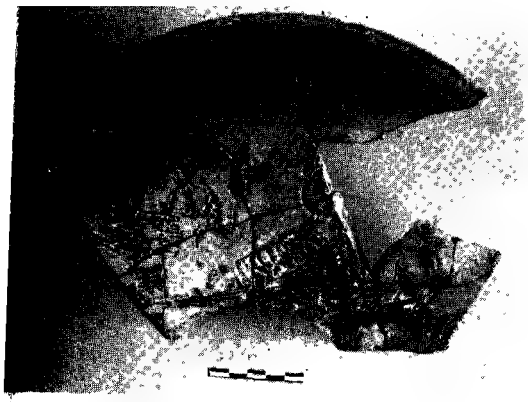


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

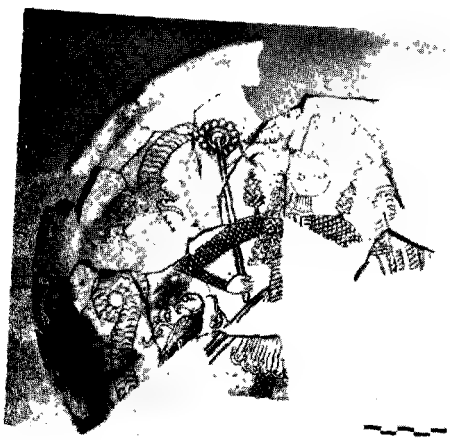


FIG. 3.

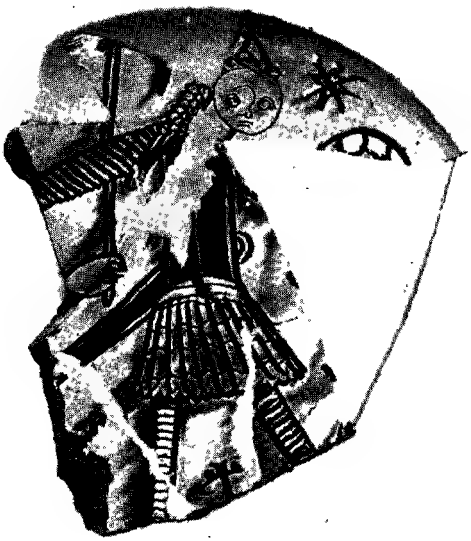


FIG. 4.

Fig. 5.

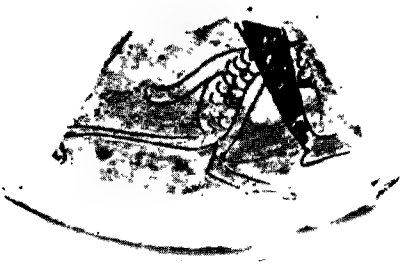


Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Here, then, is a type which because of the presence in some cases of undeniably Akritan attributes, may be identified as Akritas even when such attributes are lacking, as, for example the warrior on a plate from Corinth shown in Figure 4.[10] We may note also in a few other examples some details corresponding to descriptions in the text either of the epic or of the songs. In all the foregoing illustrations Digenis wears a high, usually conical headdress. In one plate from Corinth, however, he wears a low cap (Fig. 5);[11] this is probably the *καμηλαυκίτζιν χαμηλὸν* which he is described as putting on before attacking the bears in his first youthful exploit.[12]

If the Akritan cycle be accepted as a main source of illustration for Byzantine potters, it is natural to look here for prototypes of other unidentified scenes. Many are extremely fragmentary, to be sure, but even these show some connection with the legend. It will be remembered that Digenis' wedding presents included twelve falcons and twelve hunting leopards[13] "*λίαν δοκιμωτάτους*."[14] Perhaps it is one of these falcons that is perched on Digenis' scabbard in Figure 3, and a small fragment from Corinth (Fig. 6)[15] preserves an obviously well-trained leopard, or at any rate some sort of feline, walking obediently beside a man of whom only part of the legs remains. The identification of this scene as Akritas striding forth to the hunt is admittedly tenuous; another fragment from Corinth, no larger, tempts a more confident attribution (Fig. 7).[16] At the edge of a plate can be seen an outstretched arm, broken away at the shoulder, grasping by the hair an unhappy figure of whom only the head and the top of the shoulders remains. The drawing is crude, but it is possible to recognize the high headdress and long curly hair familiar from pictures of the hero in happier circumstances. Again it is the songs rather than the epic that provide the clue for the identification of the scene, for they alone describe in detail Digenis' final conflict with Charon. From Macedonia, from Crete, from Pontus, Chios and Cephalonia comes the same story: Digenis is nearing his end, but his vanquisher must be no mortal; ancient tradition is still strong in the eighth century and so Charon is the obvious choice. For three days and nights they struggle, but Charon is finally victorious and he drags Akritas by the hair to the lower world:

[10] Morgan, *op. cit.*, fig. 129.
[11] Morgan, *op. cit.*, fig. 131.
[12] Grottaferrata, iv, 117.
[13] Grottaferrata, iv, 906.
[14] *Ibid.*, 904.
[15] Morgan, *op. cit.*, Pl. L, c.
[16] Morgan, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIII, 1.

Μὰ σταύρωσα τὸ Χάροντα μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ 's τὸ χέρι
ἀπ' τὰ μαλλιὰ μὲ ἅρπαξε, κ' ἐπῆρε τὴν ψυχή μου.[17]

Digenis protests and promises to go willingly, but Charon replies that could he see where he was going he would never go willingly:

"Ἄφις με, Χάρ', ἀφ' τὰ μαλλιά, τσαὶ πιάσ' με ἀφ' τὸ χέρι,
τσαὶ δεῖξε μου τὸ μέρος σου νὰ πάγω μοναχός μου.
—Νὰ δῇς ἐμὸν τὸ μέρος μου, τρομάρα θὰ σὲ πιάσῃ,
ποῦ 'ν' ἀπὸ μέσα σκοτεινὸ τσ' ἀπόξω ῥαχνιασμένο·
μὲ τῶν ἀντρῶν τοῖς τσεφαλαῖς τό χω ἐγὼ χτισμένο,
μὲ τῶν κοπέλλων τὰ μαλλιὰ τὸ ἔχω σκεπασμένο." [18]

Our fragment seems to represent the hero at the lowest moment of his fortunes.[19]

The scene on a well-known plate from Corinth (Fig. 8) may almost certainly be identified with another episode, this time from the epic, not from the songs. On a low folding stool sits a man with long curly hair; on his lap is seated a lady wearing a crown, and in the field beside them is a tree resembling a date palm. The rabbit in the field to the other side is probably purely decorative. The scene immediately calls to mind the adventures of the daughter of Haplorabdis, who so imprudently eloped with one of her father's prisoners and was abandoned by him after three blissful days and nights in the desert.[20] Our plate may illustrate one of two parts of this incident: either her sojourn in the desert with the young man or her discovery and rescue by Digenis. The palm tree indicates the desert *locale,* and the crown is proof of the lady's rank. In favor of choosing the earlier part of the scene is the affectionate attitude of the pair, which agrees well with the lady's account, whereas Digenis did not succumb to her charms until after they had left the oasis. On the other hand, the details of the picture are mentioned specifically in connection with the later part: the tree to which Digenis tied his horse:

καὶ τὸν μὲν φάραν ἔδησα εἰς τοῦ δένδρου τὸν κλῶνα
τὸ δὲ κοντάριν ἔστησα μέσον αὐτοῦ τῆς ῥίζης,[21]

[17] Λαογραφία A'. p. 230, no. 18, ll. 16, 17.
[18] Λαογραφία, A', p. 259, no. 48, pp. 14-19.
[19] Morgan, *op. cit.*, Pl. LII; *A. J. A.* 39 (1935), 76.
[20] Grottaferrata v, 18 ff.
[21] Grottaferrata v, 58-9.

and the low stool on which they sat together:

Εἶτα καθίσαντες ὁμοῦ ἐν θώκῳ χαμαιζήλῳ.[22]

On the basis of this line it seems more probable that the scene represents the later part of the incident.[23] Two small fragments from two different plates preserving parts of the identical scene were found at Corinth,[24] so that we may believe that it enjoyed considerable popularity, and it is fitting that Digenis' amorous exploits should have been celebrated along with his deeds of valor.

PRINCETON, N. J.

[22] *Ibid.*, 64.

[23] The circumstantial details of tree and low stool seem sufficient evidence that this is the episode which the potter had in mind, rather than the abduction of Digenis' mother or his own elopement.

[24] Morgan, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIII, 1, n.

NOTES ON THE BYZANTINE EPIC

THE GREEK FOLK-SONGS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE RUSSIAN VERSION AND OF THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

By HENRI GRÉGOIRE

Miss Alison Frantz's discovery, published in this issue of *Byzantion,* has afforded the long-wanted archeological proof of the existence, as early as the twelfth century, not only of the Byzantine Epic—the earliest known manuscript of which belongs to the fourteenth century, —but of some at least of the folk-songs which have long been recognized as the principal source of the Epic. This new and conclusive evidence makes it still more plausible that the most ancient and original forms of the Epic are those where the connections with the ballads are the closest. We shall, more confidently than before, use that criterion to classify the extant manuscripts of the Greek text, and to determine their relation to the Russian fragments of the Epic.[1]

To begin with the Russian text, the time has come to decide the question whether it represents only a late and corrupt state of the original text, or whether it is nearer the common archetype than the Greek manuscripts.

The main differences between the Russian version and *all* our Greek texts are these: in the Russian, the hero slays the Dragon and fights Philopappos and Maximo the Amazon, not *after* his marriage with the daughter of the Strategos, whom he has so brilliantly succeeded in stealing from her parents, but *before* the abduction; and second, his meeting with the Emperor (called Basileios) ends in a fierce battle against the imperial troops, and a crushing victory which leaves Digenis master of the " Emperor's City."

As to the first difference, it could be supposed that the arrangement of events in the Greek version is *better* than the composition shown by the Russian, for in the Greek, the theme of the successive fights against various adversaries is undoubtedly rendered more interesting by the avowed aim of all those aggressors, which is always to separate Digenis from his beautiful wife. The motif is taken from

[1] See M. Speranski, *Sbornik Otd. Russk. Jaz. i Slov.*, Imp. Acad. of Sciences, vol. XCIX, no. 7 (Petrograd, 1922).

the Hellenistic and Byzantine novel, where two lovers generally emerge triumphant from a long succession of dangers and trials. But it is by no means certain that the oldest Digenis was a perfect "novel" of the classical type. And as to Philopappos, in the numerous ballads in which he figures, he never appears among those who try to abduct Digenis' wife. On the contrary, he speaks and acts as a slave, prisoner, or servant of Digenis, as a clever man to whose advices the hero resorts in order, precisely, to win the hand of his future wife. Philopappos is sent as "ambassador" to the parents of the bride. But he fails in his mission, and it is only then that Digenis decides to do the job himself. But he too would have failed, if Philopappos had not given him precious advice concerning the road he must follow, and, above all, about a certain magic lute he has to make out of the bark of a certain tree and from the skin and teeth of certain snakes. As a matter of fact, in most songs dealing with the abduction of the bride, Philopappos plays the decisive role and cannot possibly be dispensed with. His advice and the making of the lute always precede the abduction itself.

Therefore, when we find in the Russian text exactly the same sequence of events: first, the episode of Philopappos, and the abduction immediately afterwards, we feel that this is true to the genuine tradition, particularly since, in the Russian, Philopappos, after his defeat by Digenis, becomes his slave and tries to win back his liberty by counselling his master, and revealing to him the name and "address" of the beautiful bride.

I may quote P. Pascal's translation of the Russian: "A ce même moment, le vieux Philippape (vanquished by Digenis), se tournant vers Devgeni, dit: 'Autour aux ailes d'or, tres fameux Devgeni, tu es fameux et fort entre nous tous. . . . Mais plus brave et plus fort que toi est le fameux stratège. Et il a une fille qui a, elle aussi, l'audace et la bravoure d'un homme, et pour la beauté il n'y a pas plus beau sur terre. . . .'" From the numerous ballads, I shall quote only these lines, containing the instructions, or directions, of old Philopappos to Digenis:

Καὶ πολογᾶται Φιλοπαπποῦς, τοῦ Διενῆ καὶ λέγει·
" Πόμεινε τώρα, Διγενή, γιὰ νὰ σοῦ παραγγείλω.
Ἂν πιάσῃς τὴν παραγγελιά, τὴν νιόνυμφη νὰ κλέψῃς.
Καὶ πιάσε τοῦτον τὸ στρατίν, τοῦτον τὸ μονοπάτιν.
Τὸ μονοπάτι βγάλλει σε σὲ δασερὸ λιβάδι κτλ.

The conjecture that, in the oldest form of the Epic, the Philopappos episode originally stood before the abduction is borne out even by the majority of the Greek manuscripts. For, in the archaic *Escorialensis* as well as in manuscripts of Andros, Trebizond, and Oxford, after his first and childish exploits (slaying of lions, bears and deer), young Digenis leaves the road along which he was riding with his uncle on his way home, and penetrates into the wilderness, seeking the famous brigands or Apelates, whom he finally reaches thanks to their water-boy. He has a long and interesting interview with old Philopappos, whom he tells about his desire to become an apprentice in the warlike school of those outlaws. But he soon quarrels with the Apelates, whom he beats, stealing from them their clubs which he brings to Philopappos. The disgruntled old man is about to react in a violent manner, but Digenis menaces him, and even slaps him, according to one version.

This is the ordinary way in which Digenis's battles begin. But this particular one is abruptly interrupted. The Canto, or in the case of the *Escorialensis,* the story, ends without conclusion, and we hear no more of Philopappos and his men until the beginning of the long episode which is to be found in the seventh Canto of *Trebizond,* or the sixth of *Grottaferrata.* One remembers that there, when Philopappos discovers Digenis and starts talking with him, he distinctly states that he has never seen him before. Nor does Digenis himself recognize his adversary, with whom he ought to be well acquainted. The conclusion is naturally that the first and second Philopappos episode cannot have been invented by the same writer, and that the original Digenis is a Digenis where only one of those doublets stood. If we had to choose between the two, we might prefer the second and longer. But as we are going to see, its interest and relatively good style does not prove that it is original; at any rate, we shall demonstrate that it does not now stand in its proper place.

To decide the question of the priority or originality of either of those Philopappos episodes, we must use other criteria than the criterion of literary finish. An episode which evidently is mutilated, the link of which with the following cantos no longer appears, could be, it is true, interpolated. But such an interpolation would be extremely awkward, as it clearly involves an inconsistency. It is, even at first glance, much more probable that the first Philopappos episode belonged to the older story, and has been retained in part, but also in part cancelled and suppressed. It was retained because it was archaic

and familiar, but it was curtailed, because the second part of it was too openly in contradiction with the order of events which the redactor had resolved to adopt, putting the fights against Philopappos and the Apelates between the abduction and Digenis's buildings. Really, there can be no doubt about the natural sequel of the first Philopappos episode. After Digenis's insolent challenge, Philopappos has but one thing to do. He must fight, and if that fight is not recounted then, it is because the redactor was justly afraid of committing the crime of repetition; for he had in store already the other version of the same incident.

In the original from which the first episode is derived, the sequence of events was as follows:

1. A peaceful interview with Philopappos and his men;
2. The defeat of the latter;
3. The defeat of the chief;
4. The suggestion made by Philopappos to Digenis to ravish the famous and beautiful daughter of the Strategos;
5. The elopement itself.

Now, the Russian offers us almost exactly the state of the text which we should have inferred from the extant Greek recensions.

This being so, a strong presumption of antiquity and reliability is created in favor of the Russian. And that impression is reinforced by two facts: (1) the Russian and especially the Tikhonravov fragments are by no means a paraphrase, but a very faithful translation of the Greek, so that it seems excluded that any addition in the Russian (compared with extant Greek texts) should be laid to the translator; and (2) there are striking parallels to some of the alleged "additions" of the Russian in genuine Greek ballads.

If, then, the Russian, where it differs from the Greek recensions of the Epic, is evidence of a more ancient form of the double novel, the double story of the Emir and Digenis, it becomes necessary to take seriously its main variant, which is the warlike conclusion of the meeting between Digenis and Emperor Basil. Here too we have indications that this version is original. Epic heroes are often represented as fighting and vanquishing their emperor. In some place, the epic itself still bears traces of the anti-imperial conclusion of the episode in its older form.

And (3) I cannot stress too much the fact that many traits even in our manuscripts disclose the intimate connection of Digenis with the Paulicians, the enemies of Emperor Basil. It is well-known that

he is said to be the grandson of Chrysochir, the grandnephew of Karbeas. But it has not been remarked that his two adversaries in the great battle following upon the elopement are the strategos Dukas and Soudalis. There are many Dukases in Byzantine history, but only one Soudalis, and the extermination of the Paulicians in 855 was the work of Andronikos Dukas and Soudalis. This will, I trust, prove conclusive. The Digenis poem must originally have been Paulician. And therefore, a form of the poem where Digenis fights Basil, chief enemy of the Paulicians, must be original or near the original. This constitutes a brilliant vindication of the value of the Russian text.

Now, the implications of that discovery are important for the classification of the manuscript. For, if the "Russian" is right, and *he* is surely right, then all our Greek texts go back to a "remaniement loyaliste," where the interview between Basil and Digenis has been transformed into a very courteous and diplomatical meeting, and where, at the same time, the whole series of Dragon-Philopappos-Maximo episodes has been transferred from its former place to another, enlarged, and rewritten. Only the beginning of the old Philopappos episode was kept in some manuscripts.

That the Dragon and Philopappos-Maximo episodes have suffered some alterations is proved by two facts. First they do not appear where they should, where they are announced, for instance, in *Grotta-Ferrata* IV, 965:

> Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπελατῶν τοῦτο ἀναμαθόντες
> συμβούλιον ἐποίησαν τὴν κόρην ἁφαρπάσαι·
> καὶ πάντας συναπέκτεινε καθυποτάσσων τούτους.

And second, they are recounted in the "first person," are forming part of the "Tales told by Digenis;" but this presentation is extremely awkward, and it is easy to prove that these stories were not originally written in that form.[2] Even the *Escorialensis* may have preserved traces of the "third person" (vv. 1090-1099, cf. 1102, 1114).

Again, the reason why this awkwardness crept in is clear. The redactor followed at first a manuscript akin to the Russian, where Philopappos and the rest were inserted between Childhood and

[2] Digenis reports in the *first* person the plots and consultations of his enemies without any indication that he was present.

Abduction. Immediately after the Abduction came the Imperial Episode. The writer knew another arrangement, according to which Philopappos-Maximo came after the Abduction, but having already referred to Philopappos he hesitated to introduce him again. The motif, however, of the Lovers' perils and separations was very tempting, and he made a *moderate* and symbolic use of it (see the lines just quoted).

When all that was done, and when the story was concluded by the crowning imperial episode, the redactor wished, by a kind of afterthought, to utilize the long redaction of Dragon-Philopappos-Maximo. But these events too, evidently, had preceded, not followed, the final triumph of Digenis. Hence the transformation into a narrative in the first person.

This *very simple* explanation of a certain number of quaint peculiarities of our Greek Digenis text will help us classify the manuscripts. *All of them* have those tales in the first person, and consequently they all go back to a revised and conflated copy.

But let us not forget our main criterion. The manuscripts likely to have preserved the traces of an earlier redaction must retain our attention. These are *Escorialensis* and *A T O* (where Philopappos twice appears). They are interesting because it is clear that their redactor had two entirely different versions before them, and tried to harmonize them.

Thus, in the story of the manuscript tradition, we must not only operate with the ordinary conception of *filiation,* or else we must amend it, improve it. There are cases of *crossings* between the representatives of two families.

We must postulate a Greek archetype of the Russian, R^g, which was conspicuous for two things, the place of the Philopappos episode, and the "disloyal" episode of Basil. We must postulate also a loyalist version of the story, to which all extant Greek texts go back: in some of them Basil, in some others, Romanos and Nikephoros were the Emperors. But this detail does not matter much. The important fact is that in a group of manuscripts (*A T O*), we have still a trace of the old role and the place of the Philopappos episode (as in the Russian) combined with a quite different treatment of that story.

That group of manuscripts, thus, is likely to have preserved other archaic peculiarities. And we have already seen, and we shall see again, that this is the case. But on the other had, *A T O* are conspicuous for certain blunders and corruptions. It will be shown that

these errors found their way into *A T* because they were already extant, at least in germ, in the archetype of the Escorialensis.

The Escorialensis begins abruptly with the following lines (1 ff.).

> Κρότοι καὶ κτύποι καὶ ἀπειλαὶ μὴ σὲ καταπτοήσουν
> μὴ φοβηθῇς τὸν θάνατον, παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν.

It is clear to us, because we have the *Cryptoferratensis*, that these lines are spoken by the elder brother, and that the missing prologue contained the following events: the mother entreats the brothers to pursue the abductor and to bring back their ravished sister; the brothers reach the camp of the Emir, who then proposes a single combat; the champion chosen by the lot is young Constantine; his brothers remind him of his duty and of "the Mother's curse": "κρότοι καὶ κτύποι . . . μὴ σὲ καταπτοήσουν."

But if we now take *A T* where the verses are also extant,[8] we shall find that they are put in the mouth, not of the brothers, but of the mother. The result is that nothing is left in *A* of the story which we have just recounted. The single combat follows without challenge, without warning, without the slightest justification. Evidently the redactor had before him a copy beginning, just as our Escorialensis, with the lines κρότοι κτλ. He did not understand them, and failed to discover the true story. Instead, he forged the lamentable astrological prologue. Thus, one of the main features of *A T*, the *rifacimento* of the prologue, is due to a material deterioration of the archetype, and *E* reproduced that already mutilated archetype, *but* without any attempt to compensate the loss or to replace it by anything else.

Another very bad feature of *A T* is the corruption or interpolation of their genealogies. We know, not only from *C*, but also from the fourth Canto of *A T* themselves, that:

1. The "brothers" claim to be the sons of a (nameless) nobleman of the theme of Anatolikon, belonging to the family of Kinnamos, and that only their mother belongs to the Dukas family.
2. The Emir claims to be descended from Ambron, Emir of Melitene, and from the Paulicians Chrysochir and Karbeas.

In *A T*, the name of the father of the "brethren" is Aaron, and the name of the Dukas family seems to be transferred from the female to the male line. That modification might have a definite political reason; but, as it is to be found in I and not in IV (where the primitive genealogy is kept), one is tempted to ascribe it to some *mixup* arising from a mere "clerical error."

[8] In A, I, 324 ff.

Now it is remarkable to trace in *E* exactly that error. The name *Aaron* for the father of the Christians is nothing but a gross blunder. The verses 145 ff., ὁ πατὴρ μας ἦτον Ἀαρὼν καὶ θεῖός μας ὁ Καροΐλης / ὁ Μουσιλὼν ὁ Σακσυστὸς πατὴρ ἦτον τοῦ πατρός μου, clearly contain the genealogy of the Emir. It is so true that in the speech of the Emir, all these names have been left out, to avoid a repetition probably. The archetype of Escorialensis had them twice, and *A T* following the archetype has Aaron twice, first as *Aaron*, second as *Ambron*. Ἀαρών thus is only a corruption of Ἄμβρων.

An important consequence of that blunder is that Μωσελώμ, commonly taken for a Christian, is really a Moslem, probably the famous Maslamah, given in the Dat-ul-Himmah as an ancestor, or at least a forerunner, of the Champions of the faith of Malatiya in the ninth century.

A third observation of the same kind; the wrong name of Mousour or Mousouros, so common in *A T*, is also the result of a clerical error which we can lay our hands on in the *Escorialensis* version. Verse 261 in *Escorialensis* reads:

Καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου καὶ ὁ θεῖος μου ὁμουρτασίτης[4]

Μουσου(ρ) is the result of the confusion of the two pronouns, and the ρ comes from Ταρσίτης.

The conclusion is that a manuscript where different confusions had already crept in, and which had lost the beginning of the story, is the common archetype of *E* and *A T*, and this accounts sufficiently for the striking similarities which exist between them, similarities which have long been remarked—for instance, the archaic retention of the first Philopappos episode.

The great differences in the form are to be explained in a very simple way. Many things of the greatest value have been presented in a fuller form by *Escorialensis* and omitted by *A T*; but, on the other hand, there are things in *A T* which have been omitted by *Escorialensis*. As to the language, *Escorialensis* vulgarizes almost everywhere and spoils the meter very often by doing so; but *A T* tries to use a higher style than the archetype and spoils the poetical value of many passages preserved in *Escorialensis*. But, if *A T* and *O* are clearly derived from the archetype of *E*, this applies only to the first part of the work. The last Episode, the Death of Digenis, to begin with the building of his Castle near the Euphrates, appears in the

[4] Read ὁ θεῖος σου: this was corrected in the archetype, where σου was written above μου.

Escorialensis in a form which is entirely discrepant from every other Greek version (we do not possess, unfortunately, any Russian fragment for that epilogue).

The main differences are these. The detailed ἔκφρασις of the buildings is entirely missing. There is only a description of the Park, with its trees, waters, and birds, and just a few lines about the palace itself. The bridge of Akritas comes in—it is not even mentioned in any other version. The tomb is described as being near the bridge. One could be tempted to suppose that the *Escorialensis* has abridged a more elaborate description, but, fortunately, we can prove that this is not the case. The criterion of the folk-songs again enables us to solve the problem. For we possess a ballad or, rather, a number of ballads where a similar description is an introduction to the last scene, the death of Digenis. In these ballads, Digenis's death is foretold by the birds who, while they were wont to sing all the time *πάντα θὰ ζῇ* 'Ακρίτας, suddenly change their tune and sing *αὔριο πεθάνει* 'Ακρίτης, "Tomorrow, Digenis will die." In other words, the birds, in the original folk-song, are not a purely decorative motif. They offer the immediate transition to the Death.

Now the system followed by the redactors of the Epic is clear. They try to eliminate all fabulous and supernatural feats, while trying to keep the traditional motifs. They could not respect the prophetic birds. But, finding *speaking birds* in their models, they transformed those legendary birds into well-taught parrots, like those which were found at the Byzantine court.

This apparently trifling remark is of great moment. It enables us to pronounce the verdict that on this point *Escorialensis* is original. The story of the death must come immediately after the birds; and, in those redactions where the Parrots are separated from the Death by a long series of verses, those verses must be ascribed to an interpolation. This is a clear proof of the fact that the description of the buildings, as one reads it in *A T* and *C*, is a learned Byzantine embellishment, and that *Escorialensis*, on the contrary, is quite near to the source, the popular ballad (with of course the suppression of the *θαυμαστά*).

There is another point of difference between *Escorialensis* and the other Greek versions. In the *Escorialensis*, Digenis, on his death-bed, addresses his "pallicars," not his wife, in a speech where he enumerates some of his exploits. The whole passage is missing in *A T O* and *C*, but again it is full of verses, either extant in folksongs, or redolent of the style of popular ballads. In *C*, like in *A T O*, the whole scene has been rewritten, to make it consistent with the data of the novel,

where the pallicars play almost no role. And only prowesses accomplished in the novel are recorded. Moreover, *Escorialensis* is the only manuscript which mentions the Angel of Death, referred to in some extant ballads.

One sees that, while *A T O* go back clearly—for the first part of the story—to the very archetype of Escorialensis, for the last episode *A T O* drew on another source, which must be identical with the archetype of *C* (Grottaferrata).

The explanation may be that the redactor preferred, to an archaic poem, the "byzantinized" form of the story, more learned, less popular, less fantastic, which he found in a manuscript of the other group. But perhaps he had no choice. The manuscript he followed possibly had lost its concluding pages. As a matter of fact, several of the extant manuscripts have suffered deteriorations of that sort; *Trebizond* begins abruptly at verse I, 231 of the *C* version; *Escorialensis* at verse I, 134, and we have seen that the bad "astrological" prologue of *A T* was forged to make up for that loss. *Escorialensis* seems to have lost also the description of the burial of two heroes. It is quite possible, and even very plausible, that the archetype of *A T O* resorted to a copy of the type of *C*, simply because his first model left him in the lurch.

In any case, we have a second instance of the *crossing* of two manuscripts belonging to two different groups.

We have seen that his contamination had taken place already once: a manuscript containing the Philopappos episode in the "prenuptial" place was artificially conflated with another where the story was differently arranged.

And now we see how a manuscript resulting from that crossing and still containing a lot of "good things" was "conflated" with a manuscript of another type, where the end of Digenis in the midst of a Byzantine palace, surrounded by army surgeons, and so on, was recounted in an edifying and formal tone quite foreign to the folksongs.

A T are the offsprings of that new *mésalliance*. But that is not all. They are defaced not only by their "astrological" prologue—known to *O* and to Kaisarios Dapontes—but also by a late and awkward "remaniement," due to a certain Eustathios and addressed to a certain Manuel. *T* is not worse than *A*, but it has very serious gaps in which many important things perished altogether. It was unfortunate, therefore, that the late manuscript was the first to be published and the only one to be translated. Most of the errors committed by Sathas

and Legrand and still current in papers on Digenis Akritas go back to the "remaniement" of that late Eustathios,—later even than the archetype of *O*. Most of the proper names said to be in the epic are either distorted, like Mousour or Mousouros, or inventions of Eustathios (like Eudokia, Anna, Irene, and the like).

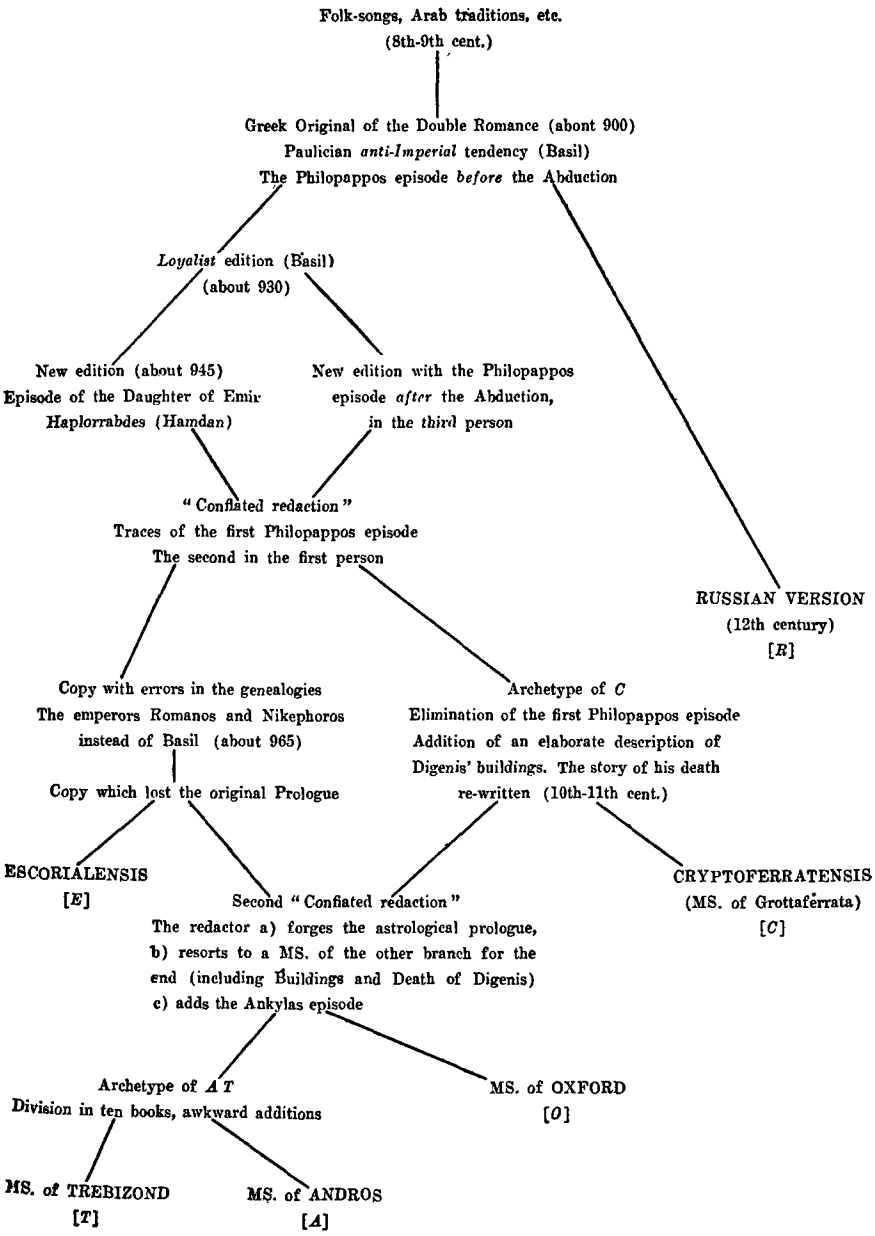
As to the Cryptoferratensis, which seems to have preserved many important features of the original, and is particularly reliable so far as the proper names are concerned. It has, and it is the only one which has, the very curious allusion to a Moslem worship of Neeman's *Mandilin,* a Moslem counterpart of the famous image of our Lord, the great relic of Edessa. It is also the *Cryptoferratensis* whose description of Digenis's tomb enabled us, ten years ago, to locate the whole story.[5] But, in the whole conclusion of the romance, it is undoubtedly less original than the *Escorialensis.* It goes back to a lost manuscript where the elaborate description of the buildings was inserted, the very text on which the archetype of *A T* also draws.

In this new attempt to settle the difficult question of the relationship existing between the extant manuscripts and the many copies which are now lost, and to which Kaisarios Dapontes bears witness, I have limited myself to the new results of my own research. I have thought it unnecessary to give a full bibliography of the question, which will be found in numerous articles published in *Byzantion,* especially since 1931. I have also avoided discussiou and polemics. One may compare the stemma illustrating my theory, which is appended to this paper, with the tentative stemma of Professor Kyriakidis in the tenth volume of the periodical *Λαογραφία.*[6] Both stemmata, in spite of their differences, completely dispose of the quaint idea of Professor Chatzes, according to which a certain Manuel is the author of the original romance. That Manuel is simply a scribe, who is responsible only for a very late and bad copy, the lost archetype of *A T.*

I have not taken into account the so-called second manuscript of Andros, a copy in prose, closely related to *A* proper, or to its archetype, and which is negligible. I trust that this our study will serve as a foundation for a critical edition of the Byzantine Epic. The main criterion, I must stress again, is afforded by the folk-songs, the existence of which at an early period has been so well established by Miss Alison Frantz.

[5] *Byzantion,* VI (1931), pp. 481-509.

[6] St. Kyriakides, *Λαογραφία,* I[1] (X), 1932, p. 661.


Folk-songs, Arab traditions, etc.
(8th-9th cent.)
Greek Original of the Double Romance (abont 900)
Paulician *anti-Imperial* tendency (Basil)
The Philopappos episode *before* the Abduction
Loyalist edition (Basil)
(about 930)
New edition (about 945)
Episode of the Daughter of Emir
Haplorrabdes (Hamdan)
New edition with the Philopappos
episode *after* the Abduction,
in the *third* person
"Conflated redaction"
Traces of the first Philopappos episode
The second in the first person
RUSSIAN VERSION
(12th century)
[*R*]
Copy with errors in the genealogies
The emperors Romanos and Nikephoros
instead of Basil (about 965)
Copy which lost the original Prologue
Archetype of *C*
Elimination of the first Philopappos episode
Addition of an elaborate description of
Digenis' buildings. The story of his death
re-written (10th-11th cent.)
ESCORIALENSIS
[*E*]
Second "Conflated redaction"
The redactor a) forges the astrological prologue,
b) resorts to a MS. of the other branch for the
end (including Buildings and Death of Digenis)
c) adds the Ankylas episode
CRYPTOFERRATENSIS
(MS. of Grottaferrata)
[*C*]
Archetype of *A T*
Division in ten books, awkward additions
MS. of OXFORD
[*O*]
MS. of TREBIZOND
[*T*]
MS. of ANDROS
[*A*]

REMARKS ON THE DATE OF THE MENOLOGIUM AND THE PSALTER WRITTEN FOR BASIL II

By Sirarpie Der Nersessian

The Menologium of Basil II, *Vatican gr. 1613*,[1] is usually ascribed, on the basis of the style of the miniatures, to the early part of this emperor's reign and a date about the year 1000 has been suggested by most art historians. It may be possible, however, to date this important work more definitely through a study of the text.

On October 26, following the biographies of St. Demetrius, of the martyrs Marcus, Soterichus, Valentina and of St. Nestor, there is a separate account commemorating the destructive earthquake which occurred on this day, in the 24th year of Leo the Isaurian's reign (740 A. D.). Every year, says the closing sentence, this day is celebrated with special solemnity and prayers are offered to avert the recurrence of such a disaster: *Ἐκ τότε οὖν μεμνημένοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνάγκης, εὐχαρίστως ἑορτάζομεν ἐτησίως τὴν παροῦσαν ἑορτήν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ τοιαύτῃ περιπεσεῖν ἀπειλῇ.*[2] In the Synaxarium of the Church of Constantinople published by H. Delehaye, the Synaxarium Sirmondianum, a second earthquake is recorded on October 26. The text reads as follows: "In the days of Basil and Constantine, in the year 6498, because of our many sins, there was an earthquake on this day, in the third hour of the night, when the dome of the great church of God fell and many other buildings and walls fell also."[3]

From all accounts, this earthquake of the year 989, which was preceded by various natural phenomena, was a very serious one. The

[1] *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (*Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613*), I, Testo, II, Tavole, Turin, 1907 (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, vol. VIII). I have retained the name menologium given by the editors and generally accepted even though, strictly speaking, the text is a synaxarium. In a menologium the biographies are much longer, while the collection of brief notices is known as a synaxarium; see H. Delehaye, "Le Synaxaire de Sirmond," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIV (1895), p. 400-401. I am greatly indebted to Professor Robert P. Blake for his generous help and advice.

[2] *Il Menologio*, p. 142. See also J. P. Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CXVII, 129 C-D.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum*, LXI, 1. *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano, nunc Berolinensi, Adiectis Synaxariis Selectis Opera et Studio Hippolyti Delehaye* (Brussels, 1902), p. 166, l. 38.

Byzantine historians Leo the Deacon, Cedrenus, Scylitzes, Glycas, Joel, and others[4] recount in considerable detail the many items of damage: the great dome of Hagia Sophia and the domes of forty other churches had crashed to the ground; part of the city walls and towers, public buildings and houses were destroyed, burying many persons under their ruins; some of the suburbs were completely razed. The disaster extended even to the provinces: Thrace and Bithynia were badly hit; in Laconia entire cities were left in ruins and part of Nicomedia was destroyed. The lasting impression made by this earthquake is further evidenced by the accounts found in the works of Arab, Armenian and even western writers.[5] In view of all this, it seems strange that a man writing in Constantinople a few years after such a calamity, when many scars were undoubtedly still visible in all parts of the city, should have refrained from mentioning it, especially when he was copying the manuscript for Basil II who had ordered the reconstruction of the dome of Hagia Sophia. According to some historians this important work took six years and vast sums were spent for it.[6] It seems even more strange that the scribe should have copied without making any change the closing sentence of the commemoration of the earthquake of 740, mentioning the prayers offered to avert the recurrence of a similar disaster, had the disaster actually recurred a few years earlier. The account of the earthquake of 740 included in the Menaea follows fairly closely the text of the Vatican Menologium, but it is interesting to observe that the last sentence has been omitted.[7] The question arises therefore whether the manuscript of Basil II might not have been written before 989.

It is impossible to ascertain, since the manuscripts are not accessible at present, whether other synaxaria besides the Sirmondianum mention the earthquake of 989. In Père Delehaye's edition of the Sirmondianum the brief commemorations of the two earthquakes of October 26 are grouped under the heading 2 and it is not clear whether the

[4] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 917-21; CXXII, 169C; CLVIII, 576D-577A; see also brief reference in a poem by Johannes Geometres, *ibid.*, CVI, 919A; F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna, 1878), p. 98, no. 223-224; G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle, Seconde Partie: Basile II, Le tueur de Bulgares* (Paris, 1900), pp. 35-38.

[5] Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 38; the effects of the earthquake were felt even in Italy, at Benevento and Capua.

[6] Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and 627; Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 98, no. 224.

[7] *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), October, p. 142.

synaxaria listed in the footnotes, which have the corresponding heading 2, contain references to both earthquakes or to only one of them.[8] If only one was mentioned, it would probably be the earthquake of 740 since special ceremonies were connected with it, such as the procession to the church of the Blachernae. Its importance in the liturgy is shown by the fact that all the odes in the canon of the morning service of October 26 refer to this earthquake.[9] However, even if we cannot be sure in the present state of our information whether the mention of the earthquake of 989 was a common practice we do have at least one instance of it in the Sirmondianum.

The rules which governed the composition of the synaxaria are not clear. The inclusion of a saint or of some event, such as the translation of relics or the account of a natural phenomenon, was often motivated by highly local reasons. It has been suggested that the Sirmondianum may have been written at the monastery of Bathyrrhyax (τοῦ βαθυρρύακος), in Bithynia, about forty miles distant from Constantinople.[10] Bithynia had suffered greatly from the earthquake of 989 and this may be the reason for the reference; however this reference must have been found in the earlier text used as a model by the scribe of the Sirmondianum since the manuscript dates in the twelfth or thirteenth century. There is ample evidence that the Sirmondianum was copied for the use of a church in Constantinople. or one in the immediate vicinity which conformed to the Constantinopolitan type of religious service.[11] Thus the mention of the earthquake of 989 may not be motivated by connections with Bithynia but with the capital itself, where the damage had been just as great.

It can be argued, however, that even if some synaxaria written in or near Constantinople had mentioned the earthquake of 989, the absence of any such reference in the Menologium of Basil II may be explained by different reasons, without having recourse to the hypothesis that the manuscript was copied before this date. A study of the text shows, for instance, that there is not a single reference to persons who lived

[8] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 163-166, manuscripts Sa, H, P, F, Fa, Fb, B, Ba, O, C, Cb, Cc, M, Mv, Mb, Mr. The only two of this list which I have been able to consult, namely the Menologium of Basil II (B) and the Menaea (Mv), have only the earthquake of 740.

[9] *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), October, p. 136-144; J. Martinov, *Annus ecclesiasticus graeco slavicus* (Brussels, 1863), p. 261.

[10] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. vii; H. Delehaye, *Le Synaxaire de Sirmond*, p. 415-17.

[11] Delehaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-15 and 422-31.

in the tenth century or to any events which took place in those years. The latest biographies are those of the empress Theophano, the wife of Leo VI, who died in 895, and of the patriarch Anthony, who died in 901.[12] Of the tenth century patriarchs of Constantinople the Sirmondianum mentions Polyeuctus the Younger (956-970) and Nicholas Chrysoberges (979-991),[13] to cite only those whose deaths occurred between September and March, since these are the months included in the surviving volume of Basil II's Menologium. There is, however, no actual biography of these patriarchs; their deaths are told in a few lines, and they may have been omitted from the Vatican manuscript because of this. If we go through the list of patriarchs who ruled before the tenth century, we see that those who are merely commemorated in the Sirmondianum are not included in the Menologium of Basil II, but whenever there is a biography it is to be found also in the Vatican manuscript. The same practice may be observed in the commemorations of earthquakes. There are five in the first semester of the Sirmondianum, besides the two already discussed; they occur on the following dates: September 25, October 7, December 14, January 9, January 26.[14] Only the first and the last are told in any detail and these may be found also in the Vaticanus,[15] while the others which are mentioned in a sentence have been omitted. The only exception is the commemoration of October 26, 740; although referred to briefly in the Sirmondianum it is told in a separate account in the Vatican Menologium.

The brevity of the notices of the Menologium of Basil II, never exceeding 16 lines, may be partly responsible for the omission of events of a later date recalled in other synaxaria. In the Sirmondianum, the "synaxis" of St. John the Baptist contains the story of the discovery of the saint's hand, in the days of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the biography of St. Gregory Nazianzen is followed by the account of the translation of the saint's body, which took place about the year 950 or later.[16] These events are not mentioned in the Vatican manuscript, but they are precisely the passages which would have been left out in the process of summarizing.[17]

[12] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 209B and 308D; *Il Menologio*, II, 249 and 393.
[13] Or shortly before 901; *Syn. Sirm.*, pp. 446, l. 26, and 314, l. 9.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 79, l. 18; 117, l. 1; 308, l. 29; 380, l. 19; 425, l. 1.
[15] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 72 A-B; 280 C-D.
[16] *Syn. Sirm.*, pp. 375, l. 11 and 421, l. 21.
[17] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 245B-C and 280B-C. The transfer of St. Gregory's body is told sometimes in a separate account; see *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 401, l. 54.

Neither the shortness of the notices, however, nor the fact that mere commemorations are not usually included in the Vatican manuscript, can fully explain the absence of tenth century saints whose biographies occur in other synaxaria, such as St. Donale, who lived in the days of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Romanus II, the monk Cosmas who lived during the reign of Romanus I, or St. Ignatius, abbot of the monastery of Bathyrrhyax under the emperors Nicephorus II and John Tzimisces.[18] Have they been neglected by the scribes of the Vatican manuscript in favor of other saints who were considered to be more important? Such may have been the case for St. Cosmas, whose name appears only in a fourteenth century synaxarium.[19] The biography of St. Ignatius may have been included in the Sirmondianum for local reasons,[20] but that of St. Donale occurs in several synaxaria one of which is closely allied to the Vatican Menologium.[21]

Should we, in view of the consistent absence of any text of a later date, consider the Vatican manuscript as a faithful copy, without any additions, of a synaxarium composed in the beginning of the tenth century and attach no special importance to the omission of the earthquake of 989? But if the text contains no allusion to events later than the year 901, the illustration offers at least one instance of an addition to the prototype, namely the representation of a stylite on page 238. This miniature, which is accompanied by neither text nor title, follows immediately after the biography of Daniel the Stylite, the last one of the saints commemorated on December 11; it must be therefore the portrait of a saint whose feast falls on December 11 or 12. Other synaxaria mention St. Luke the Stylite on December 11 and we shall see that the composition itself, with the column raised on a small island, supports this identification.[22]

[18] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 320, l. 12; 108, l. 49; 84, l. 1.

[19] *Paris, gr. 1582*; see *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 108, l. 49 and p. xxxviii.

[20] He was the fourth abbot of the monastery of Bathyrrhyax; see *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 84-86. His biography appears in a few other synaxaria: Sa, F, Fa, M and in the Menaea.

[21] *Paris, gr. 1589*; see *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 321, l. 36 and p. xxiv-xxv.

[22] The editors of the Menologium think that the saint represented here is not Luke but Daniel the Stylite and ascribe the repetition to some error on the part of the artist (*Il Menologio*, I, 64 and note 8). In support of this identification they mention the sea around the column, the church on the right of the miniature, and the scroll of parchment held by the stylite which, according to them, brings to one's mind the written blessing left by Daniel

The life of St. Luke the Stylite is known from notices in the Sirmondianum, *Paris, gr. 1589*, and other synaxaria, and still better through the long biography published for the first time by A. Vogt.[23] According to these accounts St. Luke spent the last forty years of his life on a column raised in the quarter of Eutropius, near a seaport, built with large stones. This quarter, also mentioned in other sources, is on the Asiatic coast opposite to Constantinople, and the port has been identified as the one built by Justinian on the peninsula of Hieria. The quarter of Eutropius was therefore on the sea of Marmara between Chalcedon, the present Kadi-Keuï, and Phanaraki, on the site of Calamysh.[24] Leo the Deacon writes that at the time of the earthquake which happened during the reign of Basil II, the column of Eutropius was overthrown by the waves and the stylite who lived on it was drowned.[25] There is further indication in the life of St. Luke that the column was very close to the sea. We read, for instance, that the fishermen stretched their nets near it,[26] and there is a very significant sentence in the description of the type of life led by St. Luke. "The saint" says the writer, "lived in the midst of a tumultuous sea, in the open, without a roof, indifferent to the assaults of the winds and of the waves."[27] There is no reason

to his disciples. The column of Daniel was raised in the locality named Anaplous, near the well-known oratory dedicated to the archangel Michael (Delehaye, "Les saints stylites," *Subsidia Hagiographica*, XIV [Brussels, 1923], xlvi-xlvii). But if we explain the presence of a second miniature of Daniel the stylite by some mistake committed by the artist, we should have to assume that he had two different models before his eyes, for the facial type of the saint and his headdress are different in the two portraits. Besides, the details which would identify the second portrait as being that of Daniel are not present in the first composition which accompanies his biographical notice. We shall see that the sea, the most important feature, can also be explained by the life of St. Luke and it is his portrait which should be recognized in this miniature.

[23] A. Vogt, "Vie de S. Luc le Stylite," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVIII, (1909), 1-56. See also N. Festa, "Note critiche alla vita di S. Luca Stilita," *Bessarione*, ser. III, VIII, 136-139. S. Vanderstuyf, "Etude sur St. Luc le Stylite," *Echos d'Orient*, XII, 138-44, 215-221, 271-81; XIII, 13-19, 140-48, 224-32. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, pp. lxxxvi-cv and 195-237. The only manuscript containing this biography is an eleventh century menologium for the first half of December, *Paris. gr. 1458*.

[24] S. Vanderstuyf, *op. cit.*, XII, 278; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

[25] Migne, *P. G.* CXVII, 921A.

[26] Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 30, l. 1; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 212, l. 7.

[27] Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 15, l. 23-25; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 198, l. 27-29.

to doubt therefore that this stylite, whose portrait follows the representations of the saints of December 11, and whose column is surrounded by water on all sides, is actually St. Luke, who died on December 11 and who is commemorated on this day in other synaxaria.[28] The building on the right, connected with the island by means of a wooden plank, is probably the neighboring monastery of Eutropius.

St. Luke died during the reign of Basil II, and the chronological data included in his biography has made it possible to establish the exact year. The *terminus ante quem* is furnished by Leo the Deacon's words recalling the destruction of the column of Eutropius and the drowning of the stylite. The latter cannot have been St. Luke, who died peacefully on his column; it must be some other stylite who had taken the place of St. Luke. Consequently St. Luke must have died before the earthquake of 989. We are told that he died on a Thursday, on December 11, and the years immediately preceding 989 on which the 11th of December falls on a Thursday are 984 and 979. Vanderstuyf and Delehaye[29] have rejected, with ample reason, the date suggested previously by Vogt, that is, the year 1001, and they have shown that the year 979 is the only one which fits with the other chronological data included in the biography, such as the Bulgarian wars in which the saint took part when he was a youth of eighteen, or the visits of the patriarch Theophylact to St. Luke when he was on his column in the quarter of Eutropius. In their discussion, the two authors follow the date of the earthquake given by Cedrenus and Scylitzes, that is, the 15th indiction and the year 6494, which corresponds to 986 A. D. But it has been shown already, by evidence derived from other sources, that this is incorrect. Two Arab historians of Syrian origin, Elmacin and especially the earlier writer Yahya, whose information on Basil's affairs is always very accurate, say that the earthquake occurred during the 14th year of the reign of Basil II, in the year 379 of the Hegira.[30] This year begins in April 989, and ends in March 990. The Armenian historian Asolik also gives the year 989.[31] To these sources we may add the infor-

[28] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 301, l. 12 and p. 299-304, manuscripts mentioned in footnotes: Sa, Sb, Da, Db, F, Fa, Ba, Bb, C, Cc, Cd, M, Mb; *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), December, p. 81.

[29] Vanderstuyf, *op. cit.*, XII, 215-221; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, pp. xcvii-xcviii.

[30] "Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Sa'īd d'Antioche," ed. and transl. by I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis*, XXIII (1932), 428-9. See also Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 35, note 1 and p. 36, note 2.

[31] *Histoire Universelle par Asolik de Taron (2e partie). Traduite de l'Arménien et annotée par F. Macler* (Paris, 1917), p. 132-3.

mation furnished by Leo the Deacon, the only Byzantine historian who was a contemporary of these events. It is true that he does not mention the year of the earthquake but the account follows immediately that of the death of Bardas Phocas at the battle of Abydos, in 989.[32] Finally we may recall that the Synaxarium Sirmondianum gives the year 6498, which corresponds to the year beginning September 989, and ending August 990; thus October 6498, would be 989 A. D.[33]

This correction of the date of the earthquake has no effect on the date of St. Luke's death or on that of the biography. We agree with Vanderstuyf and Père Delehaye that the biography must have been written before the destruction of the column, but we should say between 979 and 989, instead of 986. We also agree with them that a date closer to 979 seems more likely, for the writer would probably have mentioned St. Luke's successor were he already on the column of Eutropius, especially if the biography was originally composed as a panegyric pronounced near the column, perhaps at the neighboring monastery of Eutropius.[34]

The date of St. Luke's death, the year 979, constitutes a sure *terminus post quem* for the copy of the Vatican Menologium. We may even set a date a little after 979, for at least a few years must have elapsed before the biography could have been written and come to be known by our miniaturist. There may be some doubt about the year 989 as a *terminus ante quem.* We have seen that different explanations may be offered for the absence of any reference to this earthquake even though the closing sentence of the earthquake of 740 would give us reason to suppose that the second earthquake had not yet occurred. We must carry our investigation further and see if we can find corroborative evidence from other sources.

Particulars of the life of Basil II in no way contradict the dating of the Vatican manuscript sometime between 979 and 989; in fact, a later date seems less likely. In 990 Basil went on a brief tour in the themes of Thrace and Macedonia, and soon after this, in 991, he conducted in person the expedition against the Bulgarians. He apparently remained at the head of his armies from 991 to 995, and he seems to have been so engrossed with military affairs that, according

[32] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 908-921.
[33] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 166, l. 38.
[34] Vanderstuyf, *op. cit.*, p. 278-81.

to Yahya, he did not have time to appoint a new patriarch until 996, leaving the seat empty during a period of four years after the death of Nicholas Chrysoberges.[35] In the winter of 994-995 Basil had to depart suddenly from Bulgaria in order to rush to the help of the emir of Aleppo, his vassal, whose city was besieged by the Egyptian armies. In April 995 he had already reached Antioch; he visited Damascus the following month and he must have returned to Constantinople by the spring of 996 since Sisinnius was appointed patriarch in April, 996.[36] He seems to have stayed in the capital for some time after this, delegating the magister Nicephorus Uranus to lead the armies against the Bulgarians. Early in 999 he went to Syria and he remained in the East until the end of the year 1000 when he led once again the imperial armies in Bulgaria.[37]

Basil may have ordered the copy of the Menologium some time between 996 and 999, when he was in Constantinople, but the period preceding 990 seems to offer a more favourable moment for such a work. During his early youth Basil had led a gay and irresponsible life but a sudden change took place in his character, a transformation mentioned by all historians, particularly by Psellus, who writes: "Most of our contemporaries who saw the emperor Basil regarded him as a tart man, abrupt and rough in character, prone to anger and obstinate, abstemious in his mode of life, and abhorring all delicate living. But, as I heard from historians of his time, he was not such at first, but having been dissolute and luxurious in his youth, he changed and became serious, for circumstances acted on his nature like an astringent; the loose strings were stretched and the gaps closed in. At first he was wont to indulge openly in wild revels, he used to engage in amours, he loved conviviality; but after the two revolts of Skleros and the revolt of Phokas and other insurrections, he left the shores of luxury with full sail, and devoted himself to the serious things of life." [38]

The first manifestation of this change was the deposition and

[35] Yahya, *op. cit.*, p. 444; Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 116-17.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 442 and 444.

[37] For the history of Basil see Schlumberger, *op. cit.*; S. Runciman, *A History of the first Bulgarian Empire* (London, 1930); N. Adontz, "Samuel l'Arménien, roi des Bulgares," *Mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale de Belgique* (*Classe des Lettres*), vol. XXXIX.

[38] This translation is taken from J. B. Bury, "Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos," *The English Historical Review*, IV (1889), 48.

banishment of the eunuch Basil who, for many years, had had full charge of the military and civil affairs of the state. The Byzantine historians do not agree on the date of this deposition. Psellus places it after the death of Phocas in 989, Cedrenus after the suppression of the first rebellion of Phocas, Zonaras leaves undetermined at what time the change in Basil's character took place. In his important study of the reign of Basil II, Schlumberger, following Yahya, accepts the date 985 as that of the deposition of the eunuch.[39] Basil remained in Constantinople until July 986, when the renewed attacks of Tsar Samuel forced him to head an expedition against the Bulgarians. This campaign, the first one directed by the young emperor, ended abruptly with the defeat of the Byzantine armies at the Porta Trajana, and Basil returned to his capital in the autumn of the same year. The years 987 to 989 were extremely grave ones; they began with the second revolt of Bardas Sclerus and continued with the more serious threat of another rebel, Bardas Phocas, whose armies held the field until their leader was killed at the battle of Abydos. These years of struggle and insecurity are a less favourable time than the short period of peace which preceded the Bulgarian campaign. Might it not be supposed that in 985, in order to show that he had "left the shores of luxury with full sail," Basil ordered this handsome volume of the lives of saints, a fitting memorial of his new devotion "to the serious things of life."[40]

It is rather significant that in the dedicatory verses written at the beginning of the Menologium there is no specific mention of any victories. The words κράτιστος ἀμφοῖν, καὶ τροπαίοις καὶ λόγοις[41] are the kind of vague compliment which might be addressed to a young ruler who had not had time to prove his valor in any definite action. Had this preface been written close to the year 1000, it would surely have contained some words recalling the crushing of the rebellions which had threatened the security of the throne, or the campaign of the

[39] Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, I, 573; Yahya, *op. cit.*, p. 417. This date is also accepted by Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[40] Even though there is a definite difference between tenth-century figure style in general and that of the eleventh century, the change is gradual and varies from one manuscript to another, some continuing the early style longer than others. In the present state of our knowledge, we can scarcely date a manuscript by its figure style more closely than within a quarter of a century. Consequently, from the point of view of the style of the miniatures, there would be no objection to dating the Menologium ca. 985 rather than ca. 1000.

[41] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 20C; *Syn. Sirm.*, p. xxv.

emperor against the Bulgarians or even his expedition to Syria and Asia Minor. In fact if we look more closely at the words just quoted we realize that the writer must have had very little to go upon to make flattering remarks. Psellus tells us that Basil, who despised all learned men, spoke more like a peasant than like a man with a good education;[24] he was, above all, a military leader and it is doubtful if the writer would have given equal praise for his trophies and for his words, had this preface been written at a time when Basil had already given proofs of his military valor.

This versified preface brings up a problem of another order. In the index attached to a twelfth century synaxarium of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Paris. gr. 1589*—an index which does not correspond exactly to the manuscript itself—Père Delehaye found the same dedication as in the Vatican Menologium.[43] The difficulty is that the later copy of Paris has a better reading in one passage. Instead of:

Σοφῶν, προφητῶν, ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων,
Τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πᾶσαν εὐφραίνει φρένα,

we find:

Σοφῶν, προφητῶν, μαρτύρων, ἀποστόλων,
Πάντων δικαίων, ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων,
Τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πᾶσαν εὐφραίνει φρένα.[44]

It looks as if in the Vatican manuscript, by dropping out the words from *μαρτύρων* to *δικαίων*, two lines had been reduced to one, a fact difficult to explain if the Vaticanus is the original work written for Basil II. Père Delehaye suggested that the Vatican manuscript may be a copy of the actual synaxarium of Basil II, and that the exact wording of the dedication, perhaps even the composition of the text itself, may be better preserved in the Paris copy.[45] But this first synaxarium written for Basil II must also have been illustrated, since the preface says: *Ἀλλ' οὗσπερ εἰκόνισεν ἐκ τῶν χρωμάτων.*[46] One cannot see why two illustrated copies should have been made for the same emperor. There is no doubt that the Basil mentioned in the preface is the Bulgaroktonos and not Basil I. There is no doubt either that

[42] Michel Psellos, *Chronographie*, ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1926), I, 18, 19, 23.

[43] H. Delehaye, *Le synaxaire de Sirmond*, pp. 406-407; *Syn. Sirm.*, pp. xxiv-xxvi.

[44] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 20D; *Syn. Sirm.*, p. xxvi.

[45] H. Delehaye, *Le synaxaire de Sirmond*, p. 406-407.

[46] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 20D; *Syn. Sirm.*, p. xxvi.

the Vatican manuscript was executed during the reign of Basil II. This is proved by the close stylistic connection between its miniatures and those of the Venice Psalter containing his portrait, *Marc. gr. 17.*

Stylistic reasons have led art historians to place this Psalter in the latter part of Basil's reign, just as similar considerations had made them date the Menologium in the earlier years.[47] The correctness of this dating may again be shown by evidence of another nature. In the portrait of Basil painted on the initial page of the Psalter, all the details tend to emphasize the military and triumphal character of the composition: the armour worn by the emperor; the lance handed to him by one of the angels; the six warrior saints painted in medallions on either side. The men kneeling at Basil's feet were thought to be Byzantine dignitaries, but we know from other examples, such as a manuscript written for Nicephorus Botaneiates, that the officers of the court were usually represented standing proudly on either side of the emperor.[48] The Bulgarian scholar Ivanov was the first to call attention to the Bulgarian costume worn by the men prostrate before Basil;[49] their attitude is that of the "proskynesis" forced upon the captives by the ritual still in use at the time of the Macedonian rulers. As Grabar has shown,[50] we have here a triumphal scene and the composition may be considered as a commemorative image of the triumph celebrated by Basil II, when the long war against the Bulgarians was brought to a successful close and the victories of the emperor won for him the doubtful honor of being known as Bulgaroktonos. The physical appearance of the basileus confirms this date of ca. 1019; Basil was then in his early sixties and the miniaturist has represented him with a white beard, as a man well on in years.

Thus the two manuscripts of Basil II happen to fall at the beginning and at the close of his long military career: the Menologium probably begun before the campaigns against the Bulgarians were resumed in 986, the Psalter copied to crown their end in 1019.

[47] K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), p. 30; see bibliography on p. 29, note 166.

[48] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929), pl. LXIII.

[49] J. Ivauov, "Le costume des anciens Bulgares," *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves* (Paris, 1930), I, 328; see reproduction, pl. XLVII.

[50] A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), pp. 55, 60, and 86-87.

I should like to add, as an appendix, a few remarks on seventeen miniatures of the Vatican Menologium which are not accompanied by a text. Two do not even have a title; we have already identified the first, the portrait of St. Luke the Stylite; the second follows the biographies of December 31 and represents a man in classical costume and bare feet, the right hand raised and holding a parchment scroll in the left hand.[51] Judging from the costume and the attitude, this saint must be a prophet or possibly an apostle. None of the saints mentioned in the Sirmondianum for December 31 and January 1 can be recognized in this portrait; the only two who are not already included in the Vatican manuscript are St. Melania and St. Zoticus. However, in four synaxaria: *Cod. Messanensis 103*; *Codices Ambros. B 104 Sup.* and *D 74 Sup.*; *Cod. Cryptoferratensis B. γ. IV*, the prophet Obadiah is commemorated on December 31.[52] The editors of the Vatican Menologium suggest Obadiah and Timon, one of the seventy disciples, as possible attributions and decide in favor of Timon, whose portrait already appears on December 30.[53] But only in a fifteenth century manuscript, *Codex Basileensis A. III. 16*, is Timon mentioned on December 31[54] so that the identification as Obadiah seems more probable. The fact that Obadiah is already commemorated on November 19 in the Vatican Menologium might present some difficulty in accepting this attribution, were there no other examples of repetition in this manuscript.

The miniatures which have a title but no text are the following: Jan. 1, Theopemptus and Theodota (p. 289, beheading); Jan. 9, Theoctistus (p. 303, portrait); Jan. 12, Athanasius the Confessor (p. 313, flagellation); Jan. 14, Athanasius (p. 320, portrait); Feb. 4, Claudius (p. 370, in prayer); Feb. 6, Faustus (p. 377, portrait); Feb. 7, Aprion of Cyprus (p. 381, portrait); Feb. 8, Philadelphus

[51] *Il Menologio*, II, 286.

[52] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 360, l. 57-58. The only prophets whose portraits do not appear in the Vaticanus are Amos, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Isaiah, all of whom are commemorated in the summer months, on June 15, July 20, May 1 and 9 respectively.

[53] *Il Menologio*, I, 78 and note 4.

[54] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 361, l. 37. There is a brief notice in *Paris. Coislin 223* on June 26 and a mention on July 28 (*ibid.*, p. 774, l. 23; p. 853, l. 50). The Vatican Menologium gives his biography on December 30 and his name appears also on this day in the index attached to *Paris. gr. 1589* (*ibid.*, p. 357, l. 57). The Sirmondianum mentions him only in the "synaxis" of the apostles on June 30 (*ibid.*, p. 784, l. 23).

(p. 386, portrait); Feb. 11, Invention of the relics of the prophet Zacharias (p. 391); Feb. 13, John, bishop of Polybotum (p. 398, portrait); Feb. 14, Philemon, bishop of Gaza (p. 400, burning); Feb. 15, Paphnutius and Euphrosyna (p. 402, portraits); Feb. 20, Sophronius (p. 415, portrait); Feb. 22, Athanasius the Confessor (p. 418, in prayer); Feb. 26, Stephen, founder of the old men's home at Harmatius (p. 425, in prayer).

Only a few of these saints are fairly well known and we shall consider them first. Athanasius the Confessor, whose name appears on January 12 and February 22, was the abbot of the monastery of Paulopetrion, on the north shore of the gulf of Nicomedia, dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul.[55] He was persecuted by Leo the Iconoclast and exiled some time after 816. He was still in prison in 820 and he died in 826, probably on February 22, since the Sirmondianum and other synaxaria give his biography on this day.[56] In the miniature of the Vatican manuscript painted for February 22, the saint is shown in prayer, one of the customary iconographical types used for those who died a natural death. None of the synaxaria mention Athanasius on January 12, when the Vaticanus has a flagellation scene and the title: *Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ.* The notices of February 22 in the Sirmondianum and in the Venice edition of the Menaea allude to various tortures, without further specification, but in the letters of Theodore the Studite we read of two flagellations to which Athanasius was subjected.[57] It is probably one of these which is represented in our miniature.

On January 13 the Menaea mention a St. Athanasius martyred by flagellation: *Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς Ἀθανάσιος ῥαβδιζόμενος τελειοῦται.*

Στίχ. *Ῥάβδοις Ἀθανάσιε σαυτὸν ἐκδίδως*
Σπεύδων θανεῖν μὲν, ζῆν δὲ πολλῷ κρειττόνως

These lines are quoted in the Acta Sanctorum, and the editors explain that none of the saints named Athanasius known from other sources can be identified with the one mentioned in the Menaea, since none

[55] J. Pargoire, "Saints iconophiles," *Échos d'Orient*, IV (1901), 355-6.

[56] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 483, l. 22 and, in footnotes, manuscripts Sa, H, P, Fa, C, Cd, M; *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), February, p. 112; *Acta Sanctorum*, February III, 302; Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Pargoire, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

[57] J. Pargoire, *op. cit.*, p. 355; Maï and G. Cozza, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VIII, 131.

of them died in this manner.[58] On the basis of the Vatican miniature for January 12, where the saint who is being beaten is identified by the title as Athanasius the Confessor, it may be suggested that the Athanasius commemorated on January 13 in the Menaea is probably Athanasius the Confessor, but that through some confusion the scribe believed that he died through flagellation. The fourteenth century synaxarium of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Paris. gr. 1582*, might help us to solve the problem, could we but have access to it now, for an Athanasius who died through flagellation is mentioned on January 13: *Ἀθανάσιος ῥαβδιζόμενος τελειοῦται.*[59]

Besides the two miniatures devoted to Athanasius the Confessor in the Vatican manuscript, there is a third on January 14 giving the portrait of a monk by the name of Athanasius: *Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου.* In no other collection is a saint Athanasius commemorated on this day and the title of the Vaticanus is too vague to allow identification. Père Delehaye suggests that he may be Athanasius the Confessor;[60] the miniaturist probably thought he was some other saint, for the facial type is different from that of the portraits for January 12 and February 22.

The representations of St. Paphnutius and St. Euphrosyna furnish an example of repetition similar to that of St. Athanasius; that is, two miniatures for different dates, one showing the torture to which they were subjected, another giving their portraits. The biographies of St. Paphnutius and St. Euphrosyna appear on September 25 in the Sirmondianum as they do in the Vatican manuscript, but the former has also a brief commemoration on February 15.[61] If the text of the Vatican Menologium were based on a similar model we should expect to find exactly what we see in the illustration: martyrdom scenes on September 25, and the portraits of the saints on February 15, where only their names are mentioned.[62]

[58] *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), January, p. 115; *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. II, 50.

[59] My only information is based on the footnote in Delehaye's publication (*Syn. Sirm.*, p. 390, l. 47) and there is no indication as to whether the manuscript contains a notice or has merely this title.

[60] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 979-80, notes to January 12, p. 386, l. 53 and January 13, p. 390, l. 47.

[61] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 77, l. 16; p. 78, l. 23; p. 468, l. 24; Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 71C. In a Georgian manuscript of the Bodleian the biography of St. Paphnutius and St. Euphrosyna appears on February 15; see P. Peeters, "De Codice hiberico bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXI (1912), 316.

[62] *Il Menologio*, II, 66, 67 and 402.

John, bishop of Polybotum in Phrygia, is commemorated on February 13 only in the Menologium of Basil II. In all other synaxaria as well as in the Menaea his biography is given on December 4 and we have no explanation to offer for this difference in date.[63]

There is no biography in the Sirmondianum for any of the remaining saints, but most of them are mentioned. Some of the other synaxaria may have biographical notices though this does not seem likely, since in several instances, when the Sirmondianum has a brief mention and another manuscript contains an account, the latter is given in the footnotes of Delehaye's publication. Our information concerning these saints is thus very meager; occasionally the Menaea furnish a few indications and once in a while we find references in other sources.

The martyrdom of Philemon bishop of Gaza who, judging from the miniature was burnt to death, is mentioned on February 14 both in the Vatican manuscript and in the Sirmondianum.[64] The title in the former is: Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλήμονος ἐπισκόπου Γάζης; the latter adds the word ἱερομάρτυρος after ἁγίου. Another reference in the Sirmondianum helps to identify this saint. On June 30, in the "synaxis" of the apostles, we find the mention: Φιλήμων, ὃς ἐπίσκοπος Γάζης ἐγένετο;[65] he must be therefore the Philemon to whom St. Paul wrote a short epistle, asking him to forgive his servant Onesimus. In the life of St. Onesimus, commemorated on February 15, his master Philemon is referred to merely as a Roman citizen.[66] Nor is there any indication that Philemon was a bishop in the notice of November 23, telling of his martyrdom with Archippus and Appia, the two saints to whom St. Paul sends greetings in his epistle.[67] According to this brief biography and the accompanying miniature of the Vatican manuscript, Philemon was beaten to death, while in the representation for February 14 he is burnt.[68] The martyrdom of Philemon Archippus and Appia is recounted in the Sirmondianum, on February 20, but the type of

[63] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 279, l. 19 and in footnotes, manuscripts Sa, Sb, Da, Db, F, Fa, Ba, C, Ce; *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), December, p. 15; Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

[64] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 313B; *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 466, l. 39.

[65] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 787, l. 30.

[66] Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 313B; *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 465, l. 43; *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), February, p. 84.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 173C; *ibid.*, p. 247, l. 13.

[68] *Il Menologio*, II, 200 and 400.

torture is not specified here: ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Φιλήμων καὶ Ἀπφία διαφόρως βασανισθέντες τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσαντο.[69] Finally, on July 6, Archippus and Philemon are commemorated in a few lines.[70]

The title of bishop of Gaza, which is given on February 14 and in the "synaxis" of the apostles, seems to appear for the first time in the writings of the pseudo-Dorotheus.[71] Theodoret merely says that Philemon came from Colossi and that his house was still standing at the time.[72] I have found no text explaining why the Vatican painter has represented him being burnt to death in the miniature of February 14.

Theopemptus and Theodota, whose martyrdom by beheading is represented on January 1, are mentioned together on January 2 in a fourteenth century synaxarium, *Paris, gr. 1582*, and in the Menaea. According to these later sources, Theodota was the mother of Cosmas and Damian, and Theopemptus and Theodota died a natural death.[73] Can our Theopemptus be identified with the bishop of Nicomedia who was martyred with Theonas on January 4? Neither Martinov nor the editors of the Acta Sanctorum seem to think so, yet some such idea must have occurred to the painters of the Vatican manuscript for in both miniatures Theopemptus is beheaded and the two figures are almost identical.[74]

A martyr Theopemptus is commemorated on February 7 in the Sirmondianum and in the Menaea.[75] Although we have only the sentence καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Θεοπέμπτου καὶ τῆς συνοδίας αὐτοῦ, we can be sure that he is the bishop of Nicomedia and that the companions referred to are the thousand and three martyrs of this city usually commemorated on February 7.[76] In the accounts of the synaxaria

[69] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 477, l. 11.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 803, l. 4.

[71] "Abû-l-Barakâts 'griechisches' Verzeichnis der 70 Jünger," ed. A. Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus*, II (1902), 331; F. Haase, *Altchristliche Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 55; H. Delehaye, "Les Origines du culte des martyrs," 2nd edition, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, XX (Brussels, 1933), 187-8.

[72] Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[73] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 365, l. 55; *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), January, p. 17; *Acta Sanctorum*, January I, 81.

[74] Martinov, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 29; *Acta Sanctorum*, January I, pp. 127 and 723-725. *Il Menologio*, II, 289 and 295.

[75] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 450, l. 23 and in the synaxaria Sa, H, P, R, M. *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), February, p. 38; *Acta Sanctorum*, February II, 17.

[76] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 447-50, manuscripts in footnotes H, P, F, Fa, B, Bd, C,

which I have been able to consult Theopemptus is not mentioned with these saints, but his name appears in the Moscow Menologium no. 376 (183), known as the Imperial Menologium, and in a Paris manuscript belonging to the same group.[77] He is also connected with the thousand and three martyrs in a hymn contained in a manuscript of Patmos.[78] In the Imperial Menologium the biography of the thousand and three martyrs of Nicomedia begins with a reference to the death of Theopemptus, Theonas, four *protectores* and some women, probably the wives of the *protectores*.[79] These *protectores* are commemorated on January 20 in the synaxaria and Theopemptus is mentioned in these accounts but no reference is made to any woman.[80] As may be seen none of these texts furnish us with sufficient evidence that the Theopemptus who in the Vaticanus suffers martyrdom with Theodota is the bishop of Nicomedia. Nor do the accounts of the various martyrs by the name of Theodota give us any help in this matter.

The miniature of January 9 is accompanied by the title: Μνήμη Θεοκτίστου ἱερομάρτυρος, καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ, but in spite of the fact that Theoctistus is called a martyr we see the portrait of a bishop holding a book, one of the iconographic types used when there has been no martyrdom. Two synaxaria connected with South Italy commemorate him on this day; the title of *Cod. Messanensis 103* reads: τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοκτίστου ἐπισκόπου· τινὲς δὲ αὐτόν φασιν καὶ ὁμολογητὴν εἶναι,[81] and this explains the bishop's robes given to Theoctistus in the Vatican miniature. In the Sirmondianum and several other synaxaria this saint is commemorated on January 4, the titles give us no further information but it may be observed that the Vatican manuscript is the only one to

Cd, M; in the Sirmondianum and a few other synaxaria (Sa, Cb, M), they are commemorated on February 12: *ibid.*, p. 459, l. 10 and footnotes; Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 64; *Menaea* (Venice, 1892), February, p. 38.

[77] B. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini saec. X quae supersunt* (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 19-20; *Acta Sanctorum*, February II, 18-19; *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 989 note for February 12, p. 459, l. 10. For the Imperial Menologium see A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homelitischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche. III. Band, 3. Lieferung* (Leipzig, 1940), p. 341-442.

[78] K. Krumbacher, "Die Akrostichis in der griechischen Kirchenpoesie," *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse der K. Bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, 1903), p. 609, no. 172.

[79] Latyšev, *op. cit.*, p. 18; *Acta Sanctorum*, February II, 19.

[80] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 405, l. 34; Migne, *P. G.*, CXVII, 269B-C.

[81] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 381, l. 50. The other manuscript is *Cod. Ambros. D 74*; for their connection with South Italy or Sicily see *ibid.*, pp. lvii-lx.

designate him as a martyr.[82] Theoctistus the Confessor should not be confused with Theoctistus abbot of the monastery of Caccamo in Sicily, also commemorated on this day. The South Italian manuscripts referred to above are the only ones to give different dates to these two saints who bear the same name. In the Sirmondianum and *Paris. gr. 1594* they are both commemorated on January 4: Καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοκτίστου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ, καὶ Θεοκτίστου ἡγουμένου τοῦ Κουκουμίου; while in the other synaxaria sometimes one sometimes the other of these saints is mentioned.[83] A third saint by the name of Theoctistus is commemorated on this day in the Sirmondianum and some other synaxaria; he is the companion of St. Euthymius the Great and his feast is also celebrated on September 3.[84]

St. Stephen, founder of the old men's home at Harmatius, commemorated on February 26 in most synaxaria,[85] is known from historical sources. He was the parakoimomenos of the emperor Maurice and, according to Codinus, he built in addition to the old men's home, a bath and cisterns, and he transformed his house into a church.[86]

There is very little information available on St. Claudius, mentioned sometimes on February 4, sometimes on February 3 or 2. In some Menaea he has the title of confessor and in the Naples Calendar he is called a monk.[87] I have not been able to identify the bishop Sophronius whose portrait is given on February 20 and who is mentioned in several synaxaria on February 19.[88] The name of

[82] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 367, l. 29 and, in footnotes, manuscripts Sa, Da, F, Fa, Ba.

[83] *Syn. Sirm.*, pp. 369, l. 40; 381, l. 50 and 367, ll. 27 and 29. For the abbot of Caccamo see, in footnotes of p. 367, manuscripts Sa, P, C, Cc, Cd, Mr; and *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), January, p. 36; Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 29; *Acta Sanctorum*, January I, 180, February I, 471; N. Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae* (Oeniponte, 1896-97), I, 54.

[84] *Syn. Sirm.*, pp. 367, l. 25 and 9, l. 17; Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[85] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 492, l. 20 and, in footnotes, manuscripts Sa, H, Da, Db, F, Fa, Ba, C, Cb, Cd, R, K. The Sirmondianum adds to the title καὶ τοῦ Σάγματος. In *Paris. gr. 1582* he is commemorated on February 27 (*ibid.*, p. 493, l. 48). See also Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 80; *Acta Sanctorum*, February III, 687-8.

[86] Codinus, *De Aedificiis*, ed. Bonn, p. 93; F. W. Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[87] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 441, ll. 52, 54, 57 and p. 986, note to February 3, p. 441, l. 54; *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), February, p. 20; *Acta Sanctorum*, February I, 358; Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 61; H. Achelis, *Der Marmorkalender in Neapel* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 6.

[88] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 476, l. 10 and, in footnotes, manuscripts H, P, C, Cd, Mb. I have been able to find only two bishops by the name of Sophronius in the synaxaria, namely Sophronius of Damascus, patriarch of Jerusalem, on

Aprion, bishop of Cyprus, appears only in the Sirmondianum and there is no information concerning him in the works devoted to the church of Cyprus.[89] Philadelphus is commemorated in the Sirmondianum and other synaxaria, together with Polycarpus.[90] Although he is referred to as a martyr, the miniaturist of the Vatican manuscript has painted the portrait of a young saint in the attitude of the orans, wearing a richly embroidered chlamys. The title for St. Faustus reads: Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου Φαύστου ἐπισκόπου. On this same day, February 6, there is the following commemoration in the Sirmondianum: Ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Φαύστου καὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς Δαρείου, but since this Faustus is a martyr and does not bear the title of a bishop, it seems hardly likely that he can be the same person.[91] All the other saints by the name of Faustus mentioned in the Sirmondianum are also martyrs and none of them has a bishop's title. If the patriarch Photius, who is also commemorated on February 6, were not such a well known figure one might be tempted to think that the scribe of the Vaticanus has made an error in his copy and written Φαύστου instead of Φωτίου.

The invention of the relics of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, is recalled in the Vatican manuscript and the Sirmondianum on February 11.[92] According to the Paschal Chronicle the relics were transferred to Constantinople, by way of Chalcedon, on September 6, 415.[93] Nicholas Thingeyrensis, writing about 1151, says that

March 11 (*Acta SS.*, March II, 67-71; Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 88) and Sophronius bishop of Cyprus on December 8 or 9 (U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age* [Paris, 1905], p. 4304; *Acta SS.*, February II, 271; Martinov, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-3).

[89] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 450, l. 21. Not mentioned in Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle,'* ed. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932), nor in L. de Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 3 vol. (Paris, 1852-1861). His name is given by H. Delehaye, "Saints de Chypre," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVI (1907), 259, but the only reference is to the Synaxarium Sirmondianum. Martinov also refers only to the Sirmondianum, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[90] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 453, l. 3 and, in footnotes, manuscripts Sa, H, P, F, Fa, C, Cd, R, Mb.

[91] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 448, l. 15. See also Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[92] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 458, l. 24 and, in footnotes, manuscripts Sa, H, P, F, Fa, C, Cd. The title in *Cod. Hieros. S. Crucis 40* (*H*) reads: τῆς εὑρέσεως τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ζαχαρίου. (*Ibid.*, p. 457, l. 40); *Menaea* (Venice, 1852), February, p. 68; Martinov, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[93] *Acta Sanctorum*, January I, 478; November III, 23; *Syn. Sirm.*, p. 989, note to February 11, p. 458, l. 25.

they are to be seen in the church of Hagia Sophia; travellers who visited Constantinople during the last years of the twelfth century mention these relics among those which were kept in the chapel of the Bucoleon palace, while Codinus, writing in the fifteenth century, speaks of them as being in the church of St. James.[94] The miniature of the Vatican Menologium shows three priests gathered around a sarcophagus placed before a basilica; one of them holds a taper, the other a censer, the third is bending over as if he were about to lift the lid of the sarcophagus.[95] Comparison with similar compositions in this manuscript shows clearly that the artist had in mind an invention scene, as mentioned in the title, and not a translation of the relics.[96]

These miniatures raise a number of questions. Why did the scribes neglect to copy such biographies as those of St. Athanasius the Confessor or of St. John of Polybotum, which are to be found in most synaxaria? If some notices were omitted because no prototypes were easily available—as their absence from other collections seems to indicate—why were these saints selected in preference to others whose names occur commonly on these days? Our information concerning most of the saints is so scanty that the guiding factor in the choice cannot be discerned. But if the scribes failed to give the biographical notices, some definite information was available to the miniaturists. Granted that they could easily paint the portraits with the indications furnished by the titles, they could hardly have known what types of martyrdom to represent had they not been acquainted with the lives of those saints. They must have had a more detailed biography of St. Athanasius the Confessor than the one contained in the Sirmondianum, in order to represent the flagellation, an episode which is only known to us from the references contained in the letters of Theodore the Studite. The biography of St. Philemon which they followed must have differed from the account of his joint martyrdom with St. Archippus and St. Appia copied for November 23, otherwise

[94] *Ibid.*, November III, 24; B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), p. 99.

[95] *Il Menologio*, II, 218.

[96] In the translation of relics the sarcophagus is usually carried on the shoulders of two or more men; see, for instance, *Il Menologio*, II, 344, 353, 355. The general arrangement of our composition may best be compared with the burial of St. Philaretus on p. 218 or the miniature of p. 406 showing St. Marutha before the sarcophagus containing the relics of the Persian martyrs.

they would not have shown him being burnt in a furnace. The artist must have been acquainted with some text according to which Theopemptus and Theodota were beheaded instead of dying a natural death as the other synaxaria tell us. The title placed above the portrait of St. Stephen refers to him as the founder of the old men's home, but the building before which the saint stands seems to be a house combined with a church and we are reminded of the words of Codinus who wrote that Stephen had converted his house into a church.

In establishing the stemma of the synaxaria Père Delehaye placed the Menologium of Basil II, and a few manuscripts closely connected with it, in a separate group deriving from the common archetype independently from the Sirmondianum and the allied synaxaria.[97] These miniatures which have no text may give us an additional proof of this separate derivation, even though we can offer no satisfactory explanation for the absence of notices in those cases where the choice often differs from the Sirmondianum. We should like to insist once again on the fact that the Vatican manuscript does not contain any text which can be dated later than the beginning of the tenth century and we wonder whether this might not suggest that it lies closer to the lost archetype than has been admitted by Père Delehaye. If this were the case, we might have reason to suppose that the original synaxarium was composed during the reign of Leo the Wise, rather than at the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[98]

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[97] *Syn. Sirm.*, p. liii.
[98] *Ibid.*, pp. lv-lvi.

VAGRANT FOLIOS FROM FAMILY 2400 IN THE FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA

By HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY

Nearly a decade ago Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed and his colleagues published the great manuscript discovery of his lifetime, the now famous Rockefeller McCormick Codex of the Greek New Testament.[1] The late Ernst von Dobschütz assigned the "auszeichnende" number 2400 to this manuscript in his continuation of the Gregory list, thus indicating his anticipation of its importance.[2] Through facsimile publication, official listing, and subsequent cataloging the scholarly world became acquainted with the eponymous and most distinguished member of Family 2400.[3]

Its high points of characterization were realized to be: its *de luxe* character and literary inclusiveness;[4] the mixed and uneven quality of its text;[5] the coherent clearness and graceful singularity of its script; its profuse illustrations, strikingly vivacious in style, color, and iconography; the splendid but disparate silver-gilt covers; its imperial Byzantine connections and its adventurous history in post-Byzantine times. All these main aspects of *Codex 2400* are worthy of special scrutiny, not only for their inherent importance, but also because of their multiplied significance as the typical features of a very considerable family of Greek codices.

[1] E. J. Goodspeed, D. W. Riddle, and H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, 3 vols., Chicago, 1932. See also Harold R. Willoughby, "Codex 2400 and Its Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), 1-74.

[2] E. von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der NTlichen Handschriften," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXXII (1933), 194 f.

[3] Kenneth W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 187-93; Seymour De Ricci and William J. Wilson, *A Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935-40), I, 616.

[4] For the demonstration that *Codex 2400* originally included a Psalter with Odes and Canticles, as well as a New Testament, see Harold R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, III, *The Miniatures* (Chicago, 1932), 279-82, 333-36. See also *Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), 4; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LI (1932), 259-62.

[5] Donald W. Riddle, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, Vol. II, *The Text* (Chicago, 1932), 203-207. See also *Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), 16, 17.

The Rockefeller McCormick Testament was published with the clear cognizance that it was the iconographic and paleographic focus of a definite family group. Related codices from the family circle made invaluable contributions to the interpretation of the extant Rockefeller McCormick miniatures, to the analysis of its text, and also to the reconstruction of compositions now lost from the manuscript.[6] That relevant group of codices was not officially announced, however, until the publication of the next most important member of the circle, the Tetraevangelion of Karahissar.[7] By that time thirteen different manuscripts had already been recognized as belonging to the family, precursors and followers had been noted, and the character of the connections between the related manuscripts had been more specifically defined.[8]

The next enlargement of the family group came as a result of the Princeton-Chicago Expedition to Mount Athos in 1935-36.[9] Its objective was the photographic recording of all the illustrated Greek codices on the Holy Mountain, for publication in the joint Princeton Corpus of Septuagint Iconography and the Chicago Corpus of New Testament Iconography. That comprehensive record brought to light a full half dozen additional members for Family 2400; three Tetraevangelia, one Psalter, and two Orthodox New Testaments.[10]

Thus at the present time almost twenty miniatured manuscripts are known to belong to Family 2400; and there is every reasonable

[6] Willoughby, *Rockefeller McCormick*, III, 287-336; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LI (1932), 253-62; *Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), 63-68.

[7] E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, 2 vols., Chicago, 1936.

[8] The following manuscripts were listed at that time as belonging to the central family group: Athens, *Byzantine Museum, MS. 820*; Athos, *Laura B 26*; Berlin, *State Library, Oct. 13*; Chicago, *Rockefeller McCormick Coll., Codex 2400*; Florence, *Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. VI 36*; Jerusalem, *Greek Patriarchate, Taphou 47*; Leningrad, *State Library, Gr. 105*; London, *British Museum, Add. MS. 11836*; Oxford, *Christ Church, Wake 31*; Palermo, *National Museum, MS. 1*; Paris, *B. N., Coislin 200*; Paris, *B. N., Gr. 61*; Paris, *B. N., Suppl. Gr. 1335.*

See Colwell, *Karahissar*, I, 221 f.; Willoughby, *Karahissar*, II, 3 f.

[9] Dr. Kurt Weitzmann, of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton, headed this productive expedition.

[10] These Athonite additions to our family are catalogued under the following numbers: *Laura A 9, Laura A 32, Laura A 66, Laura B 24, Panteleimon 29, Vatopedi 939.*

expectation that when World War II is at last over, yet other relatives may be discovered. Comparing the family as it is constituted at present with other groupings of Byzantine manuscripts, one can say that it is the largest aggregate of related illustrated codices known in the New Testament-Psalter area. They are very closely interrelated in a variety of ways; they are of the finest paleographic and aesthetic quality; they are strategically located in a transitional period of manuscript-and-art history; and they are exceedingly productive of very puzzling problems.

Late in the Spring of last year Dr. Hanns Peter Swarzenski of the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton reported to me that there were two leaves from Family 2400 in the Lewis Manuscript Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia. One leaf, he said, was from the Epistle section of the New Testament and included a portrait of St. John the Divine; the other was from the Odes section, following the liturgical Psalter, and presented a portrait of the Prophet Moses. I recalled that *MS. 2400* itself had gaps in exactly these sections and lacked precisely these portraits.[11] Immediately I thrilled at the prospect of being able to locate missing leaves from the Rockefeller McCormick Codex itself!

At the earliest opportunity I went to the Free Library of Philadelphia and was graciously permitted to study the Lewis folios directly. The script was undoubtedly the same as the writing in *Codex 2400*. The text of the Epistles folio ran from II Peter 3: 15b—1 John 2: 9a, whereas the corresponding gap in the Rockefeller McCormick MS. extended from II Peter 3: 11b—I John 1: 9a. The difference was not much—but how very crucial! Moreover the enframement of the portrait of St. John, and its color palette, and its stylistic mannerisms did not respond to the characteristic features of the apostle portraits extant in *Codex 2400*.[12] Also the Lewis leaves had marginal book titles in Latin, which were quite absent from the Chicago MS. There were other differences too: size of folio, size of column of writing, number of lines in column, number of letters in line, etc. Why prolong the agony? There was no doubt about it. The Lewis folios, charming as they were, did *not* belong to the Rockefeller McCormick Codex.

[11] Willoughby, *Rockefeller McCormick*, III, 328 f., 333-36.

[12] See Plate I in this study. Compare *Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), Figs. 55-57.

Director Franklin Haines Price of the Philadelphia Library kindly provided me with photographs of the Lewis leaves. On my return to Chicago I turned these over to my esteemed colleague and collaborator, Professor Allen Paul Wikgren, with a complete list (to date) of the manuscript members of Family 2400, and the request that he work out, if possible, the location of the stray leaves in the family group. With surprising quickness and characteristic accuracy he accomplished the task. Within an hour he passed a memorandum slip to me on which was written "Palermo, National Museum, MS. 1, Sod. δ 202, Greg. 1815 and 2127. Identification certain!"

Once again, there was no doubt about it. The Lewis leaves presented phenomena corresponding exactly to the descriptive data recorded by Gregory and von Soden and Martini concerning the Palermo codex.[13] The size of the page was right and so was the number of lines in the column of writing. Moreover, Martini indicated gaps in the text of the Palermo manuscript which fitted exactly the amount of text written on the two Lewis leaves.[14] The script was identical with that published by Dean Colwell in Plate IV of his Karahissar volume. Furthermore, my own file for the Corpus of New Testament Iconography included a complete set of photographs of the miniatured folios bound in the Palermo codex at present. These displayed striking features identical to the Lewis leaves. There was the same neat writing with peculiar letter formation and individual patterning of initials. The frames of the author portraits were the same, and so were the stylizations of the miniatures. Even the book titles were recorded in Latin script in the margins! At every crucial point it was demonstrable that the Philadelphia leaves came from the Palermo codex.

This was a very important identification. By every significant test *Palermo MS. 1* must be rated as one of the most elegant books in Family 2400. In quality of calligraphy and refinement of decoration, in dignified stylization of portraiture and fluent expressiveness of

[13] Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig, 1902-1909), III, 1183 (No. 1815), 1194 (No. 2127); E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane* (Milan, 1893), 141-46; H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments* (Berlin, 1902-1910), Vol. I, Part I, p. 106 (δ 202). See also T. W. Allen, *Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries* (London, 1890), viii f.; Colwell and Willoughby, *Karahissar, passim*; N. P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1891), 60.

[14] Martini, *op. cit.*, 144, 146.

illustrations, the Palermo volume ranks with the very noblest of these imperial manuscripts. The general organization of its illuminations is what one typically finds in combined New Testaments and Psalters such as *Laura B 26, Laurenziana VI 36,* and *Suppl. Gr. 1335* in Paris. Included are architectural canon tables, full-page portraits of Evangelists, oblong book headpieces, medallioned Apostles on backgrounds of grained gold, and mingled portraits and scenes illustrating the Psalter-Odes section. Even today, with single leaves like the Lewis folios cut out from it, *Palermo MS. 1* still retains about three-fourths of the pictures that originally illustrated it.

Its historical associations, also, are as eminent as are to be found elsewhere in Family 2400. That is affirming a great deal. *Coislin 200* of Paris, a nucleus of the old Royal Library of France, was the gift of the Byzantine Emperor, Michael VIII Paleologus, to Saint Louis, King of France.[15] The connection of the Rockefeller McCormick Testament with the same Emperor Michael, and with the Voivode Alexander, has also been recorded.[16] *Leningrad 105,* the Karahissar Tetraevangelion, was evidently tangent to the history of the "Grand Comneni" of Trebizond.[17]

As to *Palermo MS. 1,* local tradition knows it as the "Queen Costanza Codex," and Martini identifies this queen as the wife of the Hohenstaufen emperor, Henry VI, who died suddenly in 1197.[18] She was followed in Sicilian history, however, by other capable queens named Costanza who are candidates for association with this splendid manuscript. There was Costanza of Aragon, the wife of the supercivilized Frederick II, who reigned in Sicily from 1208 to the very middle of that century. There was also another Costanza of Aragon, the redoubtable consort of King Peter (III of Aragon and I of Sicily), who achieved control in 1282, after the terrible Sicilian Vespers on Easter Monday of that year.[19] Dean Colwell has canvassed the attractive possibility that this last Costanza of Aragon was the one who loaned the reputation of her name to the Palermo manu-

[15] Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* (Paris, 1715), 250 f; J. B. Silvestre, *Universal Paleography* (London, 1849), I, 220-22; Henri Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1885), 226 f.

[16] Goodspeed, *Rockefeller McCormick,* I, 30-38. See also *Art Bulletin,* XV (1933), 17-20, 68-74.

[17] Colwell, *Karahissar,* I, 3-14.

[18] Martini, *op. cit.,* 142.

[19] Francis Marion Crawford, *The Rulers of the South: Sicily, Calabria, Malta* (New York, 1900), II, 278-333.

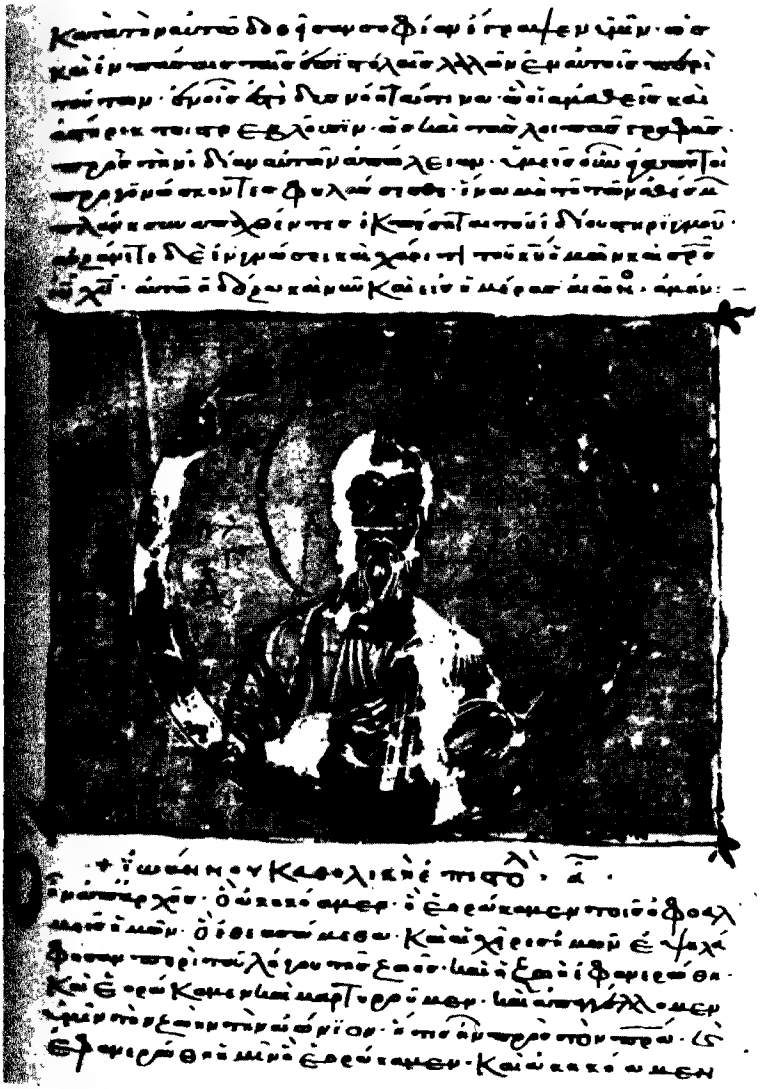

PLATE I.

1r, St. John the Divine.

Philadelphia Free Library.
Lewis Collection.

PLATE II.

2v, The Prophet Moses.

Philadelphia Free Library
Lewis Collection.

script.[20] Whichever Queen Costanza it was, her relics now repose in one of the superb porphyry sarcophagi in the Cathedral of Palermo, and her jewels are treasured in the sacristy. Because of such historical associations *Palermo MS 1* may truly be called a royal codex.

The two Lewis leaves in the Free Library of Philadelphia thus come from a manuscript of exceptional quality and fascinating interest. They belong to a large family which is already recognized to have crucial importance for workers in the fields of paleography, art history, and manuscript study. For these reasons it is a real privilege to publish a description of them, together with reproductions of the portraits they include.[21] Director Price informs me that this is the first publication or notice that these stray folios have received. The descriptive record is as follows:

Free Library of Philadelphia, John Frederick Lewis Collection, Philadelphia, Pa.

Unnumbered (Palermo, National Museum, MS. 1; Gregory, 1815 and 2127; von Soden, δ 202).

New Testament (EAKP), Psalms, and Odes, XIIIth cent. (von Soden, XIIth cent.; Gregory and Martini, XII-XIIIth cent.), 2 folios, parchment, 21.8 x 16.5, 1 column (15 x 10), 34 lines.

Fol. 1, II Peter 3:15 b—I John 2:9 a.

Inc. κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶ δοθεῖσαν σοφίαν. . . . .

Expl. ὁ λέγων ἐν τῶ φωτὶ εἶναι . . . .

Fol. 1[r] has a medallion portrait of St. John the Divine set in a rectangular frame at its near center.[22] The outside border is a narrow line of orange red, the background is grain gold, the medallion frame is patterned in light blue and gray, while the inscriptions and nimbus are orange red. The apostle's hands and face are tanned and ruddily highlighted, his hair and beard are gray, his chiton is green and marked with black clavi, the himation is cobalt blue, and the scroll in his left hand is light orange-red.

In the broad outer margin of fol. 1[r] opposite the title to I John, is the Latin inscription: *Epistola Sancti Ioannis Apostoli.* Greek initials and title are in gold.

Fol. 2, Exodus 15:1 b-19; Deuteronomy 32:1-6b.

Inc. Ἀισωμεν τῶ κῶ ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται . . .

Expl. οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πῆρ ἐκτήσατό σε . . . .

[20] Colwell, *op. cit.*, I, 3-5. [21] See Plates I and II. [22] Specifically Plate I.

Fol. 2r has a charming rinceau headband across the top of its column of writing, immediately above the title to the Ode of Moses in Exodus. In the upper right corner is the Latin inscription: *Ode Moyses in exodo.* At first *ad* was written before "Exodus." Then this was corrected to *in.*

On the verso of this folio a standing portrait of the Prophet Moses is painted between the ending of the Exodus Ode and the beginning of the Deuteronomy Ode.[23] Moses stands nimbate and almost in profile, with his left hand upraised toward a blue segment of heaven in the upper right corner of the painting. His beardless face has badly flaked, as has also his light-blue chiton. His himation is light green, darkened with violet red. The mountainous landscape and foliage back of him are also painted violet red, from very light to very dark. The frame, nimbus, and inscription are bright orange-red, and the sky is dull gold.

At the lower left corner of the portrait, in the wide outer margin, is the Latin inscription: *in Deuteronomio.* Vertical on the lower left edge of the page is the bilingual penciled inscription: *Greek manuscrite—XI cen.*

The combined English and French of this memorandum suggests that these folios were once in the hands of a French dealer, probably in Paris, who hoped to find an English-speaking purchaser for his treasures. Penciled notations on the back of the mounts of these folios record that they once belonged to Thomas F. Richardson of Boston. These memoranda are in the handwriting of John Frederick Lewis himself, who donated his valuable collection of manuscript leaves to the Free Library of Philadelphia. Just when these two Byzantine leaves were cut from their original binding in the Queen Costanza Codex of Palermo, we do not know. At least it was before E. Martini published his catalogue, for he recorded their loss.

Dean Colwell has identified the script of the Queen Costanza Codex as identical with that in *Codex 2400,* in *Laura B 26,* and in main sections of the Karahissar Tetraevangelion.[24] All these, be it observed, are primary members of Family 2400.[25]

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[23] Specifically Plate II.

[24] Colwell, *op. cit.*, I, 104-6, Pls. I-V.

[25] To Director F. H. Price of the Free Library of Philadelphia we are greatly indebted for permission to publish these two important folios from the Lewis Collection, and to reproduce the two excellent portrait miniatures they include.

WRITINGS FAMILIAR TO CECAUMENUS

By Georgina Buckler

Introduction

. The wide range of reading that was common in the world of eleventh century Byzantium, where books were treasured and studied by clerics and laymen alike,[1] is not apparent in the two pamphlets left us by the soldier Cecaumenus, his *Strategikon* and *Logos Noutheteti-kos.*[2] There are, however, some works with which he was evidently familiar. The only one of the four Great Fathers whom he quotes is Gregory Naziauzen (*Str.*, 123, *a*, and *LN*, 253). His long and explicitly acknowledged citation from St. John Damascene (*Str.*, 228-233), ending with a detached sentence from another part of the theologian's works, seems to be a mere extract from his commonplace book; the passage quoted in *Str.*, 231, about the need for soldiers to study, is indeed worked into *Str.*, 54, but that is the only instance of any real influence of the older writer on the younger. On the other hand, the numerous quotations from and allusions to the Old and New Testaments and those from one special book in our *Apocrypha*, the Σοφία Σειράχ known to us as *Ecclesiasticus*, are perhaps the most striking feature of our author's style. There are also three other writers whose works have undeniably furnished Cecaumenus with facts or theories: Cassius Dio (whom he mentions twice by name), Leo VI in his *Tactica*, and Basil I or someone who wrote in his name the *Advice to his son Leo*. For the rest, the story about Antioch in 540 which Cecaumenus tells in *Str.*, 83, and which we also find in Procopius, *Bell. Pers.*, II, 8, may, if we see in our pamphlets the handiwork of the great Catacalo Cecaumenus, have been learnt by him as oral tradition during his governorship of Antioch in 1056; neither this tale nor the mention of Belisarius in *Str.*, 43, nor the story about Abgarus in *LN*, 254, necessarily means that our author had read Procopius' works and indeed, in two matters, he gives quite another version from that of the *Bell. Pers.* The cause of Abgarus' coming to Rome and his relation to Augustus are differently depicted

[1] For the 280 volumes read in Photius' study circle a hundred years earlier, see Krumbacher, *G. B. L.*, pp. 517-19.

[2] Edited by B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg, 1896).

in the two accounts and whereas Cecaumenus says that Chosroes captured Antioch "without bloodshed," Procopius describes "a great slaughter" of such inhabitants as resisted.

We have put the five "familiar authors" in descending order of importance; complete lists of the references will, it is hoped, appear in Appendix 4 of the forthcoming edition of Cecaumenus, as a new volume in the *Corpus Bruxellense Scriptorum Byzantinorum.*

Section A

Old and New Testaments

Cecaumenus speaks of God the Father 116 times (once, in *Str.*, 100, as the Eye that never sleeps), and of God the Son 14 times. Leaving aside the Biblical allusions where he is copying, twice from St. John Damascene (*Str.*, 229 and 231) and once from an unknown chronicler (*Str.*, 234), we find that he makes (a) 44 references to the *O. T.*, excluding the *Apocrypha,* in the LXX version; (b) 42 to the *N. T.*; (c) 21 to both *O. T.* and *N. T.* together; and (d) one, occurring in three passages, to *Tobit* in the *Apocrypha* as well as to the *Gospels.*

He is familiar not only with the Psalter as sung in Church, and with well-known Bible stories, e. g., Elijah and Jezebel, the parable of Dives and Lazarus, etc., but with more unusual books like the prophet Habakkuk and Ecclesiastes. How far this knowledge came from *Catenae,* i. e. "Sammlungen von Aussprüchen aus der hl. Schrift und den Kirchenschriftstellern" (*G. B. L.*, p. 216), and how far from reading the actual books it is hard to say, as so many of these *Catenae* are still in unpublished MSS. (*ibid.*, p. 217). Cecaumenus certainly recommends as a practice the study of "Church books," also called "sacred" or "divine" or simply "the writings" (*Str.* 54, 113, 160, 231, and cf. 102), and in his long extract from St. John Damascene (*Str.*, 228-33) he gives us that theologian's sentiments on the usefulness of such study to all men (*Str.*, 231), sentiments which he also expresses in *Str.*, 54, but without mentioning his authority.

In the large majority of his ethical maxims we may trace a Biblical basis; indeed, he often explicitly uses the Bible as an argument for his practical instructions. We must be watchful, as Christ says in the Gospels (*Str.*, 224-5). We must not allow wrong-doing to go

unchecked, if we have the power to prevent it; it was such sins of omission that caused the condemnation of Dives in the parable and of Pilate in his trial of Our Lord. We must fear God rather than men, and "Love of God" or "Fear of God" Whose "own slaves" we are (*Str.*, 93) is repeatedly given as a motive. We cannot serve God and Mammon (*Str.*, 52), and to consent to evil counsels makes a man ξένον τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντολῶν (*Str.*, 52, 177). God will reward our good deeds and punish our bad, behaving to us as we behave to Him and to one another. God sees everything, but we human beings "know not what the day will bring forth" (*Str.*, 2, quoting *Prov.*, iii, 28), and should give help to others, remembering that our time of need may come (*Str.*, 107). Furthermore, in helping a friend we are serving God, and in helping a stranger we should think of him as though he were Christ (*Str.*, 114). God abases the proud and favours the humble, and though He pities and forgives it is the wronged whom He aids, not the wrongdoers (*Str.*, 137). All good things, success and safety, rank and office, and the like come from Him, and also inexplicable disasters (*Str.*, 43, 64, 87). When this life is ended, our sins will be "chastised" (*Str.*, 138) and at the Last Day we shall all be righteously judged by God (*Str.*, 48, 87).

Thus, in spite of the occasional cynicism which has caused C. Diehl to call Cecaumenus "totally devoid of all idealism," it is surely permissible to judge his real self by the sentence which he gives us as a sort of motto in *Str.*, 190: "Do nothing rashly or in anger; let intelligence and wisdom and the fear of God lead thee in every word and deed; and if prayer also accompanies these, prosperity will go as a good angel before thee and thou wilt be happy."

About Theology in general and its attendant heresies our writer, unlike his rather later contemporary Anna Comnena, has nothing to say. He evidently considers "simple doctrine" more important than "dogmas" (*Str.*, 94), and he only once mentions heretics, and then in a very tolerant spirit (*Str.*, 93). When he speaks of the Saints, he dwells on some incident in their lives (*Str.*, 228) or on their virtues of charity and piety (*Str.*, 123, *a*) or humility (*LN*, 255), not on their work as theologians. He seems to have been totally free from the "penchant qui porta toujours les Byzantins, de toutes classes et de toutes conditions, à la magie et aux pratiques de l'occultisme," [8]

[8] See Laurent, "Amulettes byzantines et formulaires magiques," *BZ.* XXXVI (1936), p. 307.

and in the battle which the Church, according to Oeconomos,[4] was waging against heresy, superstition and the low monastic morale which the rules expressed in various *typika* were forever striving to reform,[5] he obviously took no interest at all.

Section B

Ecclesiasticus

The similarities both in vocabulary and in point of view between Cecaumenus and the work known to English readers as *Ecclesiasticus* in our *Apocrypha* are so great as to make it obvious that he was very familiar with this particular specimen of Wisdom Literature (produced *ca.* 190 B. C.). In Section A, the places are noted where he quotes from or refers to *Proverbs* (probably collected in the third Cent., B. C.) on which *Ecclesiasticus* was largely founded. As regards the later book, not only is there in *Str.*, 22, an acknowledged quotation from it, the author being called Sirach, not Ben-Sirach (or Ben-Sira) as is correct, and one unacknowledged but known even in the days of Philo Judaeus as a "proverb" (ἐχθρῷ σου μὴ πιστεύῃς, *Eccles.*, xii, 10), in *Str.*, 106, but in handling 87 other topics Cecaumenus writes in the very vein of his predecessor. Dean Alington[6] says of *Ecclesiasticus*: "It is noteworthy that when St. Augustine was collecting from the Bible the passages which he considered most useful for the guidance of the religious life he found in this book more that suited his purpose—*plura huic operi necessaria*—than in any other book of the Old or New Testament." So Basil I in his *Advice to his son* (§ 1) praises it as a storehouse of "political and imperial virtues." The theologians, who as early as the third cent. A. D., called it *Ecclesiasticus*, "the Church book *par excellence*," clearly shared this admiration and Cecaumenus also. But whereas the Council of Trent (1546) declared all the *Apocrypha* "sacred and canonical," Luther placed them in an Appendix to the Bible, and merely calls *Ecclesiasticus* "a profitable book for an ordinary man." Often Ben-Sirach echoes Old Testament thoughts already noted in Section A, but he usually gives them an individual turn, which seems to justify their repetition here, especially when the relative dates and precedence of the two sources are doubtful.

[4] *Vie religieuse dans l'empire byzantin*, p. 221.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[6] *A New Approach to the Old Testament* (1938).

A critic of the pre-Christian book has described it in words which apply so perfectly to our Byzantine writer that any comparison here of similar passages one by one would be as tedious as unnecessary. W. O. E. Oesterley in his *Ecclesiasticus* (Cambridge, 1912) writes as follows: "The most striking characteristic of Ben-Sira is his wonderful knowledge of human nature, and the admirable counsels he gives on the basis of such knowledge. Whether it is . . . concerning a man's treatment of a headstrong daughter, or about the need of keeping a guard over one's tongue, or with regard to the relationship between husband and wife, or concerning the folly of a fool, . . . or whether he is dealing with self-control, borrowing, . . . diet, slander, the miser, . . . the hypocrite, . . . keeping secrets, giving alms, standing surety, mourning for the dead, . . . he has almost always something to say which for sound and robust common-sense is of abiding value." Every item of this sentence is true of Cecaumenus. And, in general, justice, caution, courtesy, generosity, modesty, incorruptibility, sobriety, tolerance, and the like, are enjoined by both writers in such an identical spirit that it would be hard for anyone but an expert to be sure which had written any individual phrase.

Section C

Cassius Dio

The next writer obviously known to Cecaumenus is Cassius Dio, born 155 A. D. and still alive in 229, whose fragmentary history in 80 books has received adequate editing from U. P. Boissevain (1895-1926). This remarkable historian is twice mentioned by name in the *Str.*, once in ch. 17 and once in chs. 230-231. The second passage, about Regulus and the huge serpent, is taken practically verbatim from St. John Damascene's fragment *On Dragons* (*Patr. Gr.*, XCIV, 1600-1); Boissevain prints it in Book XI of Cassius Dio as preserved by Zonaras (VIII, 13). The ultimate source from which St. John and Zonaras drew their not precisely similar versions need not concern us here. Wassiliewsky, in his *Praefatio*, p. 20, points out that 'eadem narrant Valer. Max., I: 8, 19, auctore usus T. Livio, et Libri monstrorum scriptor (= Hauptii *Opusc.*, II, p. 248).' The other passage, *Str.*, 17, is more puzzling. It runs: ἐμνήσθην Δίωνος τοῦ Ῥωμαίου εἰρηκότος ὅτι καὶ οἱ πάνυ ἀξιόπιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ λόγοις ἐπιτηδείοις καὶ χρήμασι καταδουλοῦνται, but Boissevain in his exhaustive index

gives no such reference for any of the principal words. As it stands the maxim is capable of two interpretations.

(1) If ἀξιόπιστοι refers to the judges, we have one of the commonplaces of literature, the deteriorating effects of accepting gifts. We may cite as examples "The gift blinds the wise" (*Exod.*, xxiii, 8), and Pindar's "Even wisdom is enchained by gain" (*Pyth.*, 3, 96). When "plausible words," i. e., words suited to the purpose" of persuasion accompany the gift, the innocent defendant has even less chance, and the "respectable" judges are even more wholly "enslaved" in their minds.

(2) If ἀξιόπιστοι refers to the accused, the enslaving is not figurative but literal. They are "thrown into slavery by means of plausible words" (of their accusers) "and money."

In neither case is the sentence a direct quotation from Cassius Dio, and it should perhaps be treated as a new Fragment hitherto unknown. It may, however, be an allusion to the incident in B. C. 57 (Cassius Dio, xxxix, 14) when Ptolemy, anxious to prevent the Alexandrines from bringing complaints against him in Rome, had their envoys waylaid, and then (in Cary's translation) "he caused the majority of them to perish by the way, while of the survivors he had some slain in the city itself and others he either terrified by what had happened or by administering bribes persuaded them neither to consult the magistrates touching the matters for which they had been sent, nor to make any mention at all of those who had been killed." The verb καταδουλοῦν would then mean to "enslave" (fig.) by terrorizing, and the λόγοι ἐπιτήδειοι would be the "arguments" used by Ptolemy as "suited to the occasion," the ἀξιόπιστοι being neither judges nor accused but plaintiffs coerced into silence. Cassius Dio uses the simple verb δουλοῦν for over-persuading, once when Julius Caesar promises back-pay with interest in order to attract more volunteer soldiers, and once when Caracalla uses "gold" to quell the imperious demands of an enemy tribe. But in neither passage is there any hint of the generalization of *Str.*, 17.

As to past incidents which Cecaumenus might have got from Cassius Dio, mention has already been made of the story of Regulus, the hero of the First Punic War (*Str.*, 230-31). Other great generals who appear in the *Str.* as mere names, but whose deeds are described at length by Cassius Dio, are Pyrrhus, Hannibal, Scipio Africanus Minor (all in *Str.*, 43), Vespasian and Titus (*Str.*, 234, where refer-

ence is made to Josephus whom Cecaumenus quotes incorrectly). The wars between Trajan and Decebalus, fully treated by Cassius Dio in Books LXVII, 6-LXIX, 2, are briefly mentioned in *Str.*, 187.

But there is one fairly long chapter (*LN*, 254) dealing with Augustus and Athenodorus, which calls for special attention. The excellent effect of admonitions from the philosopher Athenodorus on the behaviour of the future Emperor Augustus is put before us at varying length by Cassius Dio (LII, 36, 4, and LVI, 43, 1-2) and by Plutarch,[7] as well as by later writers, i. e., Georgius Monachus Hamartolus,[8] Leo Grammaticus,[9] Zonaras (X, 38), Cedrenus (I, 302-3), and Constantine Manasses (lines 1871-1909, *Patr. Gr.*, CXXVII, 390-391). (Zosimus (I, 6) merely remarks that the influence of this philosopher made Augustus milder). The main stress is laid by the above writers on two stories. The first tells us that Athenodorus impersonated a woman whom Augustus had summoned for immoral purposes, and jumping out of a closed litter showed his master how easily he could have killed him, the reproof to his licentiousness being thus indirectly conveyed. The second says that when Athenodorus on account of his age wished to leave the Court, his unexpressed awareness of Augustus' imperfections made him advise the latter, whenever he might be angry, to repeat the alphabet before taking any active measures; Augustus understood the implication and made him stay another year. Cecaumenus tells neither of these tales, and does not even mention the woman, the litter, or the alphabet, but dwells on other points.

(1) That Athenodorus was "poor and in need" but famous for "good counsel and good sense."

(2) That Augustus expressly sent to Alexandria for this sage, so that he might himself be cured of his un-imperial temper and unbridled passions by such a παιδαγωγός.

(3) That Athenodorus stipulated for perfect freedom of speech and obtained it.

In this account only does all the initiative come from Augustus. He himself realizes how unsuitable his behaviour is in his position, he begs Athenodorus to reprove him privately, "and if I do not accept

[7] *Moralia Reg. et Imperat. Apophthegmata*, VII, ed. Firmin Didot.

[8] *Chron.*, III, Scholium on ch. 105, *Patr. Gr.*, CX, 349.

[9] J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca*, II, 276.

this correction do it also openly" (whereupon the philosopher prudently demands the emperor's promise not to take it ill), and finally he opposes his departure volunteering the statement: "I am still imperfect." From what source our writer drew this novel conception of Augustus' character we cannot tell; it was of course well adapted to please the emperor whom he was addressing. But it certainly was not taken from Cassius Dio.

Section D

Leo's Tactica

There are, as is well-known, a number of books in Byzantine literature on "Strategy," i. e., "Military Art" in its widest acceptance, mostly founded on late Greek authors (for a list, see Krumbacher, *G. B. L.*, p. 635), "Werke der Alten, die studiert, abgeschrieben und exzerpiert wurden." An anonymous work *περὶ στρατηγικῆς* belongs to the sixth cent., and about 579 we get the *στρατηγικόν* of Maurice, soon to be emperor.[10] The best known of all, the *Tactica* of Leo (*Patr. Gr.*, CVII), is usually credited to Leo VI (Emperor, 886-912) though Krumbacher (*G. B. L.*, p. 636) puts it a century and a half earlier and considers it the work of Leo III (Emperor, 717-40). Among the many compilations for which we must thank Const. VII, there is a chapter *περὶ στρατηγημάτων* in the historical encyclopedia and also a *στρατηγικὸν περὶ ἐθῶν διαφόρων ἐθνῶν*, on the ways in which foreign nations fight (*G. B. L.*, pp. 258, 260). To the great military Emperor, Niceph. II (963-9), there are ascribed a tract on guerrilla warfare, *περὶ παραδρομῆς πολέμου* (*G. B. L.*, p. 268) and a *στρατηγικὴ ἔκθεσις καὶ σύνταξις*,[11] which is a brief discourse on military organization and camping. And in Cecaumenus' own times, Psellus brought out a *περὶ πολεμικῆς τάξεως*, verbally compiled from Aelian (*G. B. L.*, p. 636).

So our writer had many exemplars before him, but whereas these are all concerned with military matters only, his *Strategikon* is far from a mere manual of strategy or tactics. Even his maxims of war are enlivened with anecdotes from past or contemporary history, such as are sadly few in the *Tactica* of Leo, whose "weak point is his neglect to support precept by example."[12] These anecdotes run

[10] See Oman, *Art of War*, I, 172-4.

[11] Fols. 115^{r} to 136^{v} of the Moscow MS. containing the two works of Cecaumenus.

[12] Oman, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

from the beginning of the tenth cent. to about 1071, and are mostly connected with the writer, his father and two grandfathers and a near relation at Larissa. But the part which is of the greatest interest to us is not military at all. Every conceivable subject—court life, family life, country life, friendship, women, the household, work, leisure, morals and religion—comes under our author's searching survey. The work is in the form of advice, sometimes apparently given to general readers (e. g., *Str.*, 2), sometimes to any young man (e. g., *Str.*, 107, 140), sometimes to the writer's own children (e. g., *Str.*, 186, 191). And its freedom of speech, width of range, and racy style make La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes* and Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son* seem almost dull in comparison.

Turning back now to the abundant military material ready to Cecaumenus' hand, we may say that all Byzantine generals studied strategical works,[13] and Cecaumenus strongly recommends the practice (*Str.*, 54). But in our two pamphlets likenesses to Leo's *Tactica* confront us so often, actually in 65 places, that we readily infer this writer to have been chief among the ἀρχαιότεροι whose works Cecaumenus admires and with whose style he unfavourably compares his own, though he thinks himself equally entitled to form opinions, and even more to have his words of personal experience believed (*Str.*, 28, 29, 37, 38, 41, 42, 44, 54, 191). It is only fair to note that Leo himself borrowed largely from Onosander (first cent. A. D.) the ideal general being almost identically described in the *Tactica* and in the *Onosandri Strategicus*, brought out in 1935 by E. Korzensky and R. Vari as Volume I, Book I, of their *Sylloge Tacticorum Graecorum*. Cecaumenus in his turn demands practically the same excellence from a commander, who must be prudent, mild, patient, impartial, vigilant, eloquent yet discreet in speech, God-fearing, and a pattern of the four cardinal virtues to all his men. Definite points of tactics or character, such as reliance on guards and scouts, willingness to receive information from every source, the right place for a camp and the advisability of changing sites for hygienic reasons, wise treatment of the soldiers after a defeat, the psychological value of good equipment in an army, the need for inventiveness and decision and superiority to all forms of bribery in a general, are discussed by the earlier and the later writer with singular unanimity of opinion, and

[13] See Psellus, *Chron. Mich. VII* of the Caesar John Ducas, and Anna Comnena, *Alex.*, VI, 3, p. 469, of Alexius I.

sometimes in almost the same language. The enemy leader must be watched and his motives and plans studied (*Str.*, 25, and *Tact.*, XX, 109), for all nations do not have the same methods of war (*Str.*, 28, and the whole of *Tact.*, XVIII). Trust in dreams brings nothing but disaster (*Str.*, 117, *Tact.*, XX, 213 and cf. 179); independent judgment in a general is the true secret of success (*Str.*, 43, *Tact.*, II, 28, III, 4, 5) and it is better to win by wisdom than by force (*Str.*, 26, *Tact.*, XX, 12). But above all four emphatic statements are made by both Leo and his disciple: a commander must know each of his men (*Str.*, 25, 45, *Tact.*, XIX, 19 XX, 134) for a good army is invaluable to the state (*LN*, 255, *Tact.*, Praef. p. 4), and of all possible παραστάξεις the Greek is the best (*Str.*, 28, *Tact.*, XVIII, 10) if only the cause of war is just (*Str.*, 60, *Tact.*, XX, 58, 169).

Section E

Basil's Advice to his son Leo

If the military parts of the *Str.* and the *LN* remind us of Leo's *Tactica*, their character of addresses of exhortation to sons and to an emperor challenges comparison with other similar works. Thus we have the verses of Alexius I to his son and heir John,[14] and the παιδεία βασιλικὴ written by Archbishop Theophylact for the Porphyrogennete Const. Ducas (*Patr. Gr.*, CXXVI). These are distinctly pompous and conventional, whereas our pamphlets are full of novel thoughts racily expressed. Among these Valdenberg points out[15] the surprisingly new democratic doctrines of the *LN*; the emperor must obey divine laws and must care for all classes, and "all men are sons of one man, Adam." (Cf. *Str.*, 19, 32, 35, where, however, the tolerance preached implies some class-consciousness social or racial.) The *LN* is, according to Jorga,[16] "trop désordonné" to have been actually presented to any Emperor, but at least it proves, as Valdenberg says, the existence in eleventh cent. Byzantium of "théories neuves et intéressantes."

As to the facts and sentiments of a less unusual nature, we have seen that our author draws on the Bible (including our *Apocrypha*), Cassius Dio, and Leo's *Tactica*. Another possible source is the book

[14] Ed. P. Maas, *B. Z.*, XXII (1922).
[15] *Byz.*, III (1926), pp. 95 ff.
[16] *Byz.*, II (1925), p. 279.

of 66 "κεφάλαια παραινετικὰ to his son Leo," which pass under the name of Basil I (emperor 867-86), and are printed in *Patr. Gr.*, CVII, pp. xxii-lv. Even if, as Krumbacher points out,[17] this "Advice," largely copied from the *Fürstenspiegel* addressed by Agapetus to Justinian (Emperor 527-65), was probably the work not of the monarch, but of someone in his "gelehrte Umgebung," perhaps even the great Patriarch Photius, it is none the less obvious from the number of surviving manuscripts that this was a well-known tract likely to be familiar to a man about court. Its choice and treatment of subjects is much like that of other moralists, especially of those who write exhortations to princes, and it draws on the same Biblical sources as Cecaumenus does, but there is enough specific agreement between it and our two pamphlets to justify our assumption that the later author had read and imitated the earlier.

The value of peace, truth and a sound education, the duty of almsgiving, leniency to offenders, pity, avoidance of venality and arrogance, abstention from noisy laughter and from ἀβουλία, the dangers connected with flatterers or fairweather friends or convivial companions, these topics are common to both. Both assert in almost similar terms that God sees and "tries" all things and metes out due recompense, that all men are His subjects and that life is never stable. Finally both sound the *Memento mori* in the ears of their readers with the terse dictum οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος.

Conclusion

In winding up this attempt to gauge the literary influences that most affected Cecaumenus we must admit that three out of the five sections A, B and E, point to one indisputable fact. Biblical ideas lay at the root of all his maxims and moralizings, and Bible passages were to him, as to many other Byzantine laymen of his day, "household words" to a degree hardly paralleled now even among the clergy. Like the Prince of Darkness, Cecaumenus "can cite Scripture for his purpose" in a way that may put modern mortals to shame.

OXFORD, ENGLAND.

[17] *G. B. L.*, pp. 456-8.

A CHRISTIAN LEGEND IN MOSLEM GARB

By Giorgio Levi Della Vida

The capture of Bagdad in 1258 by the Tatars marks a turning point in Islamic history. The fall of the Caliphate, the tragic death of the last caliph al-Mu'taṣim, the murder of thousands of his subjects, and the plunder and burning of innumerable public buildings and private houses made a deep impression on the popular mind. Legends arose quickly, as soon, perhaps, as the building up of historical records.[1] The dramatic interview of al-Mu'taṣim with Hūlāgū, the fierce conqueror, and the cruel execution of the former are reported, even by the most sober historians, with some details which undoubtedly have been suggested by a colorful fancy rather than by a faithful recollection of the actual events.[2]

A hitherto disregarded source [3] contains much fiction, besides a few trustworthy data, and would hardly deserve to be dealt with, were it not for a curious passage which presents a striking similarity to a group of stories scattered throughout diverse literatures. The mutual relationship of these stories is far from being clear to the present writer, and he would have refrained from dealing with a topic for which he does not feel prepared, if he did not cherish the hope that other scholars may be able to supplement fresh material, either from Byzantine or from Oriental sources, and to clear up the literary problem arising from the evidence now available.

The six-volume work which the Egyptian scholar Tājaddīn 'Abdalwahhāb Ibn as-Subkī (died 771/1370) has devoted to the biographies of famous traditionists and jurists of the Shāfi'ite school (*Ṭabaqāt ash-*

[1] For the sources on the fall of Bagdad see the list given by J. de Somogyi, "A *Qaṣīda* on the destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VII (1933-35), 41-48, and the same writer's article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1936), pp. 595-604.

[2] See G. Le Strange, "The story of the death of the last Abbasid Caliph from the Vatican Ms. of Ibn al-Furāt," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1900), pp. 293-300 (cf. the writer, in *Orientalia*, IV [1935], 353-376, and C. Cahen, in *Journal Asiatique*, CCXXVI [1937], 140-145).

[3] It cannot be labeled as entirely unknown, since a reference to it is made by C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Supplement, II, p. 106 no. 8.

Shāfi'iyya, printed at Cairo in 1323-24/1905-6) contains several digressions on subjects entirely unessential to its main purpose.[4] After having reported at full length the literary achievements of Zakiyyaddīn 'Abdal'aẓīm al-Mundhirī,[5] Ibn as-Subkī remarks that his death fell in the very year in which Bagdad succumbed to the Tatars (656 after the Hijra). This coincidence, merely external, induced Ibn as-Subkī to present to his readers a complete account of the sad events which occurred in Mesopotamia between 654 and 657, *i. e.*, from the beginning of the Tatar invasion up to their conquest of Syria, following the capture of Bagdad (V, 109-118). No source is given by Ibn as-Subkī for his account, and it lies beyond the purpose of this article to elucidate this point. The story of al-Mu'taṣim's pitiful death (which is reported with some obviously legendary details) concludes with a romantic account of the heroic act of the caliph's widow (her name is not revealed), who chose to die rather than survive her husband as a concubine of Hūlāgū. The story runs as follows (V, 115-116):

How splendid was the deed of the caliph's wife! It is reported that Hūlāgū had her brought before him and requested her to yield to him; but she began showing him all kinds of gems and precious stones in order to divert him from his purpose. Realizing that he stood firm in his aim, she put into practice, together with one of her maidens, a trick which she had devised and a stratagem which she had conceived, and said to the maiden: 'I will tear off your dress and pretend to want to cut you in two pieces with this sword: you will simulate great despair, and I will tell you: 'Is that the way of acting with me? This is a sword from the caliph's treasures, which does not hurt or wound when one strikes with it.' And when you strike me with it, do it with your whole strength, at the very spot where the stroke is deadly.' So she went to Hūlāgū and told him: 'This is the caliph's sword, which has the property that nobody can be hurt or wounded by it, unless the blow be inflicted by the caliph himself.' Then she called the maiden, and said: 'I will try it on this maiden in the presence of the Sultan.' When the maiden saw the sword unsheathed and the blow impending, she uttered a terrible cry and showed the utmost despair, and her mistress—may she be blessed!—scolded her, saying: 'You stupid thing! Don't you know that this is the sword of the Commander of the Faithful? What are you scared of? Don't you know that?

[4] This is a very typical feature of Arabic literature. An example of it, taken from the same work by Ibn as-Subkī, is given by G. von Gruenebaum, "Eine poetische Polemik zwischen Byzanz und Bagdad im X. Jahrhundert," *Studia Arabica,* I (Rome, 1937), 43^{2}: ^{5} and 44^{2}.

[5] A well-known scholar and author: see on him C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur,* I, 367, and Supplement.

Take it now, and strike me.' The maiden seized the sword, stroke her mistress, and cut her in two pieces.

So she died, without having defiled herself with shame or having turned the bed of the Prophet's Uncle [6] into a bed for the Miscreants. Hūlāgū was filled with regrets, and realized that he had been deceived.

I have found that a similar deed was formerly accomplished by a pious woman who had been requested by a ruffian to yield to him, according to what ad-Dabūsī the Ḥanafite reports in his book entitled 'The Orchard of the Learned Men.'

Any Italian reader of the story related above, nay, any reader of whatsoever country acquainted with the masterpieces of world literature, will be reminded of one of the most touching episodes in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The gentle damsel Isabella has been bereaved of her beloved Zerbino, who was killed in a duel by the fierce Saracen knight Mandricardo. Filled with unmitigable grief, she lays the body in a coffin with the assistance of an old hermit, and carries it on the latter's donkey through the mountains and valleys of France, in order to have it buried in the home of Zerbino's father. After a long journey, both reach Southern Provence, and near the mouth of the Rhone are held up by the brutal Saracen warrior Rodomonte, who had retired into solitude after having been betrayed by his mistress. In spite of the solemn oath which he had taken never to court any other damsel, Rodomonte is captivated by Isabella's beauty, the more readily because he has got drunk after having emptied many a cup of French wine in order to drown his sorrow. The poor hermit, who made a feeble attempt to preserve the lady's virtue, is quickly disposed of by Rodomonte, and Isabella is now, without any defence, in the hands of the lusty ruffian. In her despair, she finds out a way of keeping faithful to her love at the price of her own life. She pretends to know how to prepare a wonderful ointment which makes one's body invulnerable, and promises to reveal to Rodomonte her secret if he would respect her. The credulous Saracen believes her. She collects certain herbs from the field, boils them, brews an ointment and rubs her neck and shoulders with it; then she invites her suitor to try the effect of the magical compound on her own person. Rodomonte strikes with his sword Isabella's delicate neck—the head falls to the ground:

> This made three bounds, and then in accent clear
> Was heard a voice which spake Zerbino's name,

[6] Al-'Abbās, the great-great-grandfather of the founder of the Abbasid dynasty, was a brother of Mahomet's father.

To follow whom, escaping Sarza's peer,
So rare a way was taken by the dame.[7]

In spite of many important differences, the motifs of the stories of the caliph's widow and of Isabella are obviously the same. The Arabic version is rather clumsy and far-fetched, and is undoubtedly secondary. The poetical effect which proceeds from having the woman killed by the very man who has attempted to win her has entirely disappeared, and a complicated trick has been invented, in which a third person, the maiden, is unnecessarily involved. Why the woman's stratagem is based on a supposedly magic sword instead of a supposedly magic ointment is to be explained, in my opinion, by the intrusion of another motif quite foreign to the original version. The Abbasid caliphs were credited with the possession of a famous sword which had formerly belonged to the preislamic warrior and poet 'Amr Ibn Ma'dīkarib and, after passing through several hands, had been finally purchased by the Omayyad caliph Mu'āwiya and had been since preserved among the caliphs' treasures.[8]

Pio Rajna, the author of the well known book about the sources of the *Orlando Furioso,* has shown that the immediate model of Isabella's episode is the Latin work of the Venetian humanist Francesco Barbaro, *De re uxoria,* written in 1416:[9] the heroine is a woman from the Albanian town Durazzo, Brasilla by name. Rajna reports that an almost identical story is found in *Polonia, sive de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* by the sixteenth-century author Martin Cromer (1512-1589): the woman who deceived the lusty soldier is there a nun from the Mark of Brandenburg, which was invaded in 1326 by the troops of the Polish king Venceslas (unhistorical; actually Wladyslaw I Lokietek).

Having discovered the original whence Ariosto drew the pathetic episode of his poem, Rajna had no reason for proceeding further to

[7] I quote from W. S. Rose's translation. The original text (canto 29, stanza 26, vv. 1-4) runs as follows:

Quel fe' tre balzi, e funne udita chiara
Voce che uscendo nominò Zerbino,
Per cui seguire ella trovò sì rara
Via di fuggir di man del Saracino.

[8] On this half legendary sword, called aṣ-Ṣamṣāma, a remote prototype of the swords bearing individual names which are familiar to us from the French Chansons de geste, see the writer's article, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* IV, 140.

[9] *Le fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*[2] (Florence, 1900), pp. 459-60.

point out other parallel stories or investigate their mutual connections. Nevertheless, for the sake of completeness, he quotes two stories which offer a striking similarity to the passage of the *Orlando Furioso*, although there is no doubt that Ariosto never read them. What was only a learned digression for Rajna is for us the very focus of our interest.

The Byzantine historian Kedrenos, who wrote his work between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, dealing with the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian, in a passage in his Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν,[10] reports that a young Christian virgin, having refused to worship the idols, was delivered to a soldier and threatened with dishonor. She escaped, at the cost of her life, through the same stratagem as that used by Isabella and the women of Durazzo and Brandenburg. Kedrenos does not mention either the name of the virgin or the place where she was put to death but, since he lets her be advised by the bishop Anthimos of Nicomedia in Asia Minor, one might assume that he located the event in that city. Another Byzantine historian, Nikephoros Kallistos, two centuries later than Kedrenos and generally dependent on him, relates the same story with almost the same words,[11] but gives the virgin the name Euphrasia. Under this name she is venerated in the Eastern Church among the martyrs of Nicomedia, on January 19. However, no sources other than Kedrenos and Nikephoros are cited by the *Acta Sanctorum* for her legend.

Finally, a fifth forerunner of Isabella's story has been pointed out by Rajna in the work of the thirteenth-century Christian-Arabic historian El Macin. In his chronicle (*Historia Saracenica*), edited and translated as early as 1625 by the Dutch orientalist Thomas Erpenius (Van Erpen), we read the same story in connection with the report on the persecution of the Egyptian Christians under Marwān II, the last Omayyad caliph.[12]

Neither Libri nor Rajna were aware (nor were they expected to be) that El Macin (or, more correctly and completely, Ibn al-'Amīd Ğirğis al-Makīn) was only abridging an extensive history of the Coptic Church, the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* by Severus, bishop of al-Ashmunayn in Upper Egypt (also known as Severus Ibn

[10] *Historiarum Compendium*, p. 265 [Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CXXI, 508].

[11] *Ecclesiastica Historia*, VII, 13 [*Patr. Gr.*, CXLV, 1229].

[12] The similarity of that story to the passage in the *Orlando Furioso* had been noticed, in 1835, as Rajna candidly admits, by Guglielmo Libri in a note to his book *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie* (1st edition, 1838), I, 152, note 2.

al-Muqaffa'), who composed it at the end of the tenth century from older documents and sources.[13] It is now available in two excellent editions and translations by Evetts[14] and Seybold.[15]

In the year 750 (132 of the Moslem era) the Omayyad caliph Marwān II, after being thoroughly beaten by the forces of the rebels led by Abu 'l-'Abbās 'Abdallāh as-Ṣaffāḥ, the founder of the Abbasid dynasty, had retired to Egypt with the remainder of his army, and was trying in a last desperate effort to resist his adversary. During the two months in which he was able to maintain himself in Egypt before receiving the final blow and losing his own life, Marwān met with several difficulties in dealing with the Christians. Oppressed by the increasing weight of taxation and full of anger against their masters, the Copts thought the moment had come to get rid of them and rebelled in several districts. These scattered revolts, however, were promptly coped with by the Arabs: much blood was shed and many Christians, priests and monks as well as laymen, were persecuted and ill-treated.

The Islamic sources for these events are extremely scanty. Besides a very brief mention of the rebellion of the Copts at Rashīd (Rosetta) in the work of Ibn al-Kindī,[16] all the information which we possess on this subject goes back to Christian sources. For the period in which our story falls, Severus has used in his chronicle a biography of the Coptic Patriarch Michael (744-768) written by John the Deacon, a monk who for some years acted as a secretary to the Patriarch. This biography, although almost contemporary, presents a good deal of legend mixed with a faithful recollection of historical facts,[17] and the reason which Deacon John gives for the plundering of the monasteries

[13] Strictly speaking, they might have known that Eusèbe Renaudot, as early as 1713, had translated into Latin the story of the virgin in his *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, chiefly based on Severus.

[14] *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, Arabic text edited, translated and annotated by B. Evetts (Paris, 1904, 1908, 1915 [*Patrologia Orientalis* I, V, X]).

[15] In the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Arabici*, Ser. 3, vol. VII (Paris, 1912).

[16] *The Governors and Judges of Egypt . . . of El Kindî*, edited by Rhuvon Guest, Leyden-London, 1912 (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, XIX), p. 965.

[17] See E. Amélineau, "Les derniers jours et la mort du khalife Merouan II, d'après l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie," *Journal Asiatique* (1914. 2). 421-479. Amélineau's essay would have been sensibly improved by a perusal of the Islamic sources, which he has failed to take into account.

in Upper Egypt seems to deserve little credit. Be that as it may, the biographer of the Patriarch Michael reports the troops of Marwān invading Upper Egypt and murdering, burning and looting on their way:[18]

And they burnt the monasteries of the monks, and carried off the nuns, until they came to the East. There was in those parts a convent of virgin nuns, who lived there as brides of Christ, thirty in number. Marwān's troops seized them, and among them was a young virgin, who had entered the convent when she was three years old. When they saw her, they marvelled at her beauty, and said: 'We have never beheld among human beings a form like this.' So they took her, removing her from the midst of her sisters, and consulted together as to what they should do with her. Some said: 'Let us cast lots for her,' and others: 'Let us take her to the King.' While they were talking, the girl said to them: 'Where is your commandant, that I may let him know of something that is worth riches, provided you let me go? I am a worshipper of God, and you are not permitted to spoil my worship: if I make known to you that thing by which you will become wealthy, you will send me back to my convent.' So their commandant told her: 'I am he.' She told him: 'My fathers were a race of brave and strong warriors, and they entrusted me with a drug with which they used to anoint themselves when they went out to fight, so that iron did them no hurt at all, but swords and spears were like wax against them. I will give it to you if you let me go, and if you don't believe my words, I will anoint my neck in your presence. Then bring the best sword which your men have and let the strongest of them strike me: he will do me no harm at all, and you will know the truth of my words.' She only said this because she had chosen to die by the sword and not be soiled by the impurity of the infidels, nor her pure body be contaminated by them. Then she entered her cell and brought out a phial which was in her custody, over which the Saints had prayed, and anointed with its contents her neck and face and all her body; then she prayed upon her knees and stretched out her neck. Those barbarous men thought that the thing was true, and did not know what was in her heart. Then she said to them: 'Let him who is strong among you and whose sword is sharp and penetrating display his strength upon me: you then will see the glory of God in that drug.' So a bold young man sprang forward with an excellent sword, and she covered her face with her pallium and laid down her head, saying: 'Strike with all your might, without any concern.' So he struck at the holy martyr, and her head flew off. Thereupon they understood what she had done, and that she had deceived them, and repented and grieved deeply, and a great fear overwhelmed them, so that afterwards they did not touch any of the virgin nuns, but left them in peace and departed glorifying God.

The same story is also related by Abū Ṣāliḥ, an author who during the thirteenth century wrote in Arabic an historical description of the

[18] *Patrol. Or.*, V, 162-164, 416-418 = ed. Seybold, pp. 193-194. I follow Evetts' translation, with only a few slight changes.

Churches and Convents of Egypt.[19] His narrative is very close to that of Severus (or rather Deacon John), but also shows some differences, which are difficult to explain without supposing that he possessed some supplementary information. Severus does not connect with any particular spot the martyrdom of the young nun, and only vaguely says that it took place "in the East." Abū Ṣāliḥ locates it in a monastery of Upper Egypt, near the district of al-Ḥumaydāt.[20] The assailants were not Moslem, but Bashmūrite, the Christian half barbarian population of Lower Egypt,[21] who, according to Abū Ṣāliḥ, had been summoned by Marwān to assist him in fighting the Abbasids, and as a reward had been allowed "to plunder, take prisoners and slay as they would." This statement is exactly the opposite of what Severus says, namely that the Bashmūrites had revolted against Marwān and that the plunderers of the monastery belonged to the latter's partisans. Finally, the virgin, who appears anonymously in Severus, bears the name Febronia in Abū Ṣāliḥ [22] and is said to have come to the Egyptian monastery from Syria. In the following small detail, Abū Ṣāliḥ's version looks more trustworthy than Severus': the ointment used by the virgin is taken from the oil of the lamp in her cell and not, as in Severus, from a phial containing a blessed oil, which would hardly have been placed elsewhere than in the church. Furthermore, Abū Ṣāliḥ's text is more diffuse and dramatic, and in spite of the later

[19] *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries attributed to Abû Ṣâliḥ, the Armenian*, edited and translated by B. T. A. Evetts, with added notes by A. J. Butler, Oxford, 1895 [*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, I, 7], pp. 107-109, transl. pp. 240-242.

[20] Evetts spells the name al-Jîmûdât, and declares that he has failed to identify that place; but it seems that it should be spelled as above (the correction is obvious from the point of view of Arabic writing). Al-Ḥumaydāt is a village near Qena, on the Nile island which is in front of the city, on the way to Dendera (see 'Alī Bey Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-jadīda* X, 75 and Baedeker's *Egypt* (8th German edition), p. 224: the name there is misspelled al-Ḥamîdât, but the map between p. 230 and p. 231 has the correct spelling El-Ḥemêdât [in spoken Egyptian Arabic, a short *u* before the stress is often pronounced *e*, and the diphthong *ay* regularly becomes *ē*]).

[21] See E. Quatremère, *Recherches sur la langue et la littérature de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1808), pp. 147-164; J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* [*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, XXXVI], Cairo, 1919, pp. 43-44.

[22] Butler, in a footnote to the translation, remarks that this name was well known to the Copts through the commemoration, in their church, of the martyr of that name in Nisibis, Mesopotamia, on the first of Abīb (June 25).

date of its composition seems to have preserved some features older than those which we find in Severus. We may suppose that it was written in the immediate surroundings of the monastery of al-Ḥumaydāt, and perhaps was originally a part of a homily to be read there in honor of the martyr. Possibly, too, its original language was Coptic.

On the other hand, the biography of the Patriarch Michael written by Deacon John is almost contemporary with the events it relates, and it would seem impossible, therefore, that it should be dependent on other sources than the actual witnesses. But we are by no means sure that Severus used it as it was originally written. The original was certainly Coptic, since it is difficult to admit that the Egyptians used Arabic for literary purposes as early as the second half of the eighth century. Severus may have used, instead of the Coptic text, an expanded Arabic translation, which would have added some other matter to that contained in the authentic work of Deacon John. Among the additions, we might perhaps reckon the story of the Virgin of al-Ḥumaydāt, which seems to have been composed in order to celebrate the miraculous preservation of the monastery: its conclusion, both in Abū Ṣāliḥ and Severus, emphasizes the fact that, as a consequence of the virgin's heroic death, the monastery was spared futher destruction and violence.

The problem of the origin, age, and mutual relation of the two texts cannot be solved without the aid of further evidence, which at present is lacking. Nevertheless, what has been said above seems to point out that both may have been written some time after the events, so that we have no actual warrant that they report historical facts.

Al-Maqrīzī, a Moslem author of the fourteenth-fifteenth century who wrote a huge historical and topographical work on Egypt, briefly mentions the episode of the virgin in his account of the history of the Copts under Moslem rule,[24] without bringing in any new element. He almost certainly depends on the same sources which are known to us.

The touching episode of the Egyptian nun might well be a piece of history, since neither brutal violence nor heroic contempt of one's own life for the sake of honor are beyond the reality of human nature. But we become sceptical about the reliability of the reports on it after

[23] *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (first edition), II, 493_{13-18}; cf. A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects* (London, 1930), pp. 150-151, who also quotes the Chronicle of Severus.

we find that the same story is recounted in another text, although in different surroundings which exclude any immediate connection. The story there does not refer to Egypt and the eighth century, but to Palestine and the seventh. The conquest of Jerusalem by the Sasanian Persians in 614 was followed by barbarous scenes of murder, destruction, plunder and violence. On this subject, we possess a very detailed report, apparently contemporary with the events, in the form of a homily which was originally written in Greek, as it seems, and of which only an Arabic and a Georgian translation are preserved.[25] Among the atrocities committed by the Persian troops, we read the following:[26]

. . . Let us now return and complete the sad narrative. The Persians entered a monastery which was to the east of the city on the Mount of Olives, in which four hundred pure and holy virgins were enclosed. They let them come out and began dividing them among themselves and violating their virginity, and polluted them by their embraces. Among those virgins there was a nun of great beauty, who fell to the lot of a young Persian. He asked the virgin to yield to him but, under some pretext, she succeeded in avoiding doing so. When he insisted, the holy woman told him: 'Grant me my virginity, and

[25] The literary history of this text, queer and complicated as it is, can only be summarized here. The reader will find a full discussion of it in P. Peeters, "La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses," *Mélanges de l'Université de St.-Joseph*, IX (1923-1924), 1-42. The Arabic text was first discovered in a Ms. of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris by A. Couret, who published a translation, prepared by Broydé, in "La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses. Trois documents nouveaux," Orléans, 1896 (Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie de Sainte-Croix; a copy of this extremely scarce reprint is found in the Princeton University Library). The text, together with Broydé's translation, has been printed in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, II (1897), 123-164 and 458-459, and again by Peeters in his paper quoted above, from a much older Ms. in the Vatican Library. In 1902, the Russian orientalist N. Marr discovered a more extended Georgian version (of which a second Ms. was discovered later at Oxford by Peeters) and published it in 1909 with a Russian translation; a Greek and a German translation have also appeared (the first in the journal Νέα Σιών, 1909, the second, by G. Graf, in the periodical *Der heilige Bund* [1923], pp. 19-29; they are omitted in Peeters' very accurate bibliography, and I am indebted to my friend Dr. Graf for the knowledge of them). An English version by F. C. Conybeare in the *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 502-517 omits several passages, among which is our story. According to Marr, the Georgian version goes back to an Arabic model and has not been taken directly from the Greek; but this view is not shared by Conybeare.

[26] I give a translation of Peeters' text, pp. 21-22, which is better than Couret's.

I will give you an ointment with which to anoint your body in war, and neither sword nor any kind of steel or sharp iron will do you harm.' The youth, marvelling at those words, told her: 'Give me that ointment, and I will grant you your virginity.' But he was thinking that after she had given him the ointment he would satisfy his lust. So she gave him a phial containing an ointment, and told him: 'Anoint your neck with this ointment and go into battle, and neither sword nor any kind of iron will do you any harm.' Then she added: 'Anoint your neck, and I will strike you; the sword will do nothing to you, so you will know that my word is true.' The youth answered: 'No, but you anoint your neck with it, and I will strike you first with my sword.' The virgin rejoiced at that, because she wanted to preserve her body pure and undefiled. So she took some of that ointment, anointed her neck and told the Magian [27] youth: 'Come along, and strike me with all your strength with that sword.' He looked at her, and lo! she was cheerful and merry, without any sign of concern or fear for herself. So he took the sword and gave her a hard blow, and cut off her head. When he saw her head severed, he realized that that had been a stratagem to preserve her virginity, and grieved intensely about her. ..

Look at that holy virgin, how she chose to die by the sword to preserve her virginity and chastity! Her lie was the salvation of her soul, and therefore she obtained the crown of martyrdom. Many of her mates, hearing of her deed, imitated her and shed their blood, preserving their bodies from the impurity of sin and hasting towards martyrdom.

In the Georgian text, the name of the author of the homily on the Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians is given as Stratici or Stratiki (*i. e.*, Στρατηγός or Στρατήγιος), a monk from the famous Convent of Saint Sabas in Jerusalem; in one of the Arabic versions it is Istrātiyūs, which may be a miswriting for Strategios, whereas the other Arabic version is anonymous. Marr has identified Strategios with Antiochos, Abbot of Saint Sabas at the beginning of the seventh century,[28] to whom some fragments of a Greek homily are attributed, which match the corresponding sections of the Arabic and Georgian texts. He thought that the author's complete name was Antiochos Strategios; but Peeters denied it, and supposed that Strategios had embodied in his homily some passages of Antiochos. Be that as it may, there is little doubt that the original text was written in Greek, and that the Arabic has been translated from it, either directly or, as Peeters suggests, through the medium of a Syriac translation. Finally, two passages of Strategios' homily are found in an Armenian collection, the so-called *Lives of the Fathers*, and one of them is precisely the

[27] With reference to the Zoroastrian religion.

[28] See Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*², p. 146.

story of the Virgin and the Persian soldier. According to Peeters, the Armenian passages are translated directly from the Greek.

If Antiochus is the actual author of the homily on the Fall of Jerusalem, it would be almost contemporary with the facts. But even if this be true, the reliability of the story which he reports is not beyond suspicion. Legends, as everybody knows, are likely to spread out from extraordinary and terrific events with a stupendous rapidity. Nevertheless, as has been pointed out above, the heroic trick of the threatened virgin may have actually occurred. What seems almost unbelievable is, that it should have occurred at different times and places exactly in the same way. In other words, we can hardly help suspecting that the stories of the Egyptian and Palestinian nuns, of the Nicomedian virgin, of the Albanian woman and of the Prussian nun are bound together in some chain of literary links. Furthermore, in this chain a place might also be given to the story of the last caliph's widow, not withstanding the substitution of the "magic" sword for the "magic" ointment.

Among these half-dozen different versions, which should be assumed to be the original one? A satisfactory answer to this query cannot be given, in my opinion, on the basis of the evidence now available. An exhaustive search for new evidence should be made through Byzantine, Christian-Oriental, Islamic, German and Slavic literatures: a task for which the present writer lacks the necessary requirements.[29] Nevertheless, I would attempt to suggest, in a quite provisional form, the line which the primitive legend may have followed in its expansion. The Jerusalem story appears to be older than the Egyptian, not only on account of its historical environment, but because its features look simpler and more genuine. If we assume that it was originally composed in Greek and was translated into Arabic at an early date, we can easily understand how it could reach Egypt on one hand [30] and the Byzantine

[29] The "ointment trick" motif does not seem to be popular in folklore. I have failed to find it mentioned in some of the most known reference works, such as Stith Thompson's *Motif-index of folk-literature*, C. H. Tawney's and N. M. Penzer's *Ocean of Story*, vol. X, and R. Basset's *Mille-et-un contes, récits et légendes arabes*. Other students may be able to obtain better information.

[30] If the present form of the story, as related by Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Abū Ṣāliḥ, goes back to a Coptic model, this would have been imitated either from the original Greek text or from a Syriac translation of it. That Coptic literature made use of Syriac sources has been shown by Guidi, "Le traduzioni dal Copto," *Nachrichten von der Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen* (1889), pp. 49-56. It is also possible, of course, that the story was transmitted orally.

world on the other hand. Kedrenos, or rather his source,[31] would have attributed it to the early Christian age, and Nikephoros Kallistos, rather than depending on Kedrenos, would have used the same source, since he mentions the virgin's name, Euphrasia, on which Kedrenos is silent. It seems not unlikely (although I am reluctant to express an opinion on a subject on which I am entirely ignorant) that both Francesco Barbaro and Martin Cromer may depend, in some way, on a Byzantine source.

On the other hand, it is possible that the common source of Kedrenos and Nikephoros (be it Pseudo-Symeon or another one) found the legend of the Nicomedian martyr in some unknown hagiographic legend. In this case, Antiochos (or Strategios) may depend on it, and the original home of the legend would be Asia Minor instead of Palestine.

How the Christian legend passed into the Islamic world, where it finally received the shape in which we read it in Ibn as-Subkī's work, cannot be traced back, except on very general lines. As the reader will remember, Ibn as-Subkī concludes his report on the heroic deed of the caliph's widow with the remark that a similar story is found elsewhere, told of an unnamed " pious woman." As his source, he gives a work of ad-Dabūsī with the title *The Orchard of the Learned Men* (*Rawḍat al-'Ulamā'*), but both the author and the work are unknown.[32] If we could read ad-Dabūsī's passage, we probably should find there the ointment instead of the sword motif, since the latter could not be introduced except in connection with the Abbasid dynasty. In the

[31] Which, for the first part of the Σύνοψις, seems to be the Chronicle of Pseudo-Symeon. Gelzer's analysis of this work (in his *Sextus Julius Africanus*, II (1885), 357-384) does not reach as far as the point where the story would be expected to be found, and I do not know whether any further research has been done on it.

[32] Ad-Dabūsī could hardly be identified with 'Abdallāh ibn 'Omar ad-Dabūsī, a ḥanafite jurist who died in 430 or 457 after the Hijra (see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I, 175, no. 13, and Supplement). The Prussian State Library in Berlin possesses two manuscript works bearing the title *Rawḍat al-'ulamā'* (nos. 8860 and 8862 in Ahlwardt's Catalog). The second word is anonymous; the author of the first is an Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn Ibn Yaḥyá az-Zandawaysatī, who is credited for the same work in Ḥājjī Khalīfa no. 6659; his personality is totally obscure. Might ad-Dabūsī in as-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt* be a miswriting (or a misprint) for az-Zandawaysatī? In the Arabic writing this would not be impossible, although it does not appear much likely.

Arabic literature there are plenty of works dealing with edifying anecdotes about pious men and women, most of which are still unpublished. It is not unlikely that a story which would supply the missing link between the Christian legend and the episode of the fall of Bagdad may be found in one or another of those works. The endeavour to detect such a story would cost more work than might be proportionate to the expected results, and furthermore would require a bibliographical equipment with printed and manuscript books which at present is beyond my reach.

The passage of Christian matter, chiefly religious, into Islamic literature is a widespread phenomenon. If we assume that the story of the virgin preserving her chastity by a trick which costs her her life had entered Islamic popular literature in a form close to its Christian model, we can understand how it could be modified in order to fit a pathetic story which was intended to add a further tragic feature to the dark painting of the destruction of the Abbasid dynasty.

In spite of their provisional character, the results of our inquiry may be of some help to scholars interested in the study of interconnections between Byzantine and Near East literatures.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE QUESTION OF THE DIVERSION OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE,

OR,

AN OLD CONTROVERSY SOLVED BY A LATIN ADVERB

By Henri Grégoire

To a Byzantinist, there can be no doubt about the fact that the course ultimately taken by the so-called Fourth Crusade, the capture of Constantinople, and the partition of the Byzantine Empire was *not* the fortuitous result of a series of unforeseen and surprising events. On the contrary, I have always been convinced, and I see that my learned colleague Professor Ostrogorsky in his excellent history of Byzantium [1] is convinced likewise, that the "diversion" of that expedition, the détournement, as I prefer to say in allusive and ironical French, had been intended from the beginning, or rather from the moment when Boniface of Montferrat was elected to succeed Count Thibault of Champagne. Some critics call this view "la théorie byzantine." I must protest against such an expression, which seems to hint at a bias, at a tendency to look at things from the standpoint of a Byzantine. Now, the Byzantine point of view as expressed, for instance, by Niketas Choniates, is that the capture of Constantinople fulfilled the wish of the Pope. We have no "national" bias at all. We simply try to write history, connecting as much as possible Western and Eastern affairs, Western and Eastern sources. To us, of course, the character of Boniface de Montferrat alone supplies a strong presumption in favor of the preconceived plan of conquest. But the scope of this article is limited. It is only to show that an overwhelming bulk of evidence, Latin—or French—and Greek, proves that the responsible leader of the Crusade knew, from the outset, "where he was going."

This demonstration has become necessary because of recent attempts to deny what we consider to be well-established or rather self-evident facts. The last editor of Villehardouin, in a lengthy and learned article which appeared in the *Revue historique* for 1936, and in the notes to his edition, has tried to explain away the evidence which

[1] G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates* (*Byzantinisches Handbuch*, Pt. I, Vol. II), Munich (1940), p. 295.

affirms the premeditation, and to make believable the "théorie du hasard."[2] But, knowing the strength of these testimonies, he has avoided a front attack against that phalanx of documents. He divides them into two groups. Rejecting with contemptuous briefness, first Robert de Clari, "un homme mal informé," second, the *Gesta Innocentii*, as being a tendencious writing, the letter of Pope Innocent dated March 26, 1202, because it does not refer, *expressis verbis*, to the plot, he passes over to what he considers to be the "serious witnesses," and, after having discarded the *Annales Colonienses* under the pretence that their chronology is "vague," he launches a brilliant assault against the key position of the "Byzantines," their great historian Niketas Choniates. Displaying an amazing amount of Byzantine erudition, ascertaining with great skill dates of the obscure history of the Seljukid Turks, assigning precise years, months and even days for many events reported by Niketas, he concludes in proving triumphantly that Niketas affirms . . . that young Alexios' flight from Constantinople occurred not in the spring or summer, or autumn of 1201, but in the early summer of 1202. Mr. Faral's method is a bold offensive. If the "Byzantines" themselves assert that the prince whose escape to the West set in motion the whole devilish plan of intervention in the Byzantine Empire was still in his former capital when everything was ready for the expedition (agreement between the Crusaders and Venice about the participation of the Venetian navy and fleet, agreement on the siege of Zara, and the rest), clearly Alexios must have appeared as a *deus ex machina*, the chiefs of the Christian host are "not guilty" of having plotted the destruction of a Christian State instead of the liberation of the Holy Land, and, last not least, Villehardouin, who tries to make us believe something of that kind, is an honorable man, not shrewd but candid. "L'arrivée tardive d'Alexis en Occident est une circonstance qui ruine les affirmations des *Gesta Innocentii tertii* et de Robert de Clari."

Of course, the *conditio sine qua non* of the success of that offensive is the absolute reliability of Niketas' chronology. Therefore Mr.

[2] It would be useless to repeat the cumbersome "literature" or bibliography of this *quaestio vexata* par excellence. I simply refer the reader to A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*, II, 104, to Edmond Faral, *Villehardouin, La Conquête de Constantinople* (Paris, 1938), p. liii-lxvii, and to Faral's article in the *Revue historique*, CLXXVII (1936), 530-582.

Probably the most important work, that of L. Usseglio, is generally ignored (see below).

Faral begins by asserting that Niketas is always correct in chronological matters. "Le récit de Nicétas, au cours de son histoire, se développe suivant l'ordre du temps avec une exactitude chronologique que l'on peut constater toutes les fois qu'existe un moyen de contrôle." This is a high praise, which had not been bestowed on Niketas by former critics.[3] But let us take it for granted. And let us take for granted, too, the results of Mr. Faral's chronological analysis of the few "years" which preceded the year 1201-1202.

We copy his summary of the events of that year, as recounted by Niketas.[4]

Année de Constantinople 6710 (1er septembre, 1201-31-août, 1202):

(1) En novembre, l'Empereur Alexis III va combattre Michel, en Orient (701-702);
(2) 1er Mars: tremblement de terre à Chalcédoine (703);
(3) Aventures d'Eudoxie (703-705);
(4) 12-14 avril: siège et prise de Varna par Jean le Valaque (706);
(5) Camyze, longtemps prisonnier, emprunte à Chryse le prix de sa rançon, et prie l'Empereur de rembourser Chryse. Refus de l'Empereur. Révolte de Camyze (707-708);
(6) En même temps, révolte de Jean Spydorinace (sic) (708);
(7) L'Empereur réduit les rebelles (709);
(8) Alexis, fils d'Isaac II, qui avait été remis en liberté, et que l'Empereur emmenait contre Camyze, s'échappe, s'embarque sur un bateau pisan, et gagne la Sicile (711-712);
(9) Alexis se présente aux Croisés comme ils allaient faire voile (714).

At first glance, this looks decisive. If the fifth item, the rebellion of Manuel Camytzes, really took place after the 14 April 1202, and the eighth, the flight of Alexios, after the conclusion of this rebellion and that of Spyridonakes, evidently it cannot possibly have occurred earlier than in the summer of 1202: *quod erat demonstrandum.*

But in Mr. Faral's system, there is a fallacy which must be detected at once, the more so since it is a very clever fallacy, which is sure to deceive those who are not familiar with Niketas' extraordinarily

[3] Theodor Ilgen, *Conrad von Montferrat* (Marburg, 1880), p. 3: "Gugler und Riezler, die beide für ihre Zwecke kürzere Abschnitte des Niketas einer genaueren Prüfung unterworfen haben, haben dargetan, wie wenig dieser Schriftsteller das Lob verdient, das ihm Wilken hat zu Teil werden lassen. Unfraglich hängt damit der Mangel fast jeder bestimmteren chronologischen Datirung zusammen: hält doch Niketas nicht einmal in der Aufeinanderfolge der Erzählung die zeitliche Reihe der Begebenheiten ein." Cf. Kap-Herr, *Die abendländische Politik Kaiser Manuels*, p. 123 ff.

[4] I have added the numbers. The pages are those of the Bonn edition.

difficult style. Nobody or almost nobody reads or has ever read Niketas in the text, not even the Greeks, who preferred to use the vulgar paraphrase. There is no other transcription available than the *versio latina*, which is not a translation, but a kind of summary, or the old French version by President Cousin, which Mr. Faral seems to know, but not to have read carefully (or the good Russian version, but . . . *Rossica non leguntur*. Otherwise he would have immediately discovered the "composite" character of the "sections" which he treats as so many units.

The different stories of Niketas may be arranged in a *roughly* chronological order; but they are stories, and not isolated events; they form separate narratives, which Niketas tries to make as clear as his complicated style allows; *everything* or *almost everything* in each of these stories is directly related to the main subject, and often the *Vorgeschichte*, so far as it is necessary to explain the facts, is recounted. In *almost every story, thus*, the beginning lines or pages are devoted to facts which occurred months and even *years* before the date of the preceding story.

After the conclusion of Kamytzes's rebellion, which brings him near to the Crusade, Niketas embarks upon a long and very useful exposé of the causes of the Diversion: first, the bitter hatred of the deposed and blinded emperor Isaac, whom the Emperor did not watch carefully enough, the flight of young Alexios, and the resentment of the Venetians, who had been deprived of their commercial privileges by the Ἀγγελώνυμοι Βασιλεῖς. Very justly, Niketas blames not only Alexios but also Isaac, his predecessor, for the estrangement of the Venetians, to whom the Pisans and the Genoese were systematically preferred. He has kept in store for this chapter many details about the Italian policy not only of Alexios, but also of his predecessors. Niketas's system is thus to group around a major or minor event all the circumstances relating to it without limiting himself in the time. In other words, the succession of the key events may be chronological; but a fact referred to on page 713 of the Bonn edition may be prior by several years to one recounted on page 709. See, for instance, chapter 7, where the long and sad story of Eudokia, the Emperor's daughter, is told from the time of her marriage (before 1185) with the Serbian prince Stephen until her repudiation and the ephemeral triumph of Vukan (or Vulkan) over his brother (1202); seven years' history on two pages. This will suffice, I imagine, to dispose of Mr. Faral's theory that Niketas's book consists of a series of individual

facts arranged in a strictly chronological order. The chronology may be correct *within* a particular story, and that is all.

Now, Mr. Faral's date for Alexios's escape was based only on the circumstance that it was linked with Kamytzes's rebellion mentioned after a fact supposed to have taken place in April 1202: *ergo,* Alexios's flight occurred in the late spring or early summer of 1202.

I reply that Kamytzes's rebellion is a *long* affair, which took plenty of time, and not one moment of Alexian history. The protostrator Manuel Kamytzes, cousin of the Emperor, had been captured by the Bulgar "comitadji" Ivanko. As Alexios refused to ransom him, and even confiscated his property in Constantinople, Manuel turned to his own brother-in-law, Dobromir Chrysos,[5] the independent chieftain of Prosĕk and Strumica, who obtained his release from the Bulgarian jail. Ivanko had disappeared in the meantime; he had been lured by Alexios the Emperor to Constantinople and arrested. It was evidently the new ruler of the Wallachians and Bulgarians, John Asen I, who released Kamytzes. Chrysos had to pay to him a huge ransom, which Kamytzes still hoped the Emperor would refund. It was only when this hope proved futile that the indignant Kamytzes decided to ally himself with Chrysos. The two associates then began a series of rather vast operations, first against the Byzantine territories bordering upon Prosĕk, ultimately against Thessaly and even the Peloponnesus, which were temporarily occupied by them. In brief, Kamytzes and his Bulgarian relative Dobromir Chrysos made themselves masters of almost the whole Balkan southwest, while another rebel, the Cyprian Spyridonakis, governor of the district of Smolena, tried to cut off Constantinople from Thessalonica.

At last, Alexios the Emperor took military steps to crush the threefold insurrection. Alexios Palaiologos was given the mission to "liquidate" Spyridonakis, and John Oinoupolites that of fighting the Protostrator.

Spyridonakis soon gave way before Palaiologos's army, and fled to Bulgaria. But Kamytzes's and Chrysos's rebellion was a much harder nut to crack. Alexios used diplomacy as well as the force of arms. He first reduced Chrysos into submission by giving him an imperial wife, Theodora, daughter of one of his daughters, who had already served as a bait to allure the unfortunate Ivanko, and for whom he had to send from Constantinople—which means that the Emperor was then in the field (ἐκ Βυζαντίου μεταπεμψάμενος). Καὶ τούτοις τοῖς μεθοδεύμασιν ἀνασώ-

[5] Or Chryses. See Jirečĕk, *Geschichte der Serben,* I, 285-286.

ζεται Πελαγονίαν *καὶ* Πρίλαπον, *καὶ* Θεσσαλίας *ἀπανίστησι τὸν* Καμύτζην, *πῇ μὲν πολέμῳ κατατροπούμενον, πῇ δὲ φυγῆς ἐθελοντὶ ἁπτόμενον.*

Kamytzes, deprived of the help of Chrysos, was expelled from Thessaly or took to flight. But he retained one impregnable stronghold, Stanon, somewhere between Okhrida, Kastoria, and Monastir.

Now, Emperor Alexios succeeded in expelling Manuel even from that fortress: *ὕστατα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ* Στανοῦ *μετανάστην δείκνυσιν, εἰς ὃν ὡς εἰς ἀνάλωτον ἀπέδρα κρησφύγετον.*

But this was not all. Strumica also was retaken from Chrysos's hands. And as to the last formidable adversary, the Bulgarian John Asen, the Basileus made peace with him.

It must be admitted that his Kamytzes chapter carries a large body of material. It narrates:

1. Kamytzes's release from Bulgarian captivity after a long negotiation;
2. Kamytzes's negotiations with the Emperor, who refuses to refund the ransom;
3. Kamytzes's alliance with Dobromir-Chrysos;
4. Their joint operations leading to the occupation of many cities and of the whole of Thessaly and probably the Peloponnesus;
5. Spyridonakis's rebellion;
6. Alexios's counteraction, diplomatic and military;
7. Spyridonakis's flight to Bulgaria;
8. The Emperor's negotiations with Chrysos;
9. Chrysos's wedding with Princess Theodora;
10. Reoccupation, as a consequence of the peace concluded with Chrysos, of Pelagonia, Monastir, Prilep;
11. Imperial expedition into Thessaly and reconquest of that province;
12. Imperial operations against the stronghold of Stanon; final flight of Kamytzes;
13. Strumica reoccupied by the Imperials;
14. Peace with Bulgaria;
15. Alexios's triumph in Constantinople.

In short, *fifteen* items, instead of *three* in Faral's "tableaux chronologique."

It is evident that the fifteen events here enumerated required, to put it mildly, several months. Not to speak of the difficulty of mountain operations, like those which led to the capture of Stanon, not to speak of the loss and reconquest of almost the whole Balkan area (except the territories then controlled by the Serbs and Northern Bulgarians), a *single* one of the masterpieces of the imperial policy, viz., the matrimonial negotiation with the diffident half-barbarian Chryses or Chrysos, must have taken a long series of weeks.

One sees, Kamytzes' rebellion is more than a "chronological moment." It is a whole complex of Balkanic adventures, revolutions, and intrigues, an excellent preface to the great turmoil of the Fourth Crusade, and it lasted—to repeat Niketas' words: ἐφ' ἱκανὸν χρόνον.

Now, Alexios' flight took place by no means towards the end of that long sequence of events, but at one of the earliest stages of the Imperial Campaign against Kamytzes, as the Emperor, says Niketas, was about to undertake that campaign, ἐν τῷ μέλλειν κατὰ τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος ἐξιέναιο.

It is true that Niketas, who begins the story of the Rebellion of Kamytzes on p. 707, speaks of the flight on p. 711. But, if he followed the chronological order, as Professor Faral believes, he ought to have mentioned the latter on p. 709. He deliberately omits referring to it in its chronological connection, however, *because he is no annalist*: he likes well-told stories, where *all circumstances* belonging to the subject are related but where, also, contemporary events are passed over in silence when they are foreign to the story itself. Alexios' escape had to be mentioned in connection with the Fourth Crusade; for there it was of primary importance. But, as a mere episode, then almost unnoticed, of the initial stage of the imperial expedition against Kamytzes, it could be suppressed and it was, in fact, passed over in silence by Niketas in its *chronological* place.

I hope that the argument according to which Niketas *states* a late date for the flight of Alexios will never appear again in this controversy. And I even trust that this controversy itself will never be revived.

Sometimes, a repulsed offensive by itself means a decisive victory. Mr. Faral's attempt to use Niketas for his purpose has led us to show that, on the contrary, Niketas favors or postulates an early date for Alexios' flight: before the winter of 1201-1202, in full agreement with the other witnesses. We must now turn to those. Their consensus is really "formidable," if one thinks how completely independent they are from each other. First, there are the *Annales Colonienses* which, after speaking of the consecration of the Archbishop of Mayence by the legate of Innocent, July 1201, says: "Per idem tempus Alexius venit in Alamanniam ad Philippum regem sororium suum, et ibi per aliquod tempus demoratur et honorifice tractatur." Cerone had doubted the synchronism, because the final act of the consecration was performed later on, in March 1202. But, says Usseglio, "qui il dotto autore cade in un equivoco." The Letter of the Pope, dated March 23rd, actually confirms the *Annales*.

Mr. Faral, it is true, expresses the same doubt as Cerone. But he could never have written his discussion of that testimony if he had read the masterly settlement of the whole question by Leopoldo Usseglio in his scholarly work,[6] too little known in Europe and America.

Second, there is the eloquent chapter 83 of the *Gesta Innocenti III,* where it is said that Boniface came to Rome, arriving from France with a letter of the King of France to the Pope through Germany, "where he was reported to have discussed with Philip of Suabia, who had assumed the title of a King, a plan consisting in bringing back the run-away prince Alexios to Constantinople with the help of the Christian arms." Boniface *coepit agere a remotis* in favor of this plan, but the Pope refused to listen to him.

When, now, did Boniface come to see the Pope in Rome? We happen to know it rather precisely, not by the *Gesta,* but through a genuine letter of Innocent III himself, dated March 26, 1202, to King Philip Augustus, and containing the answer of the Pope to the letter brought by Boniface. But, even if one doubts, as does Mr. Faral, the trustworthiness of this chapter of the *Gesta,* there remains the Papal letter dated November 16th, 1202, to Emperor Alexios III, which Mr. Faral himself likes to quote. But not in full, for it contains this sentence fatal to his thesis: "Nos autem imperiali prudentia aliter duximus respondendum, quod predictus Alexius *olim* ad praesentiam nostram accedens. . . ."

That little adverb, *olim,*[7] would suffice to annihilate the whole argumentation of the enemies of the "Byzantine theory." If in November, 1202, Pope Innocent referred to a visit which would have taken place, let us say—as Mr. Faral thinks—in July, 1202, he could have used *nuper,* but never the particle *olim.* Innocent's Latin was good.

Roma locuta est, and has decidedly spoken in favor of the early date.

Ed. Winkelmann in his *Philipp von Schwaben* (pp. 524-528), without making use of the Nicetas, or of the decisive *olim* argument, had admirably recognized one of the main political reasons why the great Pope refused to listen, first to Alexios's, the nto Boniface's

[6] Leopoldo Usseglio, *I Marchesi di Monferrato,* II (1926), 166. The letter of the Pope proves precisely that the Legate *was* in Germany in the summer of 1201, and that the synchronism "Per id tempus" holds good.

[7] In the same letter, the Pope uses the adverb *olim* in connection with the Emperor Henry VI who died in 1198: "Sicut Henricus olim Imperator."

proposals—and in the same contest he adopted for Alexios the Younger's visit to Rome, a date still earlier than ours.[8]

Winkelmann did not know the testimony of Robert de Clari, and even to-day, we could still abstain from using it. But it affords so admirable a confirmation of all the other texts that we must remind the reader of that definite, clear-cut statement, according to which Boniface declared to the crusaders, at the end of 1202 or the beginning of 1203, that he had met young Alexios at Christmas of the preceding year, thus in December, 1201, at the court of Philip of Suabia, in Germany—three months after Boniface of Montferrat had been elected as the Generalissimo of the Holy War. I shall refrain to-day from repeating what that choice meant. Instead, I advise those who would still be in doubt to read Usseglio's splendid book on the Montferrat family, one of the most important contributions ever made to our Byzantine studies by a non-Byzantinist. Boniface was the son of a man who had enjoyed the intimate friendship of the Byzantine Emperors. He was the brother of two Caesars of Byzantium, Rainer and Conrad. Those men were looked upon in Byzantium as epic heroes. One of the most "genuine" features of Robert de Clari's vivid narration is his perfect acquaintance with those Byzantine connections of the Montferrats. There are a few confusions in his account of Conrad's "geste," but nothing really "legendary," as has often been contended in order to disparage him.

Really, there is no problem of the Fourth Crusade. As soon as Alexios the Younger, the pretender, succeeded in reaching Italy and Germany and in appearing at the Court of Philip of Suabia, his brother-in-law and brother of Henry VI, who died as he was about to carry out the Norman plan of the Conquest of the Eastern Empire, Boniface of Montferrat, the leader elect of the Crusade, saw himself sitting on the Imperial throne, which his two brothers had well-nigh occupied and which he missed himself, not because of the opposition of the Pope, who hated the "Suabian" and did not trust the Montferrat, but because of the *tertius gaudens*, the shrewd Doge of Venice.

[8] "Aber es wird nicht minder ins Gewicht gefallen sein, dass Angelos eben der Schwager Philipp von Schwaben war, und dass er sein Gesuch etwa in derselben Zeit stellte, in welcher Innocenz sich zur offenen Anerkennung Ottos IV entschloss. Ich glaube wenigstens seinen Aufenthalt in Rom am Ende des Jahres 1200 oder in den Anfang 1201 setzen zu dürfen, wie die Annl. Col. max. p. 810 sein Eintreffen bei Philipp unmittelbar nach der am 3ten Juli zu Köln geschehenen Bestätigung Otto IV melden."

A CHRYSOBULL OF THE EMPEROR ANDRONICUS II PALAEOLOGUS IN FAVOR OF THE SEE OF KANINA IN ALBANIA *

By PAUL J. ALEXANDER

Dedicated to the Memory of
Canon William Greenwell,
distinguished Scholar and Collector.

The manuscript treasures of a library are made accessible to the learned public only after they have been catalogued. Such a catalogue has appeared recently for the libraries of the United States and Canada.[1] The results are already beginning to show even in the Byzantine field,[2] and it is to be expected that other finds will follow suit.

The document which will be edited and discussed in this paper owes its discovery to the *Census*. This catalogue[3] describes the *MS. 398* of the Pierpont Morgan Library, of New York City, as follows:

398. Chrysobull of Emperor Andronicus II, in Greek, addressed to the Bishop of Canina. Vellum roll (6815 = A. D. 1307), 157 x 31 cm. Large miniature at top.
Signature of the Emperor in red ink.

So far as I know this is the only mention of our document in literature. The records of the Morgan Library show that it came from the collec-

* The writer wishes to thank, first of all, the authorities of the Pierpont Morgan Library, and Miss Meta Harrsen in particular, for the kind reception which he found there. His work on the manuscript was facilitated in every possible way, and he considers it a great privilege to be allowed to publish it. Professor Henri Grégoire, the editor of this review, inspected the manuscript on various occasions. His advice given unsparingly, both orally and by correspondence, has solved many serious problems; much of what may be good in this paper is due to his suggestions. Finally Professor R. P. Blake, of Harvard University, has aided and encouraged the writer during the preparation of this paper in the most generous way. In particular he is indebted to Professor Blake for reading and correcting his manuscript after its completion.

[1] Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 2 vols., New York, 1935-1937.

[2] F. Halkin, "Le mois de janvier du 'Ménologe Impérial' byzantin," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LVII (1939), 225-236 shows that *Codex 521* of the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore is identical with the stolen *Codex 33* of the Library of the Patriarchate at Alexandria, and represents the January volume of the *Menologium Anonymum* edited by Latyshev.

[3] Ricci, *Census*, II, p. 1440.

tion of the late Canon William Greenwell, the distinguished English scholar and collector, of Durham Cathedral (1820-1918).[4]

The parchment roll consists of three pieces. The individual pieces have a length of 42, 5, 66, and 53, 5 cm. respectively. The tops of pieces two and three are glued on top of the bottoms of pieces one and two. There are no notes on the back of the manuscript to authenticate the glueings (κολλήματα, "dorsale Klebevermerke") nor are there notes on the *recto* to record that the document had been registered with the financial bureaux of the capital ("Registriervermerke").[5] The ink now looks like a greyish brown. The word λόγος (three times as usual, width: 0,105, 0,105, and 0,115 m. respectively), the number of the indiction, the month as well as the tens and units of the *annus mundi* are written in a red ink which looks somewhat faded today. The red ink of the imperial signature is of a darker red. No golden seal is preserved, but there is a hole approximately 3 cm. underneath the signature, and the bottom is folded three times, so that it is probable that originally the silk threads to which the golden seal was attached passed through holes in the folded document.[6] On either margin of the column two marginal lines are drawn with a hard-pointed instrument to bound the text laterally. No traces of ruling are discernible.

The script of the text (see pl. II) is the minuscule of contemporary

[4] On Canon Greenwell, see the memoir in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, XV (1918), pp. 1-21, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1912-1921, p. 226; furthermore *Notes and Queries*, 11th series, I, pp. 227, 277, 291; 12th series, IV, p. 129; CLXI (1931), p. 409. (I am indebted for the references from *Notes and Queries* to the kindness of Miss Ruth S. Granniss, of the Grolier Club, whom I wish to thank in this place.) Greenwell travelled in Italy in 1846 and may have acquired the document on this trip. It is certain, however, that this document lay somewhat beyond the ordinary sphere of interest of this great collector, and this fact may explain why this possession of his never became known to the learned public. The New York art dealer through whose services the Morgan Library bought the *Ms. 398* informed me that the pertinent records of his London office have been destroyed.

[5] On the *Klebevermerke* and *Registriervermerke*, see F. Dölger, *Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden* (Munich, 1931), pp. 6 ff.

[6] In the first and third folding the lower part of the *recto* is folded over its upper part whereas in the second folding the lower part of the *verso* touched its upper part. For a golden seal of Andronicus II attached to a chrysobull see Dölger, *Facsimiles*, p. 66 and plate 65, and Pietro Sella, *Le bolle d'oro dell' archivio vaticano* (Città del Vaticano, 1934), pp. 47 ff. and plate II.

literary manuscripts. Like other chrysobulls of Andronicus II,[7] the scribe of our document makes an attempt of distinguishing its script from that of contemporary book-hands: the individual letters are particularly neat and rounded, and in the roll the text is arranged in a way which betrays clearly the tradition of the Byzantine chancery. The hand resembles closely that of other chrysobulls of the same Emperor; more particularly a hand that has recently been identified.[8] Yet the hand thus identified is distinctly different from the one which wrote our manuscript.[9]

The most striking part of the document is the miniature which covers the entire first piece of parchment (see plate I). Unfortunately the surface of the parchment, together with the color, has broken away in many places, yet the general impression of the miniature is magnificent. It shows the Emperor Andronicus before the Theotokos against a shining golden background. As one faces the roll, one sees on one's left the Virgin carrying the infant on her right arm. She turns slightly towards the Emperor. From the pleats of the garment it may be inferred that her left arm is raised, but in the present state of preservation it is impossible to say whether she carries anything in her left hand. Her face is brownish, her eyes are blue. Her halo

[7] Dölger, *Facsimiles*, pp. 3, 33; idem, "Empfängerausstellung in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei etc.," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* XV (1938), esp. p. 400. Unlike certain other chrysobulls of this reign, however, this document has a great number of ligatures and raised abbreviations which crowd the space between the lines.

[8] Dölger, *Empfängerausstellung*, esp. pp. 401 ff. According to him this hand, which he calls A, is characterized by the fact that the diacritical points of the ι often are placed to the left of this letter. Furthermore Dölger points to the forms of χ, ω, πρ, of the ἐν in ἐνισταμένης, of κράτος, ἔτους and ἐν ᾧ ὑπεσημήνατο. The Morgan chrysobull shows the same habit with regard to the diacritical points, and the word κράτος is written very much like that of A. I confess that Dölger's identification has not entirely convinced me. Undoubtedly there are similarities, but I wonder whether they cannot be explained by the assumption of the same *scriptorium* within the chancery rather than by an identity of scribes.

[9] To mention but a few of the features that distinguish it from A: The letters of the Morgan document are much more rounded than those of A. They stand vertically on the line, whereas the hand of A slopes towards the right. Certain letter forms (β, ε, λ, φ) are quite different from those of A. Furthermore, the scribe of our chrysobull often shows the queer habit of raising the bottom of the τ above the top of the other letters and of omitting the α, as for instance in δικαιώμ(α)τα (line 25), κτημ(ά)των (line 28), κτήμ(α)τα (lines 35, 42), ἀσωμ(ά)του (line 53) etc.

consists of two concentric circles drawn with purple color on the golden background. She is seen wearing a light blue tunic (ἱμάτιον) which is visible only below the waistline and goes down to her ankles. It falls into delicately shaded pleats, particularly over the right knee. Her head, shoulders and the upper part of her body are covered by a pallium (χλαμύς) of a violet brown. There are faint but distinct traces of purple color at the level of her feet; it is likely, therefore, that she wore purple shoes. She is standing on a *subsellium* of rectangular shape which is carelessly drawn in perspective.

The face of the infant has the same color as that of his mother. His hair is brown. His halo is golden, somewhat darker than the background. It is adorned by a cross drawn in purple color. The child wears a long golden tunic.

The portrait of the Emperor closely resembles that of the Monembasia document (below, pp. 171 f.). He is turning slightly towards the Virgin. His face has disappeared entirely. He has a halo of the same type as that of the Virgin. His crown (στέμμα),[10] of which only the outline is visible, and his ceremonial attire are studded with innumerable jewels of various hues and shapes. His left arm is lifted and in his left hand he carries a purple roll.[11] His right arm and hand are no longer visible, but it is unlikely that the Emperor was carrying a cross. He wears a dark blue tunic (σάκκος) and around his waist he wears the golden λῶρος of which the end is passed over his left arm.[11a] His shoulders are covered with the κατωμαδόν, from which a broad stripe of gold descends to the lowest part of the tunic. The inside of the λῶρος is purple red. Andronicus stands on a purple cushion (σουππέδιον) decorated with the figures of two eagles of which only the talons remain.

The head of the Virgin is flanked by the following inscription (all

[10] On the imperial costume of the time of the Paleologi, see J. Ebersolt, *Les Arts somptuaires de Byzance. Etude sur l'art impérial de Constantinople* (Paris, 1923), pp. 120-129.

[11] It is the ἀκακία, a piece of cloth filled with dust to indicate the humility of the Emperor; it resembles a *codex* (see Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit*, 27; Dölger, *BZ*, XXXVII (1937), 485; A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), p. 111, therefore, is definitely wrong when he classifies the miniature of Monembasia as representing an Emperor dedicating his theological works to Christ (Dölger, *Gnomon*, XIV [1938], 209.

[11a] This end of the σάκκος is called ῥωσθέλιον = *rostellum*, see H. Grégoire, "Etymologies byzantino-latines," *Byzantion*, XII (1937), 300 ff.; Dölger, *BZ* XXXVII (1937), 484 (review).

the inscriptions in "epigraphic majuscules" [12]): Μ$\overline{\eta}$(τη)ρ Θ$\overline{(\epsilon o)\upsilon}$ and on the left side of the head there follows: Ἡ Πορφηρᾶ (*sic*).[13] At the level of the child's head the inscription runs as follows: Ἰ$\overline{(\eta σου)}$ς Χ$\overline{(ριστό)}$ς. The Emperor's face is surrounded by the words: Ἀνδρόνικος / ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῶ θ(ε)ῶ / πιστὸς / βασιλεὺς / κ(αὶ) αὐτοκρά/τωρ Ῥωμαί-(ων) / Κομνηνὸς / ὁ / Πα/λαι/ολό/γος.

The entire miniature is surrounded by a purple frame.

I should not think that the authenticity of the chrysobull will be challenged.[14] It has been said above (pp. 168 f.) that the script of the body of the document is closely related to that of contemporary documents. A comparison of the Emperor's signature with that of other chrysobulls shows all the well known characteristics.[15] The *annus mundi* and the indiction coincide, the word κράτος stands alone in the last line of the text immediately before the imperial signature, and the "red words" are written with a distinctly finer pen than the signature. Finally one need only look at chrysobulls which have been recently discovered to be spurious to realize that the Byzantines were not past-masters in the art of forging imperial documents.

The miniature which adorns our manuscript raises many serious problems. There is only one other genuine chrysobull issued by the Byzantine chancery and adorned with a miniature, the celebrated chrysobull for Monembasia, dated A. D. 1301, which is now preserved in the Byzantine Museum at Athens.[16] Heisenberg had never doubted

[12] On this type of script which was used for instance in the addresses of imperial letters to foreign rulers and in other miniatures, see Dölger, *Facsimiles*, col. 11 and plate IV, no. 6.

[13] The last two letters of the epithet are not absolutely certain, but both Professor Grégoire and the writer are satisfied that no other ending fits the traces.

[14] The criteria for the authenticity of Byzantine imperial documents have been established recently by F. Dölger and others. See the works quoted by G. Rouillard, "La diplomatique byzantine depuis 1905," *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 628 ff. I wish to acknowledge here my general indebtedness to this article in all questions concerning Byzantine diplomatics.

[15] Facsimiles of Andronicus' signature may be found in many publications, most conveniently in Dölger, *Facsimiles*, plate XII, no. 25. Compare especially the vertical stroke which the Emperor places above his name, also individual letter forms like β, ν, ρ.

[16] The reader will find a beautiful colored reproduction of this miniature in S. P. Lampros, Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων (Athens, 1930), pl. 79. The document and the miniature were discussed by A. Heisenberg, "Aus der

the authenticity of the miniature. Dölger,[17] on the other hand, declared it a later addition, whereas Binon [18] took a non-committal attitude. The present writer believes that Binon's attitude is commendable. We have now, in the chrysobull for Kanina, a new example for a *chrysobullos logos* with a miniature, and it would be a curious coincidence indeed if both at Monembasia and at Kanina somebody would have had the same idea of adding a miniature to a chrysobull. Furthermore we should not forget that, according to Heisenberg,[19] the four imperial miniatures in the *Monacensis* of Georgius Pachymeres are derived from imperial documents. Finally, royal documents both of the French and of the German Chancery of the fourteenth century show a remarkable wealth of artistic decoration and even miniatures.[19a]

What is the purpose of such a miniature on a document issued by

Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-philol. und histor. Klasse*, 1920, no. 10; F. Dölger, "Ein literarischer und diplomatischer Fälscher des 16. Jahrhunderts: Metropolit Makarios von Monembasia," *Otto Glauning zum 60. Geburtstag. Festgabe aus Wissenschaft und Bibliothek*, I (Leipzig, 1936), 25-35 (proves that the parallel document in the National Library at Athens, likewise adorned with a miniature, is a forgery); and St. Binon, "L'Histoire et la légende de deux chrysobulles d'Andronic II en faveur de Monembasie. Macaire ou Phrantzès?" *Echos d'Orient*, XXXVII (1938), 274-311.

[17] Dölger, *Metropolit Makarios*, p. 27, note 1: (The document of 1301 is genuine) "bis auf die beiden gleichartigen, je mit dem Bilde des neben Christus stehenden Kaisers versehenen Pergamentstücke, welche beiden Urkunden am Kopf vorgeheftet sind. Solche Miniaturen sind auf keinen Fall zugehörig (vgl. meine Bemerkungen Byz. Zeitsch. 34 [1934], 471); die Pergamentstücke sind vermutlich angebracht worden, während die beiden Urkunden zusammen im Archiv des Metropolitan von Monembasia (bis 1769) aufbewahrt wurden etc."

[18] Binon, *L'Histoire et la légende*, p. 285: "La question reste ouverte de savoir si le document reçut la miniature, à Byzance même, avant qu'il ne parvienne à Monembasie, ou à Monembasie, avant 1750."

[19] Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit*, p. 52.

[19a] I owe this information to a kind communication of Professor R. Salomon, of Kenyon College. For the German Chancery, see W. Erben, L. Schmitz-Kallenberg, and O. Redlich, *Urkundenlehre*, pt. I (Munich and Berlin, 1907), 250-252, and for the French, A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, nouvelle édition, II (Paris, no date), 504-507. In the fifteenth century artistic decoration appears even in the Papal Chancery, in the so-called *Prunksuppliken* written at Rome, see Schmitz-Kallenberg, *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae saeculi XV exeuntis* (Munich, 1904), pp. xix-xxii and idem, "Eine Prunksupplik des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles," *Hohenzollern Jahrbuch*, IX (1905), 207-209.

the imperial chancery? It represents the Emperor worshipping the Virgin.[20] Heisenberg [21] argued that in the period of the Palaeologi the imperial documents omit the solemn *invocatio* with its trinitarian formula (*ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*). He suggested that it was replaced, during the Nicaean period, by a portrait of one member of the Trinity, Christ, and he raises the question whether, in times of financial strain, the miniature may also have replaced the golden seal. The Kanina document shows the image of the Virgin, so that there can be no connection with the trinitarian formula. Furthermore, there are traces of some sort of a seal (although not necessarily a golden one) preserved both in the Monembasia document [22] and in that for Kanina (above, p. 168), and we possess a number of golden seals of Andronicus II (above, note 6). It is hard to imagine that even the reduced budget of the Byzantine state would have been unable to finance the thin plates of gold of a seal. The writer would be inclined rather to attribute the appearance of miniatures on imperial chrysobulls to the general artistic revival of the period and to that of portraiture in particular. The Byzantine chancery may have welcomed this new channel of imperial propaganda which, for the Byzantine mind, must have looked like the ancient custom of sending the image of the Emperor to the provinces.[23] It is impossible, however, to explain the differences between the miniature of 1301 and that of 1307: thus the Kanina chrysobull has the Virgin with the child instead of Christ alone and it shows the Emperor on the right of the spectator whereas he had been on the left in the Monembasia document.

The greatest difficulty raised by the miniature is the epithet of the Virgin, *ἡ πορφηρᾶ*. The writer wishes to state candidly that he has not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of it and that, if the sug-

[20] On this theme of the imperial art, see A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin etc.*, Paris, 1936, pp. 98-106.

[21] Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit*, 54.

[22] Binon, *L'Histoire et la légende*, 305.

[23] In this connection it should be noted that one hour and a half north of Berat, in the Church of St. Nicholas of the village of Pentrochontē, there are frescoes representing Andronicus and other members of his family (A. Alexudes, "*Δύο σημειώματα ἐκ χειρογράφων*," *Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, IV (1892), 279 f., note 2) and the same holds true of the monastery of Pojani, on the site of the ancient Apollonia (K. Jireček, "Valona im Mittelalter," in L. von Thalloczy, *Illyrische-Albanische Forschungen*, I (Munich and Leipzig, 1916), p. 174.

gestions mentioned below point in the right direction, the credit for this belongs entirely to Professor Henri Grégoire. The epithet as such has not been found anywhere else and the general literature on the iconography of the Virgin [24] does not mention this type at all. A solution of the problem may be sought on two different lines of approach:

(1) The Virgin may be called "the purple one" because of some tradition connecting the Virgin with the purple.

(2) She may be called thus because an image of the Virgin at a place called ἡ Πορφύρα was the object of particular worship at the time of the chrysobull.

Now legend does indeed connect the Virgin with the purple. The *Protevangelium Jacobi* reports that, when the priests decided to have a new curtain made for the temple and assembled for this purpose seven virgins, among them Mary, the lot decided that she should weave "the scarlet and the true purple." [25] She busied herself with the purple when the angel announced the birth of Jesus,[26] and before she visited Elizabeth, she brought the purple and the scarlet back to the temple.[27] The episode of the purple was not forgotten at Byzantium,[28] and it plays a particularly important role in the homilies of

[24] Especially N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, 2 vols. (Petrograd, 1915). For more recent literature on the subject, see the bibliographical references in V. Lasareff, "Studies in the iconography of the Virgin," *The Art Bulletin*, XX (1938), 26-65.

[25] Ch. Michel, *Evangiles Apocryphes*, vol. I (Paris, 1911), ch. X, p. 20 ff.

[26] *Ibid.*, ch. XI, p. 22.

[27] *Ibid.*, ch. XII, p. 24.

[28] The Virgin is frequently represented as being clad with the purple. I note a few passages: Germanus of Constantinople, *Oratio de ingressu Deiparae*, ch. 7 (*B(ibliotheca) H(agiographica) (G)raeca*, edd. Socii Bollandiani, ed. altera (Brussels, 1909), no. 1103 = Migne, *PG* XCVIII, 300 B): Πορφυρίζονται στολαὶ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τῇ ἀλουργοειδεῖ αὐτῆς καὶ παρθενικῇ ἀμφιάσει, cf. also 13, col. 304 D; idem, *In Annuntiationem SS. Deiparae* (= *BHG* 1104), *ibid.*, 321 A: ἡ διὰ πάντων πορφυρίζουσα θεοβάσταικτος νεφέλη; 324 B: Τάχα δὲ καὶ ἦν κατέχεις πορφύραν, προμηνύει τὶ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα. (The dramatic parts of this homily have been edited critically by G. La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella letteratura bizantina dalle origini al sec.* IX [Grottaferrata, 1912], pp. 110-123). It is to be noted that the first passage quoted above shows that the purple came to be associated with the Virgin as Queen of Heaven even independently from the episode of the purple; for in the legend the presentation at the temple precedes the weaving of the purple curtain. According to the *Epistola Synodalis ad Theophilum* (ed. L. Duchesne,

the monk James of Coccinobaphus.[29] The Virgin is represented as weaving the sacred veil,[30] but at the same time another connection between the Virgin and the purple makes its appearance: she is called the royal purple (*πορφύρα, ἀλουργίς*) which prophecies the coming of the King of the Universe[31] and which Christ will put on.[32] The two ideas are confronted very clearly in a passage where the Virgin is represented with the purple cloth and where it is said that "in her own flesh and in herself the Virgin is weaving for the universal King and Lord the purple."[32a] By now the Virgin herself has become the purple of Christ. The difficulty of this explanation of our chrysobull consists in the fact that the miniature itself does not hint in any way at the legend of the purple.

Many epithets of the Virgin, on the other hand, refer to the particular places where an image was located. The Porphyra was a building which formed part of the imperial palace.[33] One of the continua-

Roma e l'Oriente, V (1913), 281) the famous image of the Virgin at Lydda showed the purple (see also the anonymous homilies edited by E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende.* Part II: *Beilagen, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Neue Folge, III (Leipzig, 1899), 220, 241. Finally H. Grégoire, "L'Age héroïque de Byzance," *Mélanges Iorga* (Paris, 1933), p. 392, note 1, called attention to, and translated a passage from a *Life of St. Basil the Younger* († 944, *BHG* 263) where the Virgin appears to Constantine Dukas wearing the purple (*πορφυροφορεῖ*); see A. Tougard, *De l'histoire profane dans les actes Grecs des Bollandistes*, Paris, 1874), p. 42, and also the *γυνὴ πορφυροφοροῦσα*, Georgios Mon. (ed. de Boor), II, 655.

[29] Migne, *PG*, CXXVII, 543-700. The date of the author is still uncertain, see Ehrhard in Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 172.

[30] *PG* CXXVII, 633 A (*BHG* 1153): *Ἤδη μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀμιάντου Παρθένου τὴν ἱερὰν ἐργωμένης ἱστουργίαν κτλ.*, also 669 B (*BHG* 1120). The distribution of the purple also appears on one of the interesting miniatures which adorn two manuscripts of the homilies, see L. Bréhier, "Les Miniatures des 'homélies' du Moine Jacques et le théâtre religieux à Byzance," *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXIV (1920), 103, fig. 1.

[31] *Ibid.*, 545 D (= *BHG*, 1126).

[32] *Ibid.*, 549 B (= *BHG*, 1126).

[32a] *Ibid.*, 664 B (= *BHG*, 1120): *Ἦν οὖν τότε κατιδεῖν τὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀξίας σύμβολα ἐν χερσὶ τὴν βασιλίδα κατέχουσαν, καὶ ὡς τίμια ταῦτα περιπτυσσομένην ἀναθήματα· τῷ δὲ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ Δεσπότῃ τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν ἀλουργίδα ὑπὲρ λόγον ὑφαινομένην ἐν ἑαυτῇ μὴ συνορῶμεν.* John of Damascus, *De Imaginibus*, I, 4 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XCIV, 1236 B) = III, 6 (*ibid.*, 1324 A) calls Christ's human nature *ἀλουργὶς τοῦ σώματος.*

[33] J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1910), pp. 148 f.

tors of Theophanes explains the name by the fact that from old the Empress distributed there, at the time of the Brumalia, the purple to the wives of the officials.[34] Now at the outset the Brumalia, a festival which lasted from November 24 to December 17,[35] had been bitterly opposed by the Church, but at the time of the Macedonian dynasty the Church had accepted it and the Emperor Leo the Wise himself recited during the Brumalia a hymn *εἰς τὴν πρεσβείαν τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου.*[36] There is no indication that the festival itself continued to exist after the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The fact remains that part of the Brumalian ceremonies were performed in the Porphyra and that, to some extent, the festival stood under the protection of the Virgin. Under these circumstances it would be astonishing indeed if there had not been, in the Porphyra, an image of the Theotokos which might be qualified as *ἡ πορφυρᾶ*. It is not impossible even that the distribution of the purple to the ladies of the Court was a reminiscence of that other distribution of the purple to Mary. The ceremonies of the Byzantine court were intended to remind the participant of the earthly life of the Savior.[37] In that case we would have a combination of the two suggested explanations: the Virgin is called *ἡ πορφυρᾶ* because there was an image of hers in the *Πορφύρα* and the latter building was called thus because the scene performed in it during the Brumalia was a reminiscence of the legend of the Virgin.

It will not be possible to arrive at a clear-cut result until other examples of that epithet are found. Iconographically the *Πορφυρᾶ* is characterized by the fact that she carries the infant on her right arm and that she is standing.[38] She is, therefore, different from the normal type of Hodegetria who holds the child on the left arm and resembles rather the type known as Gorgoepekoos, Vasiotissa, Euergetis, etc.[39]

[34] Theophanes Continuatus, *De Theophilo*, p. 174: . . . *πρὸς τὴν Πορφύραν εἰσίν, ἥτις οὕτω λέγεται διὰ τὸ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐκεῖσε ἔκπαλαι διανέμειν τὸ ὀξὺ ταῖς ἀρχοντίσσαις κατὰ τὸν τῶν βρουμαλίων χρόνον.*

[35] On the Brumalia, see the excellent dissertation of J. R. Crawford, *De Bruma et Brumalibus festis*, *BZ* XXIII (1920), 365-396.

[36] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis* II, 18, p. 602 (and the comment of Reiske, pp. 708-710): *εὐθὺς ὀνομάζει ὁ βασιλεὺς "εἰς τὴν πρεσβείαν τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου."*

[37] Heisenberg, *Palaiologenzeit*, p. 83.

[38] The purple boots which the Virgin is wearing on the chrysobull (above, p. 170) must have contributed to the development of the epithet.

[39] Kondakov, *Ikonografija*, II, 267-285. One last suggestion with respect to

Here is the text of the document: [40]

1 † Τοῖς ἐπαινετῶς καὶ ἀρίστως τὰ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας διέπειν καὶ ἰθύνειν
2 ἐθέλουσ(ιν)
2 ἔστι μ(ὲν) προσφυὲς πάνυ καὶ εὐπρεπέστατον πραότητά τε ἔχειν καὶ
2 ἐπιείκειαν, ἀληθεί(ας)
3 καὶ δικαιοσύνης διαφερόντως ἀντέχεσθαι καί γε ταύτας ὑπερφιλεῖν καὶ
3 τηρεῖν ἀσφαλ(ῶς)
4 ὥστε δὴ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν ἴσον τρόπον τούτους ἀντιφυλάττεσθαι—
4 " φυλακὴ καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ,"
5 ὥς που τις φησὶ τῶν σοφῶν, " ἐλεημοσύνη τε καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ τὸν θρόνον
5 αὐτοῦ
6 ἐν δικαιοσύνη κυκλώσουσιν "—ἔτι τὲ περὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον κηδεμονίαν τίθεσθαι
6 συνεχῆ
7 καὶ εὐποιΐας δαψιλεῖς καὶ χρηστότητας· ἄλλά τε τούτοις σύστοιχα καὶ
7 κατάλληλα, ναὶ μὴν
8 καὶ τὸ τὰς ἐνδεχομένας αἰτήσεις καὶ παρ' εὐγνωμόνων προσαγομένας ἱλαρᾶ
9 τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ φαιδρῷ προσώπῳ προσίεσθαι τάς τε ἀμοιβὰς ἀξιοχρέως ἅμα
10 καὶ δικαίως ἀντιμετρεῖν καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς διανέμειν φιλοτιμότερον, ἐφῷ
10 κατὰ
11 τὴν προφητικὴν ἐκείνην ὑποθήκην τὲ καὶ ὑφήγησιν " πάντά γε πράττειν
11 ἐμφρόνως
12 καὶ οἰκονομεῖν πρεπωδέστατα." ὃ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἐστι κυριώτερον ἢ
12 μᾶλλον
13 εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν ὄντως ἀπάγον καὶ
13 μακαρίαν

our epithet. The type of the Virgin Gorgoepekoos which our miniature resembles to a certain degree expresses the belief that the Virgin if invoked is quick in helping. This " quickness " of the Virgin is often expressed by the word *ὀξύς*. Thus the famous monastery of Nikolaos Komnenos Maliasenos was dedicated to the Theometer *τῆς ὀξείας ἐπισκέψεως* (MM IV 330) and a homily of the tenth or eleventh century remarks (Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 263**) *πᾶσι βοηθοῦσα, πᾶσι συνεργοῦσα, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ὀξύτερον ἢ τάχος ἀστραπῆς παροῦσα.* Now *ὀξύς* is also used even in Roman times in the sense of *purpureus* (see J. J. Reiske, *Commentarii ad Constantinum Porphyrogenitum de Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, p. 228, and above note 34). It is possible that *ἡ πορφηρᾶ* originated as a misunderstanding for *ἡ ὀξεῖα*?

[40] As to peculiarities of spelling and accentuation, especially of *enclitics*, see Binon, *Histoire et Légende*, p. 305, note 2. I have followed the manuscript. Only the diacritical points which are found on almost every iota and upsilon are omitted and the first letter of proper names is capitalized. Words spelt entirely in capitals stand for " red words."

14 δόξαν τὲ καὶ λαμπρότητα, τὸ ἀκραιφνῶς δηλονότι εὐσεβεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὸν
15 παρ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν οὕτως αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλεύειν ἐπιβραβεύεται, καὶ καθόσον
16 οἷόν τε ὅλη ψυχῇ καὶ διανοίᾳ εἰλικρινεῖ καὶ γνώμης εὐθύτητι πάντ' ἐκεῖνα προθυμεῖσθαι
17 καὶ πράττειν ἐν οἷς Θ(εὸ)ς ἀναμφιλέκτως εὐαρεστεῖται καὶ θεραπευεται,[1] ὧν οὐχ' ἧττόν
18 ἐστι καὶ τὸ πρὸς σύστασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ βελτίωσιν τῶν τε ἱερῶν φροντιστηρίων καὶ λοιπῶν
19 θείων οἴκων καὶ εὐαγῶν φροντίζειν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις συναρήγειν
20 κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν καὶ τῶν προσόντων τούτοις τὴν κτῆσιν ἑδράζειν τὲ καὶ προσβεβαιοῦν
21 εὐμενέστατα. τοιαῦτα τοίνυν πλεῖστα καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρα εὐσεβεῖ γαληνότητι ἑκάστοτε
22 Θ(εο)υ συνάρσει ἐπιτελούμενα δείκνυται ὥσπερ δὴ κἀπὶ τῶ παρόντι ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.
23 ἐπεὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ τῶν Κανίνων θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος ἀναφορὰν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν μου
24 ἐποιήσατο ὡς ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν τοιαύτη ἁγιωτάτη ἐκκλησία εἶχε μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προσοῦσιν
25 αὐτῇ κτήμασι καὶ λοιποῖς δικαίοις παλαιγενῆ χρυσόβουλλα καὶ λοιπὰ δικαιώμ(α)τα,
26 ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπισυμβάσης ἐκεῖσε πρὸ χρόν(ων) ἀνωμαλίας τὲ καὶ συγχύσεως τῶν πραγμ(ά)τ(ων)
27 φθάνουσιν ἀπολέσθαι ταῦτα, μόνην δὲ ὅμως τὴν νομὴν καὶ κατοχὴν τῶν εἰρημένων
28 κτημ(ά)τ(ων) καὶ λοιπῶν δικαίων αὐτῆς κέκτηται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρεκλήτευσε τυχεῖν χρυσοβούλλου
29 τῆς βασιλείας μου ἐπικυροῦντος καὶ προσεδράζοντος τῇ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τοιαύτη ἁγιωτάτη
30 ἐκκλησία τὴν τῶν αὐτῆς κτημ(ά)των τοιαύτην κατοχὴν καὶ νομὴν ὡς εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς[2]
31 ἔχειν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν, ἤδη καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου τὴν τοιαύτην
32 τούτου αἴτησιν προσεδέξατο καὶ ἀποπληροῖ εὐμενῶς· ὅθεν καὶ ἐπιβραβεύει

[1] *lege* θεραπεύεται. [2] *lege* ἑξῆς.

καὶ ἐπιχορηγεῖ τὸν παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον ΛΟΓΟΝ αὐτῆς
δι' οὗ καὶ προστάσσει καὶ διορίζεται κατέχειν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς[3] τὴν τοιαύτην
ἁγιωτάτην ἐπισκοπὴν ὅσα ἀνέκαθέν τε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος κτήμ(α)τα καὶ λοιπὰ
δίκαια κεκτημένη ἀδιαστίκτως καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως εὑρίσκεται· περὶ ὧν δὴ
καὶ ἀνέφερεν ὁ τοιοῦτος θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος ὅτι ἔχουσιν οὕτως κατ' ὄνομα·
χωρίον καλούμενον Ἐσωχώριον μετὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τελουμένης κατέτος πανηγύ-
ρεως ἐν τῇ τιμία γεννήσει τῆς πανυπεράγνου δεσποίνης καὶ θεομήτορος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
πάντων δικαίων αὐτοῦ· ἐν ᾧ δὴ χωρίῳ καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη ἁγιωτάτη ἐκκλησία ἐνιδρυμ(έν)η
εὑρίσκεται· ὡσαύτως εἶχεν ἡ αὐτὴ ἁγιωτάτη ἐπισκοπὴ πέραν τοῦ ἐκεῖσε ποταμοῦ
τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου Σουσίτζης κτήμ(α)τα δύο ἐπιλεγόμ(εν)α Σάρισταν καὶ Μιχάλοβαν·
πρὸ χρόνων δὲ ἀπεσπάσθη τὸ πλεῖον μέρος αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ πανσεβάστου δομεστίκου τοῦ
Πάπυλα ἐκείνου καὶ προσετέθη εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν περιορισθέντα καὶ ἀποταχθέντα κρατεῖσθαι
εἰς κυβέρνησιν τῶν ὀφειλόντων κατοικεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον τῶν Κανίνων· τὸν δὲ ἐπί—
λοιπον τόπον τῶν αὐτῶν δύο κτημ(ά)των ὡροστάτησεν ὁμοίως καὶ ἰδιοχώρισεν
ὁ δηλωθεὶς πανσέβαστος δομέστικος ὁ Πάπυλας καὶ εἴασε κατέχεσθαι αὖθις παρὰ τῆς
τοιαύτης ἁγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς· ὃς δὴ τόπος καὶ κατέχεται ἔκτοτε καὶ μέχρι τουνῦν
παρ' αὐτῆς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ μύλωνες πέντε περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν ὁμοίως κατέχει
καὶ χωρίον ἐπιλεγόμενον Κόπρισταν μετὰ τοῦ σύνεγγυς αὐτῷ πακταλίου τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου
Μερτζεβίστης· ἕτερον πακτάλιον καλούμενον τοῦ Τζίκου· γῆν μοδίων χιλίων διακειμένην
εἰς τὸν κάμπον τὸν οὕτω πως ἐπονομαζόμενον τοῦ Χρυσηλίου· αὐτούργιον ἐπιλεγόμενον

[3] *lege* ἐξῆς.

53 τοῦ Ἀσωμ(ά)του μετὰ τῆς περιοχῆς καὶ τῶν δικαίων αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ
54 διάκειται πλησίον τοῦ
χωρίου τοῦ καλουμένου τῆς Σμοκβίνας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε ποτιστικοῦ
55 ὕδατος τρίτην
μερίδα· χωράφια διακείμ(εν)α ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἤγουν ἐν τῇ
56 τοποθεσίᾳ τῇ ἐπιλεγομ(εν)η
τῶν Μαρμάρων· ἐν τῷ Μαλομηρίῳ· ἐν τῇ Τραπόμβλῃ· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ·
57 εἰς τὸν Αὐλῶνα ἁλυκῆς τηγά–
νια τέσσαρα ἀναπομοίραστα καὶ ὀψαρᾶν ἀναπομοίραστον καὶ αὐτὸν·
58 ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἡμίφολον
ἁλικῆς τηγάνια ἐννέα ἀναπομοίραστα, περιελθόντα τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἁγιωτάτῃ
59 ἐπισκοπῇ ἀπὸ
προσενέξεως τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε χώρας τοῦ ἐπιλεγομ(έν)ου
60 Μοναχοῦ· πρὸς τούτοις
καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ῥηθέντος κάστρου τῶν Κανίνων οἰκήμ(α)τα μετὰ τῆς ἐν
61 αὐτοῖς εὑρισκομένης παλαιᾶς
κινστέρνης ἅτινα προκατείχοντο παρὰ τῆς Φραντζαίνης ἐκείνης, εἶτα
62 ἐδόθησαν διὰ προστάγμ(α)τος
τῆς βασιλείας μου πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἁγιωτάτην ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ κατέχονται
63 παρ' αὐτῆς
καὶ ταῦτα μέχρι τουνῦν ἀδιαστίκτως. ταῦτα γοῦν πάντα τὰ ἀναγεγραμ-
64 μ(εν)α κτήμ(α)τα καὶ λοιπὰ
δίκαια καθέξει καὶ νεμηθήσεται ἡ τοιαύτη ἁγιωτάτη ἐκκλησία τῶν
65 Κανίνων ἀναφαι—
ρέτως καὶ ἀνενοχλήτως τῇ ἐμφανείᾳ τοῦ παρόντος χρυσοβούλλου ΛΟΓΟΥ
66 τῆς βασιλείας μου, καθὼς δηλονότι εὑρίσκεται κατέχουσα καὶ νεμομένη
αὐτὰ ἀνέκαθ(εν)
67 καὶ μέχρι τουνῦν, ὡς ὁ τοιοῦτος θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος ἀνέφερε· καὶ
οὐδεὶς ἐπάξει
68 αὐτοῖς χεῖρα πλεονέκτιν καὶ ἅρπαγα ἢ καταδυναστείαν καὶ κατατριβὴν
καὶ ἀδικίαν τινὰ
69 ἀλλ' ἀποτραπήσεται καὶ ἀποπεμφθήσεται πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτόν τι ἄδικον καὶ
παράλογον πειρασθησό-
70 μενος τούτοις ἐπενεγκεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνέφερεν ὁ ῥηθεὶς
θεοφιλέστατος
71 ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ὅτι ὁπόταν συμβῇ ἐνεργηθῆναι φόνον παρά τινος τῶν
παροίκων
72 τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν τοιαύτης ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας ἢ τινὸς προσγενοῦς τῶν
κληρικῶν αὐτῆς

73 ἀπέρχεται ὁ κατὰ καιροὺς δουκεύων εἰς τὴν ἐκεῖσε χώραν καὶ ἀναλαμβάνει
καὶ δημοσιεύει
74 παντελῶς τὸν ὅλον βίον καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ ἐργασαμένου τὸν τοιοῦτον
φόνον, ἐπάγει δὲ
75 καὶ εἰς τοὺς λοιποὺς συνεποίκους αὐτοῦ ἑτέραν ζημίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἕνεκεν
τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσε(ως),
76 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρεκλήτευσε τὴν βασιλείαν μου ὁ αὐτὸς θεοφιλέστατος
ἐπίσκοπος ἵνα
77 γένηται διόρθωσις εἰς τοῦτο, παρεκλήτευσε δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ ἵνα διατηρῶνται
καὶ τὰ
78 κτήμ(α)τα τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν τοιαύτης ἁγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς ἀνενόχλητα καὶ
ἀδιάσειστα ἀπὸ
79 ἀπαιτήσεως γεννήμ(α)τος χάριν μιτάτου τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς κεφαλατι-
κευόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκεῖσε
80 χώραν Βελλαγράδων καὶ Κανίνων, ἐπειδὴ ῥίπτουσι μ(ὲν) ὑ(πέρ)π(υ)ρα
αὐτῶν κ(α)τὰ λόγον ἐξωνήσεως
81 ἀπαιτοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γέννημα οὐ καθὼς πωλεῖται
εἰς τὴν χώραν,
82 ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ πολλαπλάσιον καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ δικαίου, ἔχει θέλημα καὶ διο-
ρίζεται καὶ περὶ τούτ(ων)
83 ἡ βασιλεία μου ἵνα ὁπόταν συμβῇ ἐνεργηθῆναι φόνον παρά τινος τῶν
παροίκων τ(ῆς) αὐτῆς
84 ἁγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς προσγενοῦς τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κληρικῶν,
εἰ μ(ὲν) εὑρίσκεται
85 οὗτος ἔχων γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας, ἀπαιτῇ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ
ἀναλαμβάνῃ τὸ ἥμισυ
86 τοῦ κινητοῦ πράγμ(α)τος αὐτοῦ χάριν φονικοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἐπίλοιπον ἥμισυ
κατέχωσιν ἡ γυνὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες
87 αὐτοῦ ὡς ἂν μὴ τελείως ἐξαπορήσωσ(ιν) οὗτοι καὶ ἐκτριβῶσιν· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν
εὑρίσκεται
88 ἔχων γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας αὐτὸς ὁ ἐνεργήσας τὸν φόνον, ὀφείλει τὸ μέρος
τοῦ δημοσίου ἀναλαμ-
89 βαινειν[4] χάριν φονικοῦ τὸ ὅλον κινητὸν πρᾶγμα αὐτοῦ, τὴν δὲ ὑπό-
στασ(ιν) αὐτοῦ καταλιμπάνειν
90 ἀνενόχλητον κατέχεσθαι ἀδιασείστως παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς δηλωθείσης
ἁγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς·
91 καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μ(ὲν) διὰ ζημίας παίδευσ(ιν) διορίζεται ἡ βασιλεία
μου ἐνεργεῖσθαι εἰς αὐτ(οὺς) μόνους

[4] ι *fortasse postea additum, lege* ἀναλαμβάνειν.

92 οἵτινες ἂν̣ εὑρεθῶσιν ἐργασάμ(εν)οι καὶ ἐνεργήσαντες φόνον, εἰς δὲ τοὺς
93 λοιποὺς συνεποίκους αὐτῶν
τοὺς μηδόλως συνδραμόντας ἢ συνεργήσαντας εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην πρᾶξιν τοῦ
94 φόνου οὐδὲ ὅλως
διακρίνει δίκαιον οὐδὲ εὔλογον ἡ βασιλεία μου καθυπάγεσθαι εἰς ζημίαν
95 ἐπεὶ καὶ
παντελῶς ἄδικον καὶ παράλογον λογίζεται ἑτέρων κα[κο]υργησάντων
96 ἑτέρους εὐθύνεσθαι μὴ
κοινωνήσαντας μὴ δὲ συμμετασχόντας αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης κακουργίας. ὡσαύτως καὶ
97 ἐὰν συμβῇ κρημνισθῆναι τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τελευτῆσαι ἢ εἰς ποταμὸν
98 ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ
πνιγῆναι ἢ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τοιοῦτον τρόπον κινδυνεῦσαι, οὐκ ὀφείλει ὁ
99 δημόσιος παρενο-
χλῆσαι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ καθελκύσαι τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτοῦ ἢ τοὺς πλησιοχωροῦν-
100 τας αὐτῶ
εἰς δόσιν φονικοῦ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ συμβὰν τοιοῦτον τί, οὐκ ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως τινὸς
101 καὶ γνώμης καὶ συνεργίας γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπηρείας σατανικῆς, οὐδὲ
102 ὀφείλει τίς
καθέλκεσθαι εἰς ζημίαν φονικοῦ διὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον πρόπον, ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ
103 φόνος ἔστι τοῦτο
κἂν καὶ παραλόγως οἱ βουλόμενοι ἀδίκως ἐπενεγκεῖν τὴν ζημίαν ὀνομάζωσι
104 φόνον αὐτὸ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνατρέπει καὶ καταργεῖ καὶ ἐκκόπτει τελείως ἡ
105 βασιλεία μου
τὴν τοιαύτην ἄδικον ζημίαν καὶ ἀπαίτησιν καὶ οὐδόλως βούλεται καὶ ἔχει
106 θέλημα ἐνεργεῖσθαι αὐτὴν ἀπο[5] τουνῦν καὶ εἰς τοεξῆς.[6] περὶ δέ γε τοῦ
107 μιτάτου
τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς κεφαλατικευόντων εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην χώραν ὀφείλουσι
108 διατηρεῖσθαι
τὰ κτήμ(α)τα τῆς δηλωθείσης ἁγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς ἀνενόχλητά τε καὶ
109 ἀδιάσειστα
καὶ μηδόλως καθέλκεσθαι εἰς ἀπαίτησ(ιν) καὶ δόσιν γεννήμ(α)τος, ἕνεκεν
110 δηλονότι
μιτάτου αὐτῶν τῶν κ(α)τὰ καιροὺς κεφαλατικευόντων ἐκεῖσε, ἐπεὶ καὶ
111 τοῦτο κατὰ
τὸν ἴσον τρόπον παντελῶς ἄτοπον καὶ παράλογον, μὴ μόνον εἰς τοὺς
ἐποίκους τῶν

[5] *lege* ἀπὸ. [6] *lege* τὸ ἑξῆς.

κτημ(ά)τ(ων) τῆς δηλωθείσης ἁγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς ῥίπτεσθαι παρὰ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς
κεφαλατικευόντων ὑ(πέρ)π(υ)ρα εἰς ἐξώνησιν δῆθεν γεννήμ(α)τος ἢ οἴνου ἢ ἑτέρων τινῶν
χρειωδῶν, μὴ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ κ(α)τὰ δικαιοσύνην ὡς διαπιπράσκονται ταῦτα
ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους τῶν ἐποίκ(ων) τῆς ὅλης χώρας Βελλαγράδων
καὶ Κανίνων ἐνεργεῖσθαι ποσῶς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀδικίαν, καὶ ἀναιρεῖ ταύτην καὶ
καταργεῖ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνατρέπει ἡ βασιλεία μου. Ἐπὶ τούτοις γοῦν πᾶσι καὶ
ὁ παρὼν χρυσόβουλλος ΛΟΓΟΣ τῆς βασιλείας μου
γεγονὼς ἐπεχορηγήθη καὶ ἐπεβραβεύθη τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἁγιωτάτῃ
ἐπισκοπῇ τῶν Κανίνων, ἀπολυθεὶς κατὰ μῆνα ΙΟΥΝΙ(ον)
τῆς ἐνισταμένης ΠΕΜΠΤ(ης) ἰνδικτιῶνος
τοῦ ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ ὀκτακοσιοστοῦ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚ(α)ΤΟΥ
ἔτους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο
κράτος. † ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ Χ(ριστ)Ω ΤΩ Θ(ε)Ω
ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ
ΡΩΜΑΙ(ων) ΔΟΥΚΑΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ
Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ. †

Summary of Content

(I) *Preface* (lines 1-21). An Emperor should possess mildness and equity. He should show constant solicitude for his subjects and he should grant their requests insofar as they are not impossible and proceed from loyal persons. This is particularly true with respect to religion, of everything that is concerned with the foundation and adornment of monasteries and other sacred buildings.

(II) *Narrative* (lines 21-31). The Bishop of Kanina made a report to the Emperor and set forth that his see had owned ancient chrysobulls and other documents on its possessions, but that, in consequence of the irregularity and confusion which had there occurred they were lost. He requested from the Emperor a new chrysobull confirming those possessions.

(III) *Decision* (lines 31-70). The Emperor confirms all previous possessions of the see and enumerates them as listed in the request: (1) A village called Esōchōrion together with the annual fair cele-

brated there on the day of the birth of the Virgin Mary (in this village the church of Kanina is situated). (2) Beyond the river Susitzes two properties called Saristan and Michalovan. Years ago the greater part of these properties was detached by the late *domesticus* Papylas and assigned to the land set aside for the inhabitants of the fortress of Kanina. The remainder of the land was set up as an independent unit by Papylas and left with the see. (3) Five mills along the same river. (4) A village called Kopristan with the nearby leasehold called Mertzeviste. (5) Another leasehold called τοῦ Τζίκου. (6) Land measuring one thousand *modii* in a place called Chryselios. (7) A farm called Asomatos, near the village Smokvina, and the third part of the potable water to be found there. (8) Farms located in various places: in the district Marmara, in Malomir, in Trapomble, and elsewhere. (9) In Valona four saltpans, undivided, and a fishing station, likewise undivided. (10) In Hemipholon nine saltpans, undivided, which came to the see from a bequest of the protopapas of the district, Monachos. (11) Buildings within the fortress of Kanina, with the old cistern in them. They had been owned before by the late Phrantzaina and were later given by a *prostagma* of the Emperor to the see.

(IV) *Narrative* (lines 70-82). Furthermore, the bishop of Kanina has reported that if a tenant farmer (πάροικος) of the church of Kanina, or a kinsman of one of its clerics, commits murder, the acting δουκεύων confiscates the entire property of the culprit and even exacts a heavy penalty from his fellow inhabitants (συνέποικοι). The bishop has sought redress from the Emperor. He has also requested that the possessions of the see be exempted from the obligation of furnishing grain for the μιτᾶτον of the acting κεφαλατικεύοντες of the district of Berat and Kanina: they are said to pay for it, but to exact for their hyperpers many times the amount of grain that would correspond to the local price.

(V) *Decision* (lines 82-117). In case of murder committed by a tenant farmer of the see, or a kinsman of one of its clerics, who has a wife and children, the treasury is to take half of his movable property, and the wife and the children are to retain the other half lest they be entirely destitute. If, however, he has no wife and children, the treasury will confiscate his entire movable property, but the see is not to be disturbed in its ownership of the land of the murderer. This penalty is to be exacted exclusively from the murderer himself, but his fellow inhabitants who were not participants in the crime are not to

be punished as it would be unjust and absurd to hold somebody responsible for a crime in which he had no part. If somebody happens to fall down from a precipice and die, or to drown, or to perish in a similar way, the government is not to exact the *phonikon* from his relatives or neighbors; this is an accident and not premeditated murder, and it is not a case of murder even though those who want to exact the penalty are absurd enough to call it thus. The see is exempted from furnishing grain for the *mitaton* of the acting κεφαλατικεύοντες as it is equally absurd, not only with respect to the inhabitants of the possessions of the see, but also in the case of the other inhabitants of the district of Berat and Kanina, to be requested to sell grain below the local price.

(VI) *Final Protocoll* (lines 117-124). With respects to all the aforesaid points the present chrysobull was granted to the see of Kanina and dispatched in the month of June of the fifth indiction, in the year 6815 (= A. D. 1307).

(VII) *Signature of the Emperor* (lines 124-127).

Commentary [41]

Lines 1-21: For the *prooemia* of Byzantine chrysobulls see F. Dölger, "Die Kaiserurkunde der Byzantiner als Ausdruck ihrer politischen Anschauungen," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLIX (1939), esp. pp. 242-247.

4-6 φυλακὴ καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ . . . ἐλεημοσύνη τε καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐν δικαιοσύνη κυκλώσουσιν: Reminiscence of *Proverbs* xx, 28. In Byzantine imperial art the Emperor is sometimes surrounded by the virtues. Cf. Grabar, *L'Empereur*, 31 and plate VI, 1 ('Αλήθεια and Δικαιοσύνη); 119 f. and XXIV, 2 ('Ελεημοσύνη and Δικαιοσύνη).

7 ναί: For the double accent here and in lines 87 and 92 (*ἀν*), see F. Dölger, "Zur Textgestaltung der Lavra-Urkunden und zu ihrer geschichtlichen Auswertung," *BZ* XXXIX (1939), 36 f. and the references (p. 37, note 1).

15 παρ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν οὕτως καὶ βασιλεύειν ἐπιβραβεύεται: Few proems of imperial chrysobulls omit reference to the divine source of the imperial power, see Dölger, *Kaiserurkunde*, pp. 243 sq.

18-19 τῶν τε ἱερῶν φροντιστηρίων καὶ λοιπῶν θείων οἴκων καὶ εὐαγῶν: This passage betrays that at least this proem was written without any considera-

[41] The more general problems raised by the document are discussed in the body of the article. This commentary is devoted to problems of detail. I have been unable to identify the following items: Esochorion (line 38), Saristan and Michalovan (line 42, see however the commentary), Kopristan (line 50), Mertzeviste and τοῦ Τζίκου (line 51), Asomatos (line 53), Marmara, Malomerion and Trapomble (line 56); the protopapas Monachos (line 59); and the biblical reminiscence in line 11.

tion of the actual case. The present document grants privileges to the see of Kanina, and a see is neither a *φροντιστήριον* nor does it belong to the category *θεῖοι οἶκοι καὶ εὐαγεῖς* (on them see F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Byzantinisches Archiv, Heft 9, Leipzig, Berlin, 1927, pp. 41 f., note 5).

23 ὁ τῶν Κανίνων θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος: Kanina is situated 2½ miles to the South East of Valona, in Southern Albania (or Northern Epirus). The best map of the region (1: 200.000) will be found in Carl Patsch, *Das Sandschak Berat in Albanien*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, vol. III (Vienna, 1904). On the history, as well as the political and ecclesiastical geography of Valona and Kanina, see below pp. 189 ff.

23 ἀναφοράν: On this "report" to the Emperor, see K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 3rd ed., Berlin, 1892, p. 356.

24 ἡ τοιαύτη: For *ὁ τοιοῦτος* = "the above," which occurs regularly in our document, cf. St. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*, Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik, Heft 2 (Göttingen, 1913), p. 195.

26 ἀνωμαλίας τε καὶ συγχύσεως: This expression occurs frequently in documents of the Byzantine chancery under Andronicus II, particularly for the period of internecine war between Andronicus II and Andronicus III, but in patriarchal documents it is found even earlier (F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana* (Vienna, 1860-1890), six vols. = MM, I, 79, 80, 87).

28 παρεκλήτευσε: This verb (here and in lines 76, 77) with the ending *-εύω* used so frequently in Medieval Greek for the formation of new verbs (Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 316-321) occurs before the reign of Andronicus II (MM, IV, 39, line 12, 1235 A. D.; 256, line 33, 1275 A. D.; 330, line 23, A. D. 1272, etc.), but it is a favorite word of this Emperor and there are few chrysobulls of his where the word does not appear, see *e. g.* MM, IV, 29, line 15, A. D. 1284; V 89, line 21, A. D. 1318, etc.

36 ἀδιαστίκτως: The word occurs here and below line 63. *διάστιξις*, originally meaning "distinction," appears in various derived meanings in Byzantine documents. As early as the year 1170 A. D. it is used in the sense of a "chapter," "point," or "item" mentioned in a state document: MM III, 36, line 19 *κατὰ τὰς ἐγκειμένας αὐτῇ διαστίξεις* (Latin text: *secundum extensa ibi capita*); MM IV, 27, line 15 (A. D. 1262): *τὰς περιλήψεις καὶ διαστίξεις αὐτῶν*; MM III, 100, line 17 (1324 A. D.): *πάσας τὰς διαστίξεις καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια*. But, in MM IV, 210, line 27 (A. D. 1253): *διαστίξεις καὶ διαμάχας*; IV, 223, line 33 (A. D. 1260): *ὄχλησιν καὶ διάστιξιν*; 225, line 24 (A. D. 1242-1250): *γεγόνασιν . . . διαστίξεις πολλαὶ περὶ τούτων*, it has quite another sense, that of "dispute," "quarrel." The adjective *ἀδιάστικτος* (adverb *ἀδιαστίκτως*) in the sense of "without any discussion or objection" seems to occur only in a document issued by the chancery of Constantinople in A. D. 1316, MM I, 61, line 19 where *ἀδιαστίκτῳ γνώμῃ* should be read instead of *ἀδιστάκτῳ γνώμῃ*, and in a chrysobull of Andronicus II, A. D. 1292, M. Gudas, *Βυζαντιακὰ Ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου*, *Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* IV (1927), 222, line 32 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 231, line 19).

38 χωρίον καλούμενον Ἐσωχώριον: I am unable to identify this village. This is all the more regrettable as, according to line 40, it was in Esochorion (and not in the *kastron* of Kanina itself) that the episcopal church of Kanina was located.

38 μετὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τελουμένης κατέτος πανηγύρεως ἐν τῇ τιμίᾳ γεννήσει τῆς . . . θεομήτορος: On the birthday of the Theotokos (September 8), an annual fair was held at Esochorion. Such local fairs are mentioned frequently in the documents of the period of the Palaiologoi. MM IV, 107, line 25 (mentions a road and market place used for the fair of St. Panteleemon, A. D. 1274); *VV* XX (1913), Appendix, p. 13, line 79 (confirming the monastery of Philotheos in the possession of a church dedicated to St. Michael, σὺν τῇ ἐτησίως ἐκεῖσε τελουμένῃ δημοτελεῖ πανηγύρει κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην νοεμβρίου, A. D. 1287); *VV* XIII (1906), Appendix, pp. 37 f. (gift to the monastery of Zographu of the village of Prevista together with a chapel of St. Christophoros, σὺν τῇ ἐτησίως γινομένῃ πανηγύρει ἐπὶ τῇ τελετῇ αὐτοῦ, 1319 A. D.); and *VV* XX (1913), Appendix, p. 20, line 58 (the monastery of Philotheos is said to own at Saloniki a τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τελεῖται κατ' ἔτος ἡ πανήγυρις τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου: finally the most important fair of St. Demetrius at Saloniki (O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique an quatorzième siècle*, Paris, 1912, pp. 117-120). This sudden rise of local annual fairs at various places in the Byzantine Empire reminds us of the fairs flourishing in the Occident, in Serbia (Jireček, C., *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien* etc., II, Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, Denkschriften, LVI, Heft 3 (1912), p. 65 ff.), in the Champagne, the Po valley, and even England and Germany (R. Kötzschke, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Jena, 1924, pp. 596 ff.). Was the movement in the Orient due to the same causes as that in the West? On Western analogies it is to be assumed that the bishop of Kanina had considerable revenues from his control over the fair at Esochorion.

42 Σάρισταν καὶ Μιχάλοβαν: These two possessions which are to be said to lie beyond the river Σουσίτζης (the modern Susiča, a tributary of the Vjossa) are not found on the maps. But at the place where the river Vlaina flows into the Susiča, to the north east of Kanina and just beyond the Susiča, I find a village called Piskupi. The name may be the last trace of the two possessions Σάρισταν καὶ Μιχάλοβαν owned by the see of Kanina.

46 ὡροστάτησεν: Not in the dictionaries. ὁροστατεῖν = "to fix boundaries."

51 ff. πακτάλιον: This word is missing in the dictionaries, but it is clear that it means "leasehold." The word is formed with the suffix -άλιον as in the case of many other words derived from the Latin (see Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 279 f.).

52 εἰς τὸν κάμπον . . . τοῦ Χρυσηλίου: It is to be identified with the modern village of Risili to the north east of Valona, which on an older map appended to Count Karaczay, "Geographical Account of Albania," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, XII (1842) 45-75 appears as Krisilio. The name reminds one of the family of the Chryselioi, perhaps of the Johannes Chryselios, mayor (πρωτεύων) of Dyrrachion, whose daughter Tsar Samuel of Bulgaria married before 989 A. D. (Jireček, Constantin, *Geschichte der Serben*, I (Gotha, 1911) 204 f.; and more recently N. Adontz, "Samuel l'Arménien, roi des Bulgares," *Mémoires de l'Académie Royal de Belgique*, 1938).

52 ff. αὐτούργιον: The αὐτούργιον was land which brought revenues automatically, *i. e.* it did not need new investments every year (Dölger, *Beiträge*, p. 151). For that reason they were particularly valuable possessions for monasteries and churches and the second canon of the Seventh Council of Nicaea forbade that they were leased out. This explains the contrast between αὐτούργιον here and πακτάλιον, line 50.

53 τοῦ Ἀσωμάτου: See Jireček, C., "Das christliche Element in der topographischen Nomenclatur der Balkanländer," *Sitzungsber. der Phil.-Hist. Classe der K. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, CXXXVI (1897) 9 f.

56 εἰς τὸν Αὐλῶνα ἁλυκῆς τηγάνια τέσσαρα: Αὐλών is the port of Valona. What are the ἁλυκῆς τηγάνια? τηγάνιον is, in ordinary Greek, "a small pan." Here, evidently, land is meant. In the modern languages we speak of a "salt-pan," *zoutpan*, or *Salzpfanne*, to signify "a shallow impression near the sea into which sea-water is allowed to flow, where it evaporates leaving a deposit of salt" (*New English Dictionary*). In Greek none of the extant documents concerned with salt works uses τηγάνιον alone, or (as here) in combination with ἁλυκῆς. The occurrence of a place name Τηγάνια in a district where there are saltworks (MM, IV, p. 16; for the topography, cf. A. M. Fontrier, "Le monastère de Lembos près de Smyrne et ses possessions au XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* XVI (1892), 399 and map) may be due to other reasons than the presence of salt-pans. Despite the lack of Greek evidence we may assume that the medieval Greeks used this term just as much as their contemporaries in the Occident used the corresponding term *patella*. See, *e. g.*, W. Hauthaler, *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, Salzburg, 1910, vol. I, index III, verbo *patella*. The saltworks still exist to the north west of Valona, see Patsch, *Sandschak*, p. 58; M. von Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters*, Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften, LXIII, Abh. 1, Vienna and Leipzig, 1924, pp. 42 f.). In the beginning of the fifteenth century the salt of Valona was exported to Ragusa (C. Jireček, "Die Bedeutung von Ragusa in der Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters," *Die Feierliche Sitzung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften am 31. Mai 1899*, Vienna, 1899, p. 171, note 20, and p. 148: "Die Seesalzgewinnung war . . . an der Adria eine der wichtigsten Einnahmequellen aller Küstenstädte von Quarnero bis zum Peloponnes." The same holds true for Venice, see A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich and Berlin, 1906), p. 11 and *passim*.

57 ὀψαρᾶν: This is obviously the accusative of a masculine ὁ ὀψαρᾶς meaning "fishing station." The formation of the word remains puzzling as the ending -ᾶς usually denoted a person (cf. ψωμᾶς = baker, ψαρᾶς = fisher, etc.).*

57 τὸ Ἡμίφολον: Prof. H. Grégoire immediately recognized the identity of that place with Mifoli, on the Vjossa, somewhat more than 15 miles to the North of Valona, and he consequently gave up the explanation he had proposed. "La chanson de Roland et Byzance, etc." *Byzantion* XIV (1939),

* [Cf. Γαλατᾶς "le laitier," Μυστρᾶς "le fromager." The case of ὁ Μωρέας or Μωρεάς seems to be similar. Singulars in -ᾶς were used as collectives and frequently became geographical expressions (H. G.)].

301, note 1. The salt pans owned by Kanina must have been situated between the modern Mifoli and the coast of the Valona Lagoon.

87 ff. *οὐδὲν εὑρίσκεται ἔχων γυναῖκα*: For *οὐδὲν* instead of *οὐ* see Psaltes, *Grammatik*, p. 341.

80 Βελλαγράδων: Berat, in Albania.

95 *ἄτοπον*: The *reductio ad absurdum*, here and line 111, is a favorite type of argumentation in the documents of the period, see MM I, 4 (*ἔν τι τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων*); 89 (*τῶν ἀτόπων ἄν εἴη*); etc.

Our chrysobull is concerned with Kanina and it mentions, among the larger places, Berat and Valona. These towns of Southern Albania [42] are, and have been, the natural stepping stones for a conquest of the Near East from Italian soil since Valona lies at a distance of only forty miles from the Italian harbor of Otranto.

Medieval Albania [43] was provided with two large belts of fortresses.[44] The northerly belt started in the West at Durazzo and tried to protect as much of the northern branch of the *Via Egnatia* as could be held against the barbarians. The most important strongholds of the southern line of defense in the fourteenth century were Valona, Kanina, Spinariza, Pirgos and Berat.[45] The medieval fortress of Valona lay to the southwest of modern Valona, near the present harbor; Spinariza at the mouth of the Vjossa; Pirgos near the mouth of the Semeni; and Berat farther inland near the foot of Mt. Tomor.

The fortress of Kanina [46] is located an hour to the southeast of Valona, on a hill which commands an impressive view up to Durazzo

[42] On the geography of Albania, see J. G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, 2 pts. (Jena, 1854); H. Louis, *Albanien, eine Landeskunde vornehmlich auf Grund eigener Reisen*, Geographische Abhandlungen, Zweite Reihe, Heft 3, Stuttgart, 1927 (with exhaustive bibliography); R. Almagià, *L'Albania* (Rome, 1930).

[43] On the medieval history of Albania, the following works are helpful: M. v. Šuffiay, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters*, Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften, LXIII (1924); L. von Thallóczy, C. Jireček, and M. von Šuffiay, *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia* (= *A. Alb.*), vol. I (Vienna, 1913); and the collection of articles by various authors compiled by L. von Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, vol. I (Munich and Leipzig, 1916). Map of Medieval Albania in *A. Alb.*

[44] Šuffiay, *Städte und Burgen*, pp. 17 ff., and *passim*.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33.

[46] On Kanina, see Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 72; Šuffiay, *Städte und Burgen*, p. 31. For its history, see two articles on Valona, C. Jireček, "Valona im Mittelalter," *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, pp. 168-187, and W. Miller, "Valona," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVII (1917), 184-194.

and Mt. Tomor. It is not impossible that Kanina under the name of Illyricum antedates even the reign of Justinian.[47] The change of name (or if the two names belong to different places: the shift of political importance) must have had a reason and it is tempting to assume that Kanina is a Bulgarian name (formed from the title of the Bulgarian ruler, κάνας or κάννας), "Khan's Town." It is not quite certain whether Kanina was included in the first Bulgarian Empire, but there is much evidence in favor of such an hypothesis. Our chrysobull mentions a τοποθεσία called τὸ Μαλομήριον (line 56), evidently after Khan Malamir.[48] An inscription dating from the reign of Tsar Boris (852-888 A. D.) has been found near the village of Balši, on the middle course of the river Gjanica.[49] Finally a list of archbishops of Bulgaria written in the thirteenth century mentions that, at the time of Tsar Boris (852-889), Kanina lay on the frontier of the Bulgarian domain.[50] Without going into the detail of the

[47] Procopius, *De aedificiis*, IV, 4 mentions among the φρούρια restored by Justinian in *Epirus Nova* that of Illyrin and the *Vat. Gr. 828*, a text of the thirteenth century at the earliest, mentions among the suffragan bishops of Iustiniana Prima in the twentieth place: ὁ Ἰλλυρικοῦ ἤτοι Κανίνων (H. Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche," *BZ* I [1892], 257, and II [1893], 50). This latter text shows the general tendency of replacing Slavic by Greek place names (Gelzer, *loc. cit.*, *BZ* II (1893), 60. Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 72 found remainders of ancient buildings at Kanina, but see Patsch, *Sandschak Berat*, p. 21.

[48] Malamir reigned from 831 until 836 or 852 (on this controversy, see St. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London, 1930), pp. 292-297.

[49] On this inscription, see V. N. Zlatarski, "Naměreniiat v Albanija nadpis s imeto na bŭlgarskija knjaz Borisa-Michaila," *Slavia*, II (1923), 61-91; H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), 663-668; and V. Beshevliev, "Pŭrvo bŭlgarski Nadpisi," etc., (German subtitle: "Die protobulgarischen Inschriften)," *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia*, Faculté Historico-Philologique, XXX, 1 (1934), no. 47. and pp. 145 ff.

[50] H. Gelzer, "Der Patriarchat von Achrida," Abh. der phil.-hist. Cl. der Königl. Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss., XX, 5 (1902), p. 6: Κλήμης . . . ἐπιτραπεὶς παρὰ Βορίσου βασιλέως Βουλγάρων ἐφορᾶν καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς βασιλείας ἤγουν ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης ἄχρις Ἱεριχὼ καὶ Καννίνων ἤτοι Ταση πιάτου. Zachariae von Lingenthal, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der bulgarischen Kirche," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VIIe série, VII, 3 (1864), p. 14, note 1, was puzzled by the toponymie Ταση πιάτου. I conjecture that it is identical with Ἰσπατεία which appears in a list of the suffragans of Achrida in the 13th and 14th centuries (Gelzer, *Patriarchat von Achrida*, p. 20: ὁ Ἰσπατείας καὶ Μουζανείας.

thorny problem of Bulgaria's western frontier in the ninth century,[51] it may be suggested that Kanina at any rate was under Bulgarian control at that period.[51a] We have adduced the evidence in favor of such a view, and there is no evidence against it.

We hear no more of Kanina until the reign of Tsar Samuel. Kanina definitely belonged to his realm, as we learn from a *sigillion* of Basil II dated A. D. 1020: ecclesiastically it stood under the bishop of Glavinitsa who was given 40 clerics and 30 tenant farmers (*πάροικοι*).[52] The toponymic Chryselios mentioned in our document (line 52) is a reminiscence of the family of that name which played such an important role at Durazzo during the rule of Samuel of Bulgaria.[53] It was in the Tmorus mountains, probably in the fortress of Berat, that the last successor of Tsar Samuel, Prusianos, and his brothers surrendered in 1018 to Basil II the "Bulgar-Slayer."[54] This marked the end of Bulgarian domination over Epirus, which now becomes part of the Byzantine Empire. While Basil II left the ecclesiastical geography of Bulgaria unchanged, a list of the episcopal sees from the eleventh century proves that between A. D. 1020 and the compilation of this list Kanina had become independent of Glavinitsa and that its bishop was a direct suffragan of the archbishop of

[51] V. N. Zlatarski, "Izvestijata za Bulgaritě etc.," *Sbornik za narodni umotovorenija, nauka i knižina*, XXIV (1908), 70-77, to be corrected by Zlatarski, *Slavia*, II (1923), 61-91 (above note 49), where the see of Glavinitsa or Kephalenia is identified with the ruins near the modern village of Balši.

[51a] Whereas in his earlier article Zlatarski (*Izvestiata*, p. 77) ,followed by J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1911), p. 384, note 5, and Runciman, *First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 104, note 2, and map, made the Western frontier of Bulgaria run along the river Vjossa and leave it *before* it had reached the shore of the Adriatic, he writes in 1927 (*Istorija na pŭrvoto bŭlgarsko tsarstvo*, I, pt. 2 (Sofia, 1927), 26): "(the frontier reaches) the middle course of the river Vjossa, runs along it *to the shore of the Adriatic Sea, along the latter to the mouth of the river Semeni etc.*" In this latter view he would include both Valona and Kanina in the Bulgarian Empire.

[52] Gelzer, *Bistŭmerverzeichnisse*, *BZ* II (1893), 42, 50. Complete bibliography on these documents in B. Granić, "Kirchenrechtliche Glossen zu den vom Kaiser Basileios II dem autokephalen Erzbistum von Achrida verliehenen Privilegien," *Byzantion*, XII (1937), 395 ff., note 1.

[53] Nicolas Adontz, "Samuel L'Arménien Roi des Bulgares," Academie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, *Mémoires*, XXXIX, 1 (1938), esp. pp. 51-63.

[54] Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, II, p. 469: *τότε καὶ Προυσιανὸς καὶ οἱ τούτου δύο ἀδελφοί, οἱ τοῦ Βλαδισθλάβου παῖδες, οἱ εἰς τὸν Τμῶρον φυγόντες . . . διακηρυκεύονται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πίστεις αἰτοῦντες.*

Bulgaria.[55] This holds true, likewise, for the thirteenth century, when another episcopal list shows the bishop of Kanina to be the ecclesiastical inferior of the Bulgarian archbishop.[56] In 1272 A. D. Michael VIII Palaeologus confirmed the grants of Basil II to their full extent, and expressed the hope that those parts of Basil's conquests which had been lost since—and among them Kanina—would return soon into the fold.[57] Michael's hope came true, Kanina was reconquered, and a *notitia* dating probably after 1370 A. D. lists a bishop of Kanina and Valona.[58]

Valona and its surroundings play an important part during the period of the Comneni when Robert Guiscard and Bohemund attempt to gain footholds in the Balkan peninsula, and these places are mentioned frequently by Anna Comnena.[59] From a document dated 1198 A. D. we learn that at that time Iericho and Kanina were a province (*provincia, θέμα*) of the Byzantine Empire.[60]

After the Latin conquest in 1204 A. D., Michael I Angelos succeeded in establishing a Greek principality called the Despotat of Epirus.[61] Under Michael I Angelos (1204-1214) the Despotat included only the ancient province of *Epirus Vetus* and stretched from Naupactus in the south to Arta and Ioaninna in the north.[62] His brother and

[55] Gelzer, *Bistümerverzeichnisse, BZ,* I (1892), 257, and II (1893), 60.

[56] Gelzer, *Bistümerverzeichnisse, BZ,* I (1892), 257.

[57] V. Beneshevich, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur,* I (Petrograd, 1911), 542-554. See Dölger, *Regesten,* no. 1992.

[58] Gelzer, *Patriarchat von Achrida,* 20.

[59] These fights between Normans and Byzantines in Epirus form the subject of two sensational publications of Professor H. Grégoire, "La Chanson de Roland et Byzance etc.," *Byzantion,* XIV (1939), 265-316, and "La Chanson de Roland de l'an 1085 etc." *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres,* 5th series, XXV (1939).

[60] *A. Alb.,* no. 112. A seal of approximately the same period belonged to a strategos of Jericho, cf. H. Grégoire, *loc. cit.,* p. 221, note 1.

[61] There exists no satisfactory account of the Despotat of Epirus. I. A. Romanos, *Περὶ τοῦ δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου ἱστορικὴ πραγματία* (Corcyra, 1895), is very uneven and rather superficial. A. Meliarakes, *Ἱστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου* (1204-1261), Athens and Leipzig, 1898, deals only with the period of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople. The best account, therefore, is still that scattered over the pages of Carl Hopf's monstrous but admirable work: *Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit,* in Ersch and Gruber, Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste, etc., Leipzig, 1867.

[62] Georgius Acropolites, *Historia,* 8, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae*

successor, Theodore I Angelos, expanded the despotat in all directions, and to the north as far as Durazzo.[63] Kanina and its surroundings formed part of the Despotat until in 1258 Michael II Angelos of Epirus betrothed his daughter Helena to King Manfred of Sicily in order to protect himself against the growing power of the Nicaean Empire. His son-in-law received in his wife's dowry the island of Corfu and, among other places on the coast of Epirus, the towns of Velona, Kanina, Berat, and Sphinariza.[64] In the same year King Manfred was in possession of Valona, Berat, and Durazzo,[65] and it is permissible to conjecture that Kanina was occupied by the Hohenstaufen about the same time. Manfred entrusted his Albanian possessions to a loyal servant of the Hohenstaufen, the admiral Philippo Chinardo.[66] King Manfred was thus continuing the aggressive policy of his Norman ancestors against the Byzantine empire.[67] Manfred was not to enjoy his Epirot possessions for a long time: for in the same year or the next (1258/9) Johannes Palaeologus brother of Michael VIII Palaeologos, was despatched to the West, where he conquered most of the Illyrian fortresses, and among them Kanina.[68] Soon,

Opera, I (Leipzig, 1903), 14. It should be said that Heisenberg's edition is a model edition both from the philological and the historical point of view, and his indices and genealogical tables have helped the writer considerably in solving many prosopographical problems.

[63] *Ibid.*, 14, p. 25.

[64] *A. Alb.* 245.

[65] MM III, 239 (1258 A. D.): *τῆς κυριότητος τῆς πόλεως Δυρραχίου, Βελαγράδου, Αὐλῶνος, Σφηναρίτων λόφων καὶ τῶν ἐπικρατημάτων καὶ θεμάτων τῶν τοιούτων χωρῶν ἔτει πρώτῳ κτλ.*

[66] Gregorius Pachymeres, *De Michaele Paleologo*, VI, 32, p. 508 (the *locus classicus* on Kanina). (All Byzantine historians are quoted according to the Bonn edition, except where indicated otherwise.) On Philippo Chinardo, see below p. 199.

[67] Schneider, F., "Eine Quelle für Manfreds Orientpolitik," *Quellen und Forschungen*, XXIV (1932-3), 112-123 has cleared up this point while at the same time exploding the current theory that King Manfred was anxious to make the power of his navy felt in the Eastern Mediterranean. This theory was based on the *Translatio S. Thomae Apostoli*, which mentions a naval expedition to Edessa. Schneider has shown that the *Translatio* is a pious fraud built around a confusion of Edessa in Osroene with Vodena-Edessa in Macedonia, just as in the case of the Palestinian toponymics of "la terre d'Ebire" which had made such an overwhelming impression on the Norman troops of Robert Guiscard and Bohemund (Grégoire, "La Chanson de Roland et Byzance," *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), 265-316).

[68] Gregorius Pachymeres, *De Michaele Paleologo*, II, 11 p. 106 E. Here are

however, the fortune of war turned once more against the Nicaean troops. With the help of his illegitimate son Johannes, ruler of Thessaly, and in alliance with his sons-in-law, King Manfred of Sicily and Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin of Achaea, Michael II Angelos beat the troops of the Palaeologi at Trikoryphos in 1260 A. D., and Nicaea had to make peace. The despot of Epirus recovered the parts of his realm which he had lost to Johannes Palaeologus,[69] and his son-in-law Manfred reoccupied New Epirus.[70] Kanina was now firmly in the hands of the Sicilians, and we cannot fail to sympathize with Georgius Acropolites, who is amazed at the ease with which the inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula adapt themselves to the frequent change of ruler: "such are the inhabitants of the West who submit easily to every dynast; thus they escape destruction and save the majority of their belongings." [71]

In 1266 A. D., Manfred of Sicily lost his life in the battle of Benevento against Charles I of Anjou. The Angevins now laid claim to the Sicilian possessions in Epirus, but Philippo Chinardo, and after his murder (below p. 199) his successor Jacobus de Balignano, held Kanina for a while against the new claimant and against Michael II Angelus, possibly with the intention of preserving it for the legitimate heirs of their late master. Before or in 1273 A. D., however, Balignano handed it over to Charles of Anjou, who appointed him governor, and we have an interesting document, dated 1272 A. D., from the Angevin archives which deals with the grain supply "castri nostri Canine et Avellone." [72]

the reasons for the date suggested for the expedition: Pachymeres notes that Johannes Palaeologos was still only a great domestic (*μέγαν ἔτι δομέστικον ὄντα*) when he left on the expedition, and we know from Georgius Acropolites (77, pp. 160 ff., Heisenberg) that he was promoted sebastocrator immediately after Michael became Emperor. On the campaign, see Hopf, *Geschichte*, 282 ff.

[69] Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.*, I, 32, p. 89. Georgius Acropolites (82, p. 172 Heisenberg) mentions only Arta and Buditza as having gone over to the despot, but he hints that "in this way the affairs of the Romans took a turn for the worse" (*οὕτω μὲν ἀρχὴν κακῶν τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἴληφε πράγματα*).

[70] Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.*, II, 26, p. 137 B mentions that "the men of the Sicilian royal power appropriated large parts of the Illyrias and New Epirus," (*οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελικῆς ῥηγικῆς ἐξουσίας πολλὰ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τῆς νέας Ἠπείρου προσεσφετερίσαντο*).

[71] Ch. 80, p. 167: *τοιοῦτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν δυτικῶν οἰκήτορες, ῥᾳδίως πᾶσι τοῖς δυναστεύουσιν ὑποπίπτοντες. ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ὀλέθρους ἀποφυγγάνουσι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν σφετέρων περιουσιῶν διασώζουσι.*

[72] *A. Alb.* 295. Jacobus de Baliniano was removed two years later, *ibid.*, 319.

The year 1261 A. D. marks the turning point in the history of the Latin possessions in the Levant. The reconquest of Constantinople by the Nicaean troops was only the beginning of other attempts to restore the Empire of the Comneni. Byzantium could not feel secure as long as the despot of Epirus was hoping to recover the former possessions of his house. Michael II Angelos left to his son Nicephorus, who succeeded him in 1271 A. D., only Old Epirus to the Pindus and to the Acroceraunian Mountains in the North.[73] More dangerous than the Angeli were the Angevins, for Charles I planned nothing more or less than a second Latin conquest of Constantinople. We cannot follow the details of the Angevin-Epirote preparations against the restored Empire of the Palaeologi nor the diplomatic campaigns engineered by Michael VIII against his dangerous opponents.[74] In A. D. 1281 the allied troops, under the command of Hugues de Sully, started out from Kanina to conquer Saloniki, as some members of the expedition thought. The first obstacle on their march was the Byzantine fortress of Berat, to which Sully laid siege. Michael VIII Palaeologus dispatched a strong force under the μέγας δομέστικος Michael Tarchaniotes to help the besieged. At Berat the Angevin troops suffered a complete defeat, and their leader was captured; they retired to Kanina.[75] Even in his autobiography, which Michael Palaeologus must have composed shortly before his death, the old Emperor takes pride in the victory of Berat over his formidable opponent.[76]

This is the last time that Kanina appears in the Byzantine historians before 1307 A. D., the date of our chrysobull. At some time between 1281 and 1307 the Byzantines must have entered the fortress. We know the name of its conqueror, it was Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaniotes; for in a poem of Manuel Philos dealing with the exploits of this general the following verses occur (287-290):

Ἐξ ὧν κατασχὼν τὴν πόλιν Δυρραχίου
Κροάς τε καὶ Κάννινα καὶ τὰ κυκλόθεν,
Ὁρμᾷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς θρασεῖς πάλαι Βλάχους κτλ.

[73] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, IV, 9, p. 110.

[74] Chapman, C., *Michel Paléologue* etc. (Paris, 1926), chs. 8 and 9, 11, 12, 13.

[75] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.*, VI 32, p. 509.

[76] Editio anonyma, "Imperatoris Palaeologi De Vita Sua Opusculum etc." *Christianskoe Čtenie*, 1885 (November and December), p. 537. For the date of the work, see p. 573.

The hero of this poem is to be distinguished carefully from his hononym, the victor of Berat. As the poem proceeds in a biographical fashion, the writer had hoped for some time that an analysis of the poem would yield a close *terminus ad quem* for the conquest of Kanina. Unfortunately, this hope has been disappointed, as will be shown in the Appendix.

It would seem, however, from a passage of the *Istoria del Regno di Romania* by Marino Sanudo Torsello that both Kanina and Durazzo were occupied immediately after the victory of Berat.[77] For Durazzo, however, this information is definitely wrong as Durazzo was still in Angevin hands in 1284.[78] Kroja, on the other hand, the conquest of which is mentioned by the poet even after that of Durazzo, must have fallen before 1282 A. D., as we know of a chrysobull of Michael Palaeologus for the former city (Kroja).[79] Thus it is impossible to date Michael Glabas' conquest of Kanina more accurately than by pointing out that it must have occurred between 1281 and 1294 A. D. (see Appendix).

Our chrysobull of the year 1307 contains certain allusions to the Angevin domination and to the period of reconquest. The ἀνωμαλία καὶ σύγχυσις which occurred at Kanina πρὸ χρόνων (line 26) and caused the loss of the ancient chrysobulls of the see refers, in the well-known Byzantine fashion of understatement, to the Angevin occupation. One feels inclined to assume that the activity of the πανσέβαστος δομέστικος Papylas (lines 43-49) dates back to the same period; he is said to have separated the larger part of Saristan and Michalovan from the possessions of the see and to have assigned it to the future inhabitants of the *castrum* of Kanina. We do not know from other sources that this person participated in the Epirot campaign of Michael Glabas. His activity, however, that

[77] Ed. Hopf, Ch., *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873, p. 129. Here the capture of the two cities is mentioned immediately after the battle of Berat: *alla fine il detto Castello della Giannina* (read *Canina*, Hopf) *che è in la Vallona, e Duraccio fu restituito all' Imperator de Greci predetto*, and since "the aforesaid Emperor of the Greeks' is Michael Palaeologus, this would imply that Durazzo and Kanina were captured before 1282 A. D.

[78] *A. Alb.* 493, 494.

[79] The chrysobull of Michael Palaeologus for Kroja is mentioned in a similar document of his son Andronicus for the same town, see Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, 149 (= *Archiv für slavische Philologie* XXI (1899), 97): *privilegium et mandatum serenissimi imperatoris nostri patris* . . . Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2058.

is the assignment of land to the future inhabitants of the fortress (*οἱ ὀφείλοντες κατοικεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον τῶν Κανίνων*) makes it probable that this official was providing for the new Byzantine garrison in the regular way.[80] A person called Papylas held the high rank of *μέγας τζαούσιος* or Chief of the Secret Police[81] when Michael Palaeologus died in December, 1282, on his last expedition. At that time Papylas was staying at Constantinople. In all likelihood he was an intimate of the co-emperor and heir designate, Andronicus II, for after the death of his father Andronicus dispatched a secret document to Papylas in which he entrusted the safety of the city to him.[82]

Even more interesting than the mention of Papylas is that of Phrantzaina (line 61). We learn that this person had owned houses with a cistern within the *castrum* of Kanina. These houses were given, at a certain moment, by prostagma of Andronicus II, to the see of Kanina, and the see had been in possession of these houses ever since. Is it possible to identify Phrantzaina?

The fact that she owned houses at Kanina would indicate at least that there existed certain family connections with Kanina. This is borne out by an inscription found at Kanina: this inscription mentions a certain Sphrantzes and proves connections between the Phrantzes family and a bishop.[83]

Wherever the family name Phrantzes or Sphrantzes appears in our sources, it has a distinctly Epirot flavor. The first mention occurs after the collapse of Tsar Samuel's possessions in 1018/9: one of Samuel's lieutenants who submits to Basil II is *Ἐλίναγος ὁ Φράντζης*, governor of Berat.[84] I find no other examples of this name before

[80] Thus Johannes Palaeologus had left garrisons in Epirus after the events of 1258, Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.*, II, 12, p. 107: *φρουροὺς ἐμβαλὼν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐπιστήσας* κτλ.

[81] On this office, see Stein, Ernst, "Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* II (1923-25), 42.

[82] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Andr. Pal.*, I, 1, p. 13.

[83] Anthimos, bishop of Berat, "*Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ Ἀπολλωνίας*," *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος*, *Παράρτημα* of Vol. XVII (1886), p. 184:

εὐσε]ΒΕCΤΑΤΟΥ ΗΙϹΡΑ(ρχου)
ΥΚΑΤΩϹΦΡΑΝΤΖΗΚ

Reprinted in Patsch, *Sandschak Berat*, p. 20. On the meaning of this inscription, see below, note 94.

[84] Cf. Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*, p. 475, line 3, with the "addition" in B. Prokić, *Die Zusätze in der Handschrift des Johannes*

the middle of the thirteenth century, when we hear of a Sphrantzaina (see below) and of a Gabriel Sphrantzes. In the fourteenth century the name has become frequent. One of the most famous members of the family is the murderer of Syrgiannes.[85]

What do we know of the present Sphrantzaina? Georgius Acropolites[86] mentions a sister-in-law of Michael II Angelos of Epirus. Her name is Maria, her husband had been called Sphrantzes, and she was a widow in 1257. Of her husband nothing is known, but it is easy to establish the pedigree of Maria. Michael II Angelos married once only, and his wife was Theodora, a member of the Petraliphas family. Petrus Aliphas, the ancestor of this family and a native of Alifa near Capua, had entered the Byzantine service before A. D. 1108. His family had distinguished itself under the Comneni,[87] and already in the early days of the Despotat of Epirus the house of Petraliphas was connected with that of the rulers.[88] Maria, the widow of Sphrantzes, therefore, belonged by birth to the family of Petraliphas.

She was a lady of many accomplishments and, after the death of

Skylitzes, codex Vindobonensis hist. graec. LXXIV, Diss. Munich (Munich, 1906), no. 54, p. 34. These "additions" for which we are indebted to the scholarship of the bishop Michael of Diabolis go back either to Skylitzes himself (Grégoire, "Du nouveau sur l'histoire bulgaro-byzantine: Nicétas Pégonitès etc.," *Byzantion*, XII [1937], 290) or to his sources (Prokić, *Zusätze*, 26).

[85] St. Binon, "A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue," *BZ*, XXXVIII (1938), 385. A poem of Nicephorus Gregoras mentioning a Euphrosyne Sphrantzaina (*Bessarione*, XXXIV (1918), 97) may refer to the wife of the murderer of Syrgiannes (R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras* etc., Paris, 1926, p. 161).

[86] 68, p. 140 (Heisenberg).

[87] Marquis De La Force, "Les conseillers latins du Basileus Alexis Comnène," *Byzantion*, XI (1926), 153-163, especially 158-160 (refuting Ducange). It is not impossible that a fragmentary relief found at Arta represents Petrus Aliphas (see A. K. Orlandos, "Ἡ παρὰ τὴν Ἄρταν Μονὴ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν," Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος II (1936), 41 and pl. 40), and the tomb of Theodora, wife of Michael II Angelos, has been described recently (idem, "ὁ τάφος τῆς ἁγ. Θεοδώρας," *ibid.*, 105-115). A splendid funerary relief of the *despina* has been found in the tomb (*ibid.*, plates 1 and 4). I abstain from using the information contained in the late *Life of St. Theodora Petraliphaina* (= *BHG* 1736) by the monk Job, as we do not know the sources on which it is based.

[88] Theodorus Angelos (1214-1230) had married the sister of a Petraliphas, Georgius Acropolites, 24, p. 39, Heisenberg.

her first husband (about whom nothing is known), she must still have been a very attractive young widow. In 1256 A. D. the Emperor Theodorus II Lascaris had left a certain Constantine Chabaron in command at the fortress of Albanon, the present Elbassan.[89] Chabaron was a good soldier but an easy prey to female charms (κουφότερος γὰρ οὗτος περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τυγχάνων ἦν εἰ καὶ ἄλλως καλὸς ἐτύγχανε στρατιώτης). Maria wrote him love letters and led him into a trap (1257 A. D.); this is the last we hear of the valiant Chabaron. To Michael II of Epirus, however, this capture seemed so important that he rose in open rebellion. This rebellion led to a matrimonial alliance of the Epirot dynasty with Manfred of Hohenstaufen and Prince William of Achaia, but Michael himself gained nothing but that the Angevin supremacy replaced the Nicaean sovereignty.

Maria must have spent uneasy years when the Nicaean troops waged war in Epirus. When Helena, daughter of Michael II Angelos, became engaged to Manfred of Hohenstaufen, the dowry had consisted in various places on the Albanian coast, and among them was Kanina (above, p. 193). Manfred had appointed the admiral Philippo Chinardo governor of his Albanian possessions. After the defeat at Benevento (1266 A. D.), Chinardo held the Sicilian possessions in Albania either for his own account or in the hope that the wife of his dead monarch, Helena, might be freed and claim them as her heritage. Michael II of Epirus, on the other hand, felt that his claims to Manfred's possessions were better: after all, Helena was his own daughter. Chinardo was too powerful to be disposed of by military force. Thus Michael offered Chinardo the hand of his sister-in-law, Maria Sphrantzaina, together with Kanina and Corfu as a dowry. Shortly after the marriage, however, the despot sent assassins to Corfu, and Chinardo was murdered (1266 A. D.).[90] It is not impossible that Maria, Chinardo's wife, was privy to the plot. At any rate, it was rumored later that she ordered Chinardo's

[89] *Ibid.*, 66, p. 139. Chabaron's stay at Albanon is mentioned in a letter of Theodorus Laskaris, see *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), no. CCIII, p. 250.

[90] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.*, VI, 32, 508. On Philippo Chinardo, see Hopf, *Griechenland*, 298; G. Del Giudice, "La Famiglia di Re Manfredi," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, IV (1879), 77 ff., 92-97; and Willy Cohn, "Die Geschichte der sizilischen Flotte unter der Regierung Konrads IV und Manfreds (1250-1266)," *Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- und Seegeschichte*, IX (1920), 70-104. The valuable book by Domenico Forges Davanzati, *Dissertazione sulla moglie del Re Manfredi e su' loro figliuoli* (Napoli, 1791), was inaccessible to the writer.

chaplain, the later bishop of Kozyla, to perform the funeral rites over the head of the dead admiral which had been placed on a golden platter—a gruesome scene which resembles the story of John the Baptist and Herodias so closely and thereby accuses Maria so clearly of the death of her husband that it must belong to the realm of legend.[91]

Kanina and Corfu had formed the dowry of Maria Sphrantzaina when she married Philippo Chinardo. This fact proves beyond any doubt that she is identical with the Sphrantzaina of our document. Now we understand why the Emperor Andronicus II could dispose of the real estate of Sphrantzaina by prostagma (line 61). Maria Sphrantzaina must have felt uneasy during the years which followed the murder of Philippo Chinardo. This foul deed did not have the desired effect, for the entourage of the deceased admiral resisted the attempts of Michael II Angelos to seize Kanina, and eventually handed it over to Charles I of Anjou.[92] Under these circumstances, Maria can hardly have stayed long at Kanina or, if she did, she must have been virtually a prisoner. However that may be, when the imperial troops entered Kanina for good (between 1281 and 1294 A. D., see above, p. 196) the memory of her behavior towards Constantine Chabaron can hardly have been forgotten,[93] and it is understandable that her possessions were confiscated.[94]

It has been said above (p. 198) that we know, towards the end of

[91] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Andr. Pal.*, I, 14, 44. On Kozyla, see H. Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche," *BZ*, II (1893), p. 56; St. Novaković, "Okhridska Archiepikopija etc." *Glas Srpske Kralevske Akademije*, LXXVI (1908), 60 ff.

[92] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.* VI, 32, 508 ff.

[93] We do not know when this adventurous lady died. It would seem, however, from the term ἐκείνη in our document (line 61) that she was dead in 1307; cf. F. Dölger, "Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *BZ*, XXVII (1927), p. 305, note 1: "Der Zusatz ἐκεῖνος ist in den Urkunden bei nichtgeistlichen und nichtsouveränen Personen die Bezeichnung für 'gestorben'."

[94] It would be tempting to interpret the fragmentary inscription found at Kanina (above, note 83) as commemorating the transfer of the houses from the possession of the Sphrantzes family to that of the bishop of Kanina—all the more so as the bishop is mentioned in the genitive whereas the name Sphrantzes appears in the dative. But the fact that Sphrantzaina's possessions were not transferred by herself but by imperial prostagma forbids such an explanation. All that the inscription proves is that at some time there existed relations betwen the Sphrantzes family and the bishop (of Kanina ?).

Michael Palaeologus' reign, a Gabriel Sphrantzes. He had been the Keeper of the Great Seal (*παρακοιμώμενος τῆς μεγάλης σφενδόνης*) for some time, but had later been deprived of his sight by the ruler.[95] In A. D. 1280 he was ordered to join another victim of the suspicious old Emperor, Johannes Angelos, the youngest son of Michael II Angelos.[96] Now Johannes Angelos is called by Pachymeres the first cousin (*αὐτανέψιος*) of Gabriel Sphrantzes. Johannes Angelos and Gabriel Sphrantzes, therefore, must have had parents who were brothers and sisters. Since Johannes Angelos was the son of Theodora Petraliphina, the wife of Michael II Angelos, it is clear that Gabriel Sphrantzes was the son of our Sphrantzaina. Her adventurous life, combined with the tragic end of her son, has the romantic flavor of the lives of the great ladies of the Italian Renaissance.

Why did the bishop of Kanina wait at least thirteen years after the reconquest before he asked for a confirmation of his possessions?[97] Epirus, and Kanina in particular, had seen so many political changes in the thirteenth century that the bishop may have decided to wait until the reconquest had been consolidated and he would have other more immediate demands to present to the Emperor. Then he would ask the latter to include in the chrysobull a confirmation of his possessions. However that may be, our chrysobull forms part of the long series of similar documents which confirm the holding of real property after the end of the Latin dominion.[98]

What then was the immediate occasion for our chrysobull? The bishop of Kanina had complained of two points: the first concerned the *φονικόν*, the second the *μιτᾶτον*.

The word *φονικόν* was used in medieval Greek to render the Slavic

[95] Georgius Pachymeres, *De. Mich. Pal.* VI, 25, 493.

[96] Johannes Angelos had been sent to Constantinople in 1261 as a hostage by his father Michael II Angelos (Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.* II, 12, p. 107). The Emperor married him to a lady of the house of the Tornikioi (*ibid.*, p. 108, and III, 27, p. 243). Johannes however, left his wife and lived by himself (*ibid.* VI, 24, 485) until in 1280 he was suspected of aspiring to the Empire. On the orders of the Emperor he was deprived of his eyesight (*ibid.*). After he had been united with his cousin Gabriel Sphrantzes who had suffered the same fate, the unhappy man tried every means to put an end to his miserable life and finally succeeded in doing so (*ibid.* VI, 25, 493).

[97] The citizens of Kroja had asked for a similar document immediately after the reconquest (above, note 79).

[98] G. Rouillard, "Recensements de terres sous les premiers Paléologues," *Byzantion*, XII (1937), pp. 105 ff.

custom of blood vengeance.[99] Albania has been, and still is, cursed with *vendetta,* and one understands easily that the case envisaged in our chrysobull must have occurred every day in the diocese of Kanina.[100] This explains the casualness which the Emperor shows in dealing with the facts as presented by the bishop and the complete absence of any but the property punishment for murder.

The Byzantine attitude towards the *vendetta* in its Slavonic and Germanic appearances has been elucidated in a recent article to which the reader may be referred.[101] The authors of this article quote an unpublished chrysobull of Andronicus II for the Lavra on Mount Athos, dated 1298 A. D., in which the Emperor turns against exactly the same abuses in almost identical language.[102] The Byzantine officials,[103] both in Epirus and on Mount Athos, apparently were

[99] A. Mirambel, "Blood Vengeance in Southern Greece (Maina) and among the Slavs," to appear in *Byzantion.* On Slavic *vendetta* see F. Miklosich, "Die Blutrache bei den Slaven," *Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien,* Phil.-Hist. Cl., XXXVI (1888), 127-209; M. R. Wesnitsch, *Die Blutrache bei den Südslaven* etc., Diss. Munich (Stuttgart, 1898); and C. Jireček, "Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien etc.," *Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien,* LVI, 3 (1912), 12 ff. On Albanian *vendetta* in particular, see Ch. Picard, "L'Ancient Droit Criminel Hellénique et la vendetta albanaise," *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* LXXXI (1920), 260-288. The standard work is Vlavianos, *Zur Lehre von der Blutrache* (1924).

[100] Picard, *Ancien Droit Criminel,* 286: "Plus récemment, les statistiques accusent en général, chez les adultes mâles, 19% de pertes annuelles." The ratio must have been higher in the 14th century, as at the present time many cases which would have led to vengeance in the Middle Ages are settled quasi-judicially.

[101] G. Rouillard, and A. Soloviev, "Τὸ Φονικόν. Une influence slave sur le droit pénal byzantin," *Μνημόσυνα Παππούλια* (Athens, 1934), pp. 221-232.

[102] Since the above article (note 101) is not easily accessible, I copy this passage in full: *Ναὶ μὴν διατηρηθήσεται τὰ τοιαῦτα κτήματα ἀνενόχλητα πάντῃ καὶ ἀδιάσειστα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φονικοῦ μὲν ὀνομαζομένου, κακῶς δ'ἐπινενοημένου, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ φόνου οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς τοιαύτης ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τρόπον ἕτερον καὶ τυχηρὰν αἰτίαν συμβαίνοντος. Εἰ δέ γε φανερῶς καὶ ὁμολογουμένως εὑρεθείη ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον ἀπεκτονώς, τότε δὴ καὶ μόνον ὀφείλει ἀπαιτεῖν ὁ δημόσιος ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου τοῦ φονεύσαντος ἢ καὶ ἑτέρων εἰς τοῦτο συνεργησάντων αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνῆκον ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου φόνου, ἑτέρῳ δέ τινι τῶν μὴ συμπραξάντων μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν ὅλως ὑπὲρ τούτου.* According to a suggestion made by the Patriarch Athanasius in 1305 and confirmed by the Emperor in 1306 the family of the victim was to receive part of the murderer's property, Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Ius Graeco-Romanum,* III, 631.

[103] Under the Palaeologi the governor of a theme came to be called *δούξ* (Stein, *Untersuchungen,* p. 21). For *ὁ δουκεύων,* see Stein, *ibid.,* p. 28: "es ist

using the institution of the φονικόν for a *Bauernlegen* in the grand style. They availed themselves rather ingeniously of the local ideas about the solidarity of the clan to confiscate the property of the criminal and to fine his kinsmen and neighbors.[104] The Emperor's injunctions were well-meant but, as so often happened, the *Reichsrecht* had to yield to the *Volksrecht*. Twelve years later Andronicus II resigned himself to the fact that in Ioannina the local customs would prevail over the imperial law (1319 A. D.): ἔτι ἵνα ὁ μέλλων ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς φόνον παιδεύηται ὑπὲρ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ἐκεῖσε συνήθειαν.[105]

The last point mentioned in our chrysobull refers to abuses connected with the μιτᾶτον.[106] The κεφαλατικεύοντες or governors[107] of the country district of Berat and Kanina (lines 79-80) would ask for grain (γέννημα)[108] for their own provision and they would pay for it (ῥίπτειν

auffallend wie häufig im Spätbyzantinischen Partizipien zur Bezeichnung amtlicher Funktionen verwendet werden; das Unstäte, 'Repressive' der in die Brüche gehenden Organisation findet in der Sprache einen unbewussten, aber vielleicht desto getreueren Ausdruck."

[104] It is interesting that, just as in the case of the *sigillion* of Basil II, the κληρικοί and the πάροικοι play such an important role in the chrysobull. The reasons for the bishop's interest in the case of the πάροικοι are obvious, but it is more difficult to explain the case of the "kinsman of one of the clerics." It would be plausible that the bishop had wished to protect the property of his clerics. But why is he interested in the property of the relatives of his clerics? The only possible explanation is that the clerics were the heirs of their relatives and that in protecting these latter the bishop was taking care of property which in the future was to come, more or less directly, under the control of the see.

[105] MM V, 82.

[106] An almost identical provision occurs in the chrysobull for Ioannina mentioned above (MM V, 82, 1319 A. D.): ὡσαύτως οὐδὲ μιτάτον (*sic*) γέννηται εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα κτήματα αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ζημία τις ἕτερα γένηται εἰς αὐτά, ἀλλὰ διαπωλῶσιν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατέχοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα κτήματα τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσοδήματα, καθὼς πωλοῦνται εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναγκάζωνται ὅλως διαπωλεῖν αὐτὰ παρὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. In the formulae of exemption this ἐξώνησις γεννήματος (line 113) occurs as ἐκβολὴ γεννημάτων ἐξ ἀγορασίας (MM VI, 3, A. D. 1073) or as ἐξώνησίς σίτου οἴνου κτλ. (MM VI, 20, A. D. 1079; MM VI, 27, A. D. 1087).

[107] On the history of the term κεφαλατικεύοντες see Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 21-25, 27, and A. Andréadès, "Deux livres récents sur les finances byzantines," *BZ*, XXVIII (1928), 309.

[108] The passage line 113 (γεννήματος ἢ οἴνου ἢ ἑτέρων τινῶν χρειωδῶν) proves that γέννημα is used already in the sense of "cereal" or even "grain (wheat)" in which it occurs in modern Greek, cf. R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* etc., p. 591.

ὑπέρπυρα).[109] They required, however, not the amount of grain that would correspond to the normal price in the region, but a multiple of this amount. In accordance with the request of the bishop, the Emperor provides that the possessions of the see of Kanina would no longer be subject to such requests for grain. It may be assumed that in spite of the wording this provision did not mean prohibition of such requests altogether, but constrained the officials to pay the price customary on the free market.

We ignore a large part of the strange odyssey which brought this magnificent monument of the Byzantine Chancery from the Bosporus to the Hudson. It allows us to reconstruct an interesting part of medieval history and to revive the colorful atmosphere of the Epirot court. At all times the Valona region had been coveted by the Latins of the Italian peninsula, the Slavs of the Balkan, and the Greeks: our document shows the region at a period when for the last time it was distinctly under effective Byzantine domination. To Byzantine eyes the Latin occupation of Epirus and the Angevin plans for a Latin reconquest of the restored Byzantine Empire were not more than "irregularity and confusion" and by the valiant campaigns of Tarchaniotes and Glabas the authority of the Roman Emperor was restored in Illyricum.

APPENDIX

Manuel Philes' poem on the protostrator Michael Glabas.[110]

The aesthetic judgment about this banausic compilation cannot be anything

[109] Ῥίπτειν ὑπέρπυρα presents two difficulties. 1. For ῥίπτειν in the sense of "to pay," see MM IV, 153 (1259 A. D.): ἔρριψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ . . . τίμημα. This meaning may derive from cases where the money was actually thrown, as for instance when it was distributed by the Emperor. 2. ὑπέρπυρον stands here for "money" in general. This term was used at least from the beginning of the twelfth century on for the *nomisma* (F. Dölger, "Zur Textgestaltung der Lavra-Urkunden und zu ihrer geschichtlichen Auswertung," *BZ*, XXXIX (1939), 64 ff.). But by the thirteenth century, and on the Balkan peninsula in particular, the hyperper was nothing but a *monnaie de compte* and the actual coinage had to be specified (C. Jireček, "Die Bedeutung von Ragusa in der Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters," *Die feierliche Sitzung der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften am 31. Mai 1899* (Vienna, 1899), p. 188, note 53, and "Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien II etc.," *Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, LVI, 3 (1912), 62). This explains the use of the word hyperper in the sense of "money."

[110] Text of the poem in E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II (Paris, 1857), 240-255.

but unfavorable. Yet the historian has to recognize that, unlike most Byzantines, Philes is not afraid of mentioning even the most barbaric-sounding place names and of supplementing our general knowledge of the period in a welcome way. It has been mentioned above that the poem (vv. 288-290) mentions the conquest of Kanina by Michael Glabas. As the poem proceeds in the biographical fashion, one would expect that by analyzing the course of events as related by Philes, and particularly those following the capture of Kanina, it should be possible to find a *terminus ante quem* for this event.[111]

Before starting this analysis, we have to caution the reader against a pitfall. The hero of our poem, Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaniotes (henceforth called Glabas) is to be distinguished carefully from the victor of Berat, Michael Tarchaniotes (henceforth called Tarchaniotes).[112] It is all the more important and difficult to avoid confusion, as both Tarchaniotes and Glabas have wives who are called Maria (or Martha after their retirement from the world) and founded monasteries, that both men were important generals under the two first Palaeologi, and at a certain time both seem to have been *μέγας δομέστικος*.[113] In spite of these truly amazing coincidences, the distinction ought to be upheld, chiefly because (1) Tarchaniotes is said to have died in 1284 A. D. whereas Glabas lived much longer,[114] and (2) when Glabas makes

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[111] Such an analysis was given by the Russian scholar Kh. Loparev in a monograph entitled: *Vizantiski poet Manuil Fil k istorii Bolgarii v XIII-XIV veke* (St. Petersburg, 1891). See K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* etc., in Iwan von Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumwissenschaft*, IX, 1, second edition (Munich, 1897), p. 780; and the announcement in *BZ*, I (1892), 169. Of this work only 160 copies were printed, and it was inaccessible to the writer. It is possible, however, to get a general idea of the work from C. Jireček, "Das christliche Element in der topographischen Nomenclatur der Balkanländer," *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien, Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, CXXXVI, no. XI (1897), 77-85.

[112] The career of Tarchaniotes had been examined by M. Treu, *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae*, Programm des Königlichen Friedrichs-Gymnasium zu Breslau, 1886, p. 236. E. Martini, "Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita," *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, XX (Supplemento), Naples 1900, examined the descent and career of Glabas and distinguished him from Tarchaniotes. Recently this view has been taken up again and confirmed by one of the best experts of Byzantine prosopography, V. Laurent, "Kyra Martha. Essai de topographie et de prosopographie byzantine," *Echos d'Orient*, XXXVIII (1939), 296-329, esp. 297-305.

[113] Laurent, *Kyra Martha*, 301.

[114] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Andr. Pal.*, I, 27, p. 72, states that Tarchaniotes was smitten by the disease (*τέλος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς πρωτοβεστιάριος νόσου γέγονε παρανάλωμα*) and this is confirmed by a letter of Planudes according to which Tarchaniotes was dead in 1295 A. D. (Treu, *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae*, pp. 97, 251). Glabas lived much longer (Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, p. 65).

his first appearance in the *History* of Georgius Pachymeres he appears with a *cursus honorum* altogether different from that of Tarchaniotes.[115]

Turning to our poem, we shall conveniently take up the thread of the narrative with the mention of the Bulgarian ruler Constantine (vv. 92, 165) who ruled from 1258-1277.[116] Sventislav (v. 166) is the despot James Svetslaw whom Constantine's wife, Maria, murdered after she had first adopted him as a son (1277 A. D.).[117] Lachanas (vv. 168, 222, 241) is the famous swineherd Ivailo, nicknamed "the kitchen-gardener," who managed to marry Queen Maria, widow of Constantine, in 1278 A. D.[118] The poet further reports that Glabas removed the Queen of the Bulgarians with the young "kinglet" from Trnovo and brought them to Constantinople; this refers to the action of the inhabitants of Trnovo of handing over Queen Maria and her son Michael to the Byzantine troops, and to their coming to Constantinople.[119] The next engagement with Lachanas (v. 259) refers to the events of the year 1280 when he laid siege to Trnovo with Tartar help.[120] The "flight of the satrap" (vv. 260-262) very probably is an allusion to the escape of the Byzantine *protégé*, Johannes Asen III, from Trnovo in 1280, which raised Michael Palaeologus' anger to such a high degree.[121]

Thus the analysis of Philes' verses has led us safely to the year 1280 A. D. Glabas now leaves for the West to fight the "Italians" (vv. 282 ff.), and there follow the verses about the capture of Durazzo, Kroja and Kanina quoted above (p. 195). One would expect that, simply by analyzing in the above way the data which follow Glabas' conquest in Epirus, it should be easy to date the Epirot occurrences. Unfortunately, however, these data are difficult to interpret.

Glabas is said to start out against the Vlachs and the sebastocrator Theodore, whose territory he occupies (vv. 290-293). His victories at Dreanobiskos and Astron were witnessed by a lady of imperial origin, by an

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[115] Tarchaniotes: Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.*, IV, 19, p. 295 (*μέγας πριμικήριος*); VI, 20, p. 469 (*μέγας δομέστικος*, later *πρωτοβεστιάριος*); *De Andr. Pal.*, I, 25, p. 68 (*πρωτοβεστιάριος*). Glabas: *De Andr. Pal.*, I, 1, p. 12 (*μέγας παπίας*, later *πιγκέρνης*, finally *μέγας κονοσταῦλος*).

[116] The chief sources for the period are Georgius Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras. The best modern treatments of this period of Bulgarian history are C. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague, 1876), pp. 269-284, and W. Miller, "The Balkan States," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (New York, 1927), esp. pp. 525-531.

[117] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.* VI, 2, p. 430. Cf. Jireček, *Bulgaren*, pp. 275 ff.; Miller, *Balkan States*, p. 528.

[118] On Lachanas, see Georgios Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.*, VI, 3-7, pp. 431-446; Jireček, *Bulgaren*, p. 276 f.; Miller, *Balkan States*, p. 529.

[119] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.* VI, 8, pp. 446 ff.; Nicephorus Gregoras, V, 4, p. 132.

[120] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Mich. Pal.* VI, 19, pp. 466 ff.

[121] *Ibid.*, VI, 9, pp. 448 ff.

unthinking baby, and by a man who was prosperous before a battle (vv. 294-300).[122]

Now we know that Tarchaniotes, Glabas' homonym, waged war against Johannes of Thessaly and his son Michael in 1284. During this campaign disease killed a large part of the Byzantine army and the general himself, while their opponent's energetic son, Michael, was kidnapped by the intrigues of Nicephorus of Epirus and his wife Anna.[123] The sebastocrator Theodore of Manuel Philes is identical with Johannes of Thessaly mentioned by Pachymeres; for he is likewise called Theodore by the Chronicle of Morea and Marin Sanudo Torsello. Since, however, Glabas' campaign is not necessarily identical with that of Tarchaniotes, and since all we know about Johannes of Thessaly is that he died before 1294 A. D.,[124] the campaign of Glabas cannot be dated with any degree of certainty except that it must have occurred before the latter year. For Philes' further remarks about the lady of imperial origin, her baby and husband, the writer does not find a satisfactory explanation.

After this irksome interlude, the poem can be checked again with our historians. The war against Koteanitzes (vv. 301-319) is mentioned by Pachymeres for the year 1298 (he calls Glabas "that man of God," *τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον*),[125] and the struggle with Terteres (vv. 320 ff.) must have preceded the year 1294 when this Bulgarian ruler fled to the Tatars.[126] The last mention of Lachanas (v. 322) must refer to the Pseudo-Lachanas who made his appearance in 1294.[127] The Smilos of v. 323 is the Bulgarian prince who was supported by the Tatars [128] and Glabas' victories mentioned in vv. 326 ff. refer to the Byzantine campaigns against the Bulgarian Tsar Theodore Sventslav (1295-1322).[129]

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[122] Vv. 296-299:

Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖσθαι τὰς νίκας
παρὰ γυναικὸς εὐπρεποῦς βασιλίδος
καὶ παρὰ παιδὸς μὴ φρονοῦντος ὡς βρέφους,
εἶτα παρ' ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦς πρὸ τῆς μάχης κτλ.

[123] Georgius Pachymeres, *De Andr. Pal.* I, 25-27, pp. 67-72.

[124] *Ibid.*, III, 4, p. 201: *ἐκποδὼν γεγονότος καὶ τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος Ἰωάννου*; for the date see the note of Possin, pp. 785-787.

[125] *Ibid.*, III, 30, pp. 271 ff. Here the dates show a noticeable gap in the career of Glabas. It may be assumed that the events of the intervening years were not to the credit of Philes' hero. On the other hand, the affair of Koteanitzes does not appear in the chronological order in Philes as the events mentioned afterwards in the poem precede it chronologically. It may be that Glabas fought against Koteanitzes even before 1298 as Koteanitzes escaped from the monastery in which he was virtually a prisoner (*De Mich. Pal.* VI, 22, p. 474; 27, p. 499; *De Andr. Pal.* I, 24, pp. 66 ff.) in 1283 A. D.

[126] *Ibid.*, III, 26, p. 264. [127] *Ibid.*, II, 30, p. 188. [128] *Ibid.*, III, 26, p. 266.

[129] *Ibid.*, V, 28, pp. 445-448; VII, 18, p. 601. See Jireček, *Bulgaren*, p. 286 and *Christliches Element*, p. 79.

INTERNAL STRIFE IN BYZANTIUM DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By PETER CHARANIS

For a time it appeared that the Greeks might reëstablish their dominant position in the Balkan peninsula after they had captured Constantinople in 1261 and ended the miserable existence of the Latin empire there. With Constantinople again in their hands, they were able to restore the Byzantine empire, and the foreign policy which they immediately adopted was to maintain and extend their position in the Balkan peninsula. Michael Palaeologus, the man who restored the empire, pursued this policy consistently and fairly successfully, but his successors were not only unable to maintain the advantages which he had won; they had to yield still further, until finally there was nothing left but Constantinople, itself reduced to a state of misery, and a few outlying districts.[1]

The factors which contributed to the collapse of the empire were many. Incompetence in statesmanship; the constant hammerings and almost continuous invasions of the empire by the neighboring peoples, Turks, Slavs, and Latins; the control of the commercial life of the empire by the Italian cities—these were important factors in the downfall of the empire. But still more important, indeed decisive, was the

[1] There is as yet no systematic treatment of the period of the Palaeologi. The best brief general accounts are those of Charles Diehl (*L'Empire byzantin sous les Palaeologues*, in *Etudes byzantines*, Paris, 1904) and A. A. Vasiliev (*Histoire de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1932, II, 253 ff.). For the reign of Michael Palaeologus there is now a brief and not quite satisfactory monograph: C. Chapman, *Michel Paléologue, restaurateur de l'Empire byzantin, 1261-1282* (Paris, 1926). The work of V. Parisot (*Cantacuzène, homme d'Etat et historien*, Paris, 1845) and that of Berger de Xivrey ("Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue," *Mémoires de l'Institut de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, vol. XIX, part 2, Paris, 1853) are still the standards on Cantacuzenus and Manuel Palaeologus respectively. There is now also a monograph on John VII: F. Dölger, "Johannes VII, Kaiser der Rhomäer, 1390-1408," *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXI (Leipzig, 1931), 21-36. For the chronology of the fourteenth century see P. Charanis, "An Important Short Chronicle of the Fourteenth Century," *Byzantion*, XIII (Brussels, 1938), 335-362. For the administration see Ernst Stein, "Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Mitteilungen z. Osmanischen Geschichte* II, 1. u. 2. Heft (Hanover, 1925), 1-62.

internal strife which characterized the empire throughout the fourteenth century. There was not a single reign in that century that was not disturbed by a revolution. Nor were these revolutions simply for the possession of the throne. The throne was involved, indeed, but behind the struggle for its possession lay deep social and political factors. This is nowhere clearer than in the attempt of John Cantacuzenus to wrest the throne away from John V Palaeologus. Cantacuzenus was supported by the aristocratic classes and relied also on the hesychast monks whose leader, Palamas, he favored; he was bitterly opposed by the lower classes whose leaders fought not only the aristocracy, but showed also anti-monastic feelings.[1a] What followed was a series of popular revolts which put most of the cities of the empire in the hands of the people.

The first of these popular uprisings took place in Adrianople, October 27, 1341, after Cantacuzenus had dispatched a letter to that city in which he announced his proclamation to the throne and asked to be recognized emperor. The aristocratic element of Adrianople welcomed the news and declared promptly in favor of Cantacuzenus. Thereupon it called an assembly of the populace where the letter of Cantacuzenus was read and an attempt was made to win popular support for his cause. But instead of approval and support there were murmurs of revolt, and even open denunciations of Cantacuzenus. Those who had dared to speak openly against Cantacuzenus were insulted and whipped, and for the time being all seemed well, but the resentment of the populace smoldered underneath, and when night came it broke out into an open conflagration. This was the work of a certain Branos, a man of low social origins, who earned his living by working with the spade. Branos and a number of other conspirators went from house to house and urged the populace to revolt, promising them not only vengeance against the insolence of the rich, but also seizure of their property. In this way they constituted among the poor a considerable force with which they attacked the wealthy, the friends of Cantacuzenus. In the meantime many of the aristocracy had anticipated the uprising and fled from the city; those who remained were captured and were later sent to Constantinople, while the property of the wealthy in general was plundered and destroyed. A popular

[1a] The best study of Gregory Palamas and the Palamite movement are the articles of M. Jugie, "Palamas, Grégoire" and "Palamite (controverse)," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XI (Paris, 1932), 1735-1818.

regime was established, and it was recognized by the authorities in Constantinople which were still friendly to John V Palaeologus.[2] This regime lasted until the winter of 1345. By then most of the Thracian cities had surrendered to Cantacuzenus and the tide of the war between the two emperors was turning in his favor. A revolt by those of his partisans who were still in the city was partly successful, and the city was finally handed over to him through negotiations.[3]

The example of Adrianople was followed everywhere in the empire. In practically every city there was an uprising of the lower classes which remained loyal to John V Palaeologus against the aristocracy. Here is how Cantacuzenus describes the general situation:[4]

> Later [after the popular revolt in Adrianople] the entire Roman empire was given to a much more savage and grievous strife. The populace everywhere considered its duty to remain loyal to the emperor Palaeologus, while the men of property were either sincerely favorable to the emperor Cantacuzenus or were accused of being so by the poor and the seditious without any proof. Most easy were the attacks against those who had money which the poor sought to seize, and who had refused to act basely like the others. The people were ready to revolt at the slightest pretext and dared the most terrible deeds, for they hated the rich for their bad treatment of them during peace time and now hoped, above all, to seize their property, which was great. The rebels were composed in the main of the most miserable of thieves and brigands, and, compelled by poverty, dared everything. Under the pretext that they were favorably disposed toward the emperor Palaeologus, calling themselves his most faithful subjects, they led the populace to follow their example.
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> The sedition spread throughout the Roman empire like a malignant and terrible disease, and infected many who before seemed more moderate and just. For in time of peace both cities and individuals have gentler feelings and are less tempted to commit disgraceful and infamous deeds. This is because they do not have to face conditions of dire necessity. But war which deprives men of their daily wants is a violent schoolmaster and teaches that which seemed before beyond any daring.
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> And so all the cities in common rebelled against the nobles. Those who were late in entering the struggle, on hearing what had been done before carried themselves to greater excesses, nay, to the perpetration of massacres. The cruelty and reckless audacity of these men were looked upon as courage, while their insensibility to the ties of blood and their lack of kindly feelings as unflinching loyalty for the emperor. The man who was violent against Canta-

[2] John Cantacuzenus, *Historiae* (Bonn, 1828-32), II, 175 ff. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia* (Bonn, 1829-30), II, 620.

[3] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 484 ff., 525 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, 177-79.

cuzenus and heaped upon him base and bitter insults was considered a faithful subject; while he who was moderate both in words and in deeds and sought to do what was right was immediately suspected. Likewise, the laying of plots and the fabrication of lies and false accusations gave to one the reputation of prudent. The betrayal of one's closest relatives was covered by some fair-sounding name as if it were something good. Thus every form of wickedness made its appearance and there was nothing that the more equitable did not have to endure. For the nobles and the members of the middle class were straightway destroyed, the former either because they had been favorably disposed toward Cantacuzenus or because they did not immediately take up arms against him; the latter, either because they did not coöperate with the rebels or through envy lest they survive. Human nature, always prone to commit injustices in opposition to the laws, seemed then powerless to control its rage.[5]

The strife and conflict which reigned in every city of the empire was greater and more violent in Thessalonica as that city surpassed all others, except Constantinople, both in wealth and population. Thessalonica had always been one of the most populous and wealthiest cities of the Roman empire,[6] and since the seventh century when the great cities of the east were conquered by the Arabs, it ranked second only to Constantinople. Its population in the tenth century has been estimated at 200,000 souls;[7] in the fourteenth century it was still very populous;[8] and despite the disasters of that century its population in 1423 still numbered 40,000.[9] It declined rapidly in the next few years and when it was taken by the Ottomans in 1430 it had no more than 7,000 people, men, women, and children. Most of the inhabitants had doubtless fled or were killed in the defense of the city.[10]

[5] Cf. Thucydides, III, 82.

[6] It was known as *Megalopolis*, a term which was applied only to Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Thessalonica. Du Cange, *Glossarium Graecitatis*, s. v.

[7] A. Adamantios, Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Θεσσαλονίκη (Athens, 1914), p. 101. Cited by A. Christophilopolos, Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ αἱ συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ (Athens, 1935), p. 1, n. 3.

[8] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 634; Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* (Bonn, 1835), II, 262. At the beginning of the thirteenth century Villehardouin called Thessalonica "une des meilleures et des plus riches villes de la chrestienté." Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, edited by Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1874), p. 166; Nicephorus Chumnos, Θεσσαλονικεῦσι Συμβουλευτικός, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* (Paris, 1830), II, 143, 152.

[9] Zorzi Dolpin, *Cronaca*, anno 1423 (MS. of the library of St. Mark of Venice, Ital. Clas. vii, cod. 794). Cited by C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce* (Paris, 1883), IV, xx.

[10] John Anagnostes, *De Thessalonicensis excidio narratio* (Bonn, 1838), p. 510.

The greatness and prosperity of Thessalonica was due to its commercial activity. Thessalonica was a great international market and its annual fair, held at the time of the feast of St. Demetrius, its patron saint, was famous throughout Europe and the Near East. Merchants of every nationality, Bulgarians, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Syrians, Egyptians, and numerous others came to Thessalonica to exchange their goods. These goods were of every kind. Here is how the author of *Timarion* who lived in the twelfth century describes them: [11]

> And if you are anxious to know what it [the fair] contains . . . well, there was every kind of material woven or spun by men or women, all those that come from Boeotia and the Peloponnesus, and all that are brought in trading ships from Italy to Greece. Besides this, Phoenicia furnishes numerous articles, and Egypt, and Syria, and the pillars of Hercules, where the finest coverlets are manufactured. These things the merchants bring direct from their respective countries to old Macedonia and Thessalonica; but the Empire also contributes to the splendor of the fair, by sending across its products to Constantinople, whence the cargoes are brought by numerous horses and mules.

In the fourteenth century Thessalonica was still a great international market. The products of every land were found there.[12] And one of the most powerful and turbulent elements of its population were the mariners,[13] some of whom were not only engaged in the legitimate transportation of commercial goods, but doubtless also in piracy.[14] The mariners were organized into a guild and exerted considerable influence in the life of Thessalonica.[15] There was also a

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[11] B. Hase, *Notices et extraits de manuscrits*, IX (Paris, 1813), 171-174. I have used the translation of H. F. Tozer, "Byzantine Satire," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, II (London, 1881), 244-245. *Timarion* has also been edited and translated by Ad. Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Litteratur*, IV (Leipzig, 1860).

[12] D. Kydonis, *Monodia occisorum Thessalonicae*, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CIX (Paris, 1863), 641. Migne is cited hereafter as *MPG*.

[13] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 575.

[14] D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat Grec de Morée* (Paris, 1932), pp. 85 ff.

[15] Cantacuzenus, II, 575: ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἰδιάζουσαν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὶ παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως. According to O. Tafrali (*Thessalonique au XIVeme siècle*, Paris, 1913, pp. 32 f.) this guild was organized by the mariners themselves in order to protect their interests better. This is not likely. In Byzantium during the height of its power trades were organized and strictly regulated by the state. "It is least probable," says a student of Byzantine trade corporations, "that a state with such lack of political and economic liberty, such as was Byzantium,

numerous middle class which owed its fortune to commerce and industry. An ecclesiastic of the fourteenth century complains that the people of Thessalonica were more interested in sales and purchases than in the word of God. They turned the house of God, the church, into a market place, for they talked business instead of listening to the scriptures.[16] A considerable portion, probably the majority, of the population of Thessalonica, however, was engaged in agriculture. Most of the inhabitants, declares Palamas in one of his sermons, spread into the country in order that they might take care of the harvest and bring in the crops. The poor were many, whereas some of the aristocracy were extremely wealthy.[17]

Thessalonica was violently shaken by a popular upheaval which broke out in the summer of 1342 against Cantacuzenus and his wealthy partisans.[18] The revolt was headed by a group known as the zealot's because they put the interest of the people before their own private advantage. This is the definition of zealot given by one of the writers of the fourteenth century,[19] but the zealots of Thessalonica are represented by their antagonists as men of low origin, indigent to the last degree, a collection of riffraff, which included not only the lowest element of Thessalonica, but also criminals from the islands

would have allowed the organization of the trades, especially those of the large cities, into powerful autonomous corporations" (Christophilopolos, Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον, p. 37). When the revolt of the zealots broke out, the guild of the mariners was headed by Andrew Palaeologus, a member of the nobility and influential in the politics of the city. This may mean that the head of the guild of the mariners was designated by the government. In Byzantium during the tenth century the heads of numerous guilds were appointed by the prefect of the city (*ibid.*, p. 46). See the book of the prefect itself, edited by J. Nicole, *Le Livre du préfet ou l'édit de l'empereur Léon le Sage sur les corporations de Constantinople* (Geneva, 1893). The book has been reprinted by J. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, II (Athens, 1931), 371-392. There is also an English translation: A. E. R. Boak, "The Book of the Prefect," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I (Cambridge, 1929), 600 f. It is quite possible, however, that the guild of the mariners in Thessalonica became more or less autonomous as the imperial administration declined during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Cf. Christophilopolos, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[16] G. Palamas, *MS. gr. Paris, 1239*, fols. 182v-183, cited by Tafrali, *op. cit.*, p. 29, n. 1.

[17] G. Palamas, *Homilia XXIV*, *MPG*, CLI (Paris, 1865), 333.

[18] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 634.

[19] Thomas Magister, *Oratio de subditorum officiis*, *MPG*, CXLV (Paris, 1865), 544.

and barbarians, who incited the people to revolt in order that they might enrich themselves.[20] This view is not borne out by what is known of their program; nor is it true that they were drawn entirely from the lower classes. Their leaders were members of the nobility.

The revolt broke out over the attempt of Synadenus, the governor of Thessalonica and a partisan of Cantacuzenus, who was supported by the aristocracy, to surrender the city to Cantacuzenus. The zealots, using as their standard a cross which they seized from an altar, led the populace against the governor and his aristocratic supporters. Synadenus and about a thousand of the aristocracy fled from the city, while their property was destroyed and pillaged by the populace which raged for three days unmolested. They perpetrated every act, remarks Cantacuzenus bitterly, that "men who are driven on by poverty and carried away by insolence are likely to commit for the sake of wealth." [21] The zealots seized control of the government and their regime was recognized by the authorities in Constantinople. John Apocaucus, the son of the Grand Duke Alexius who was the principal adviser of John V Palaeologus, was sent to Thessalonica as the new governor, but the real authority was exercised by Michael Palaeologus, the leader of the zealots, who became archon of the city. Many of the nobles were imprisoned or exiled; their property was confiscated.[22]

A new crisis was precipitated in 1345. John Apocaucus was discontented with his position and resented the power of Michael Palaeologus. The general situation seemed favorable for an attempt to overthrow the regime of the zealots, for the war between the two emperors was turning in favor of Cantacuzenus. John, therefore, entered into an agreement with those of the nobles who were still in Thessalonica, and Michael Palaeologus was assassinated, while the other zealots, with the exception of some who managed to hide themselves in the city or were not disturbed because of their moderation, were either imprisoned or exiled. For the moment there was no violent reaction on the part of the populace, especially since John took an

[20] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 235, 570; III, 117; Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 795; Patriarch Cyrus Neilos, *Encomion*, *MPG*, CLI (Paris, 1865), 672; Palamas, *Homilia I*, *MPG*, CLI, 12 f.; Demetrius Kydones, *Letter to Isidore Glabas*, edited by J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova* (Paris, 1844), p. 276; Philotheos, *The Life of St. Saba the Younger*, edited by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, V (St. Petersbourg, 1898), 192, 194.

[21] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 133-135; Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 634 f.

[22] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 257, 568-69.

equivocal attitude toward Cantacuzenus, and not only refused to surrender the city but exacted large sums of money from his wealthy partisans by threatening to expose their complicity in the assassination of Michael Palaeologus. Two factors influenced John in this decision: respect for his father, the Grand Duke Alexius, who was directing the forces of John V Palaeologus against Cantacuzenus, and fear of popular uprising. The death of his father which took place shortly thereafter eliminated the first factor, and he decided to risk the second. He called an assembly together, from which, however, the people were excluded, and the decision was taken to surrender the city to Cantacuzenus on the condition that he were kept as its governor and its municipal immunities were respected. Negotiations to that end were opened, but before they could be completed there was a violent upheaval among the people. The leadership was taken by Andrew Palaeologus, a member of the aristocracy, who was also a moderate zealot and the head of the guild of the mariners, the most powerful and turbulent element of the population. Andrew Palaeologus himself appealed to the mariners, while others harangued the people in general. There was a tumultuous uprising and the populace became masters of the city. What followed was a veritable scene of carnage. About a hundred nobles, including John Apocaucus, were slaughtered in cold blood. It was a general attack of the poor against the rich. "Here," says Kydones, "the servant pushed the master, there, the slave him who had bought him. The rustic dragged the general, and the peasant the soldier." [22a] The leaders of the zealots tried in vain to check the fury of the populace; it did not stop until it exhausted itself. The result of this bloody popular uprising was the reëstablishment of the regime of the zealots.[23]

What the character of this regime was is not very easy to determine. The writers of the period lay stress upon the destructiveness of the revolt, the fury of the populace and the sufferings of their victims, the destruction and pillage of the property of the rich, but say very little about the kind of government that the zealots established. The historian Gregoras has indeed left a description, but this description is negative rather than positive, that is, it tells what the regime of the zealots was not, rather than what it was. Here is the statement of Gregoras: [24]

[22a] Kydonis, *Monodia*, p. 648.
[23] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 568-582.
[24] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 795.

The regime of the zealots "recalls no other form of government. It was not an aristocracy such as Lycurgus instituted among the Lacedaemonians to be further developed by them. Nor was it a democracy like the first constitution of the Athenians established by Cleisthenes who raised the number of tribes from four to ten. It was similar neither to the regime decreed by Zaleucus to the Epizephyrian Locrians nor to that established in Sicily by Charondas *oi* Catana. Nor was it mixed constitution formed by the combination of two or three different constitutions, put together in such a way as to give something new, such as was the constitution of the Cypriotes or that of ancient Rome which was established, it is said, by the people after they revolted against the consuls. It was rather a strange ochlocracy brought about and directed by chance. Certain audacious individuals formed themselves into a group of their own, set it up as an authority and persecuted the rest. They led the populace by demagogic appeals to execute their will. They confiscated the property of the rich, while they themselves lived in luxury. No one was allowed to obey any of the leaders from without, while what seemed to them good had the force of law."

This statement, despite its negative and general nature, throws some light on the character of the regime of the zealots. It was a popular regime virtually independent of any outside authority. It introduced new laws while it discarded some old ones. Some connection with Constantinople was maintained, for the latter was represented by an imperial governor, but his powers were only nominal, for even the orders of the emperor were often disregarded.[25] Thessalonica under the zealots was virtually an independent republic.

This republic lasted until 1349, when it was overthrown by a counter revolution. The aristocratic opposition had by no means been crushed, and the triumph of Cantacuzenus everywhere in the empire brought about a conservative reaction in Thessalonica. The imperial governor, Metochites, and members of the nobility entered into a plot, and Andrew Palaeologus, the leader of the zealots and the real governor of the city, was overthrown and expelled. He tried in vain to arouse the populace, but his appeals for loyalty to John V Palaeologus was no longer effective, for the latter had made his peace with Cantacuzenus. The zealots, unable to save the situation by enlisting the support of the populace, turned to Stephen Dushan, the kral of Serbia, for aid, but this only helped to alienate still further the sympathy of the populace, and enabled Cantacuzenus and the nobles to get complete control of the city. The zealots were arrested and sent to Constantinople.[26]

[25] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, III, 104. [26] *Ibid.*, III, 108 ff., 117.

Thessalonica was regarded as the teacher of the other cities in the uprisings of the populace against the aristocracy.[27] The popular revolt which began with the uprising in Adrianople became more intense and widespread after the revolt of the zealots. Every city east of Thessalonica and as far as Constantinople was divided into two factions: the masses who ranged themselves against Cantacuzenus, and the men of property and the garrisons who supported him. The masses prevailed everywhere, took control of the city administrations, imprisoned or cruelly executed the members of the aristocracy and confiscated their property.[28]

The revolt of the lower classes spread also into the country. In the summer of 1342 there was an open revolt of the Thracian peasants inhabiting the villages in the neighborhood of Didymotichon.[29] Thrace had suffered terribly by the civil wars. It was not only ravaged by the opposing armies of the empire; it was continuously devastated by foreign marauding bands, especially Turks and Bulgarians. Most of its inhabitants had fled or were captured to be sold into slavery and those who remained were reduced to great misery. The country took the aspect of a real desert, although it is one of the most fertile regions of the Balkans.[30] The rebellious peasants sought to emulate the populace of the cities. They attacked the wealthy and pillaged their property. They armed themselves as best as they could, advanced against Didymotichon and threatened general destruction unless the city surrendered voluntarily. An attack by the garrison of the city, however, dispersed them, and they did not return to their homes but fled to other villages with their wives and children. Their movable property was seized and their houses destroyed.

The struggle between the populace and the nobility was not restricted to the lands of the Byzantine empire proper; it extended also in the empire of Trebizond. There the death of the emperor Basil I in 1340 ushered in a period of about fifteen years of internal strife and conflict which reduced the empire to a state of anarchy.[31]

[27] D. Kydones, *Letter to Phacrasis*, edited by Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, p. 289.

[28] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 297.

[29] *Ibid.*, II, 287.

[30] *Ibid.*, II, 186.

[31] Sp. Lampros, "Τὸ τραπεζουντιακὸν χρονικὸν Μιχαὴλ Παναρέτου," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, IV (Athens, 1907), 272 ff.; Lampros, "Ἀνέκδοτον χρυσόβουλον Ἀλεξίου Γ'," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, II (Athens, 1905), 188 ff.

The conflict began over the succession to the throne, but the real cause was the desire of the nobility to reduce the emperor into impotence and concentrate all power in its own hands. There were two factions in Trebizond: the bulk of the native nobility that sought to eliminate the influence of Constantinople in Trebizond; and the Byzantine faction, composed of some of the nobility, the imperial guard, some mercenary soldiers and some adventurers from Constantinople, which sought to maintain close relations with Constantinople. But whether the one or the other faction prevailed the real aim of both was the same. In 1341 the local nobility placed Anna, the sister of Basil I, on the throne in order that they might be free to conduct the affairs of the state as they pleased.[32] Anna was overthrown in the following year by the Byzantine faction which crowned John, a cousin of Basil I, only to depose him two years later in favor of his father, Michael. But Michael was virtually deprived of his powers by an agreement which he signed and swore to enforce. While he was allowed to keep the imperial insignia he promised not to exercise his authority in anything unless he first obtained the consent and approval of his advisers. In this struggle the populace took an active and violent part, and although it sometimes sided with the nobility, on the real issue it remained faithful to the imperial tradition. Popular revolts and uprisings greeted the attempts of either faction to destroy the power of the central government.[33] The populace hated the aristocracy, for it was exploited by it and its only hope of justice lay in a strong central government. A popular uprising helped Michael to regain his powers, but the aristocracy continued to struggle and it was not until 1355 that order was reëstablished by Alexis III who had succeed Michael in 1349.[34]

The Rumanian scholar V. Tafrali, a distinguished authority on the medieval history of Thessalonica, has attributed the revolt of the zealots to two fundamental causes: (1) the deplorable economic conditions of the population; and (2) the tendency toward a more democratic spirit which began to manifest itself about that time. The latter is attributed by Tafrali to the Italian republics which exerted such an influence in the economic life of the Greek empire.[35] The

[32] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 680: *ἵνα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἀδείας εἴη τῆς ἀρχῆς κατορχεῖσθαι καὶ ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν τ' ακεῖ πράγματα ὅπη τὸ βουλόμενον.*

[33] *Ibid.*, II, 682.

[34] Lampros, "*Ἀνέκδοτον χρυσόβουλον Ἀλεξίου Γ'*," p. 192.

[35] Tafrali, *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle*, pp. 255-57. Another Ruma-

revolution of 1339 of the populace of Genoa against the aristocracy was known in Byzantium.[36] Indeed, there were popular uprisings everywhere in Europe in the fourteenth century—in Italy, in France, in England, in Germany, in the Netherlands. Medieval society was breaking down.

Genoese and other Italian influence doubtless played their part but these alone do not explain the democratic tendency in Byzantium. That was a part of the Byzantine tradition. Everyone knows the tumultuous popular upheavals of the early centuries of the Byzantine empire, but it is only recently that their real significance has been pointed out.[37] These popular upheavals were not the work of a shiftless people, interested only in the races in the hippodrome, and prone to riot at the slightest provocation. The people of Constantinople took the keenest interest in public affairs, both external and internal, organized itself into a militia which more than once guarded Constantinople against the barbarians, interfered in the conduct of the affairs of the state when it was discontented with its policies or its administration, and exerted the greatest influence in the dynastic crises of the empire. There are in the history of Byzantium, says Manojlović,[38] great scenes "in which the people of Constantinople played an immense and violent rôle and was the decisive factor of great changes."

This popular tradition was temporarily suppressed during the glorious days of the Macedonian dynasty, but emerged again in the eleventh century. It was to the people of Constantinople that the last representative of the Macedonian dynasty owed their recovery of the throne from Michael V. "The populace," says Psellos in describing

nian scholar considers the revolution of the zealots a part of the general revolutionary movement which characterized the fourteenth century both in the east and the west. G. O. Bratianu, *Privilèges et franchises municipales dans l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1936), p. 119. I have had no access to the book of O. G. Kordatos, Ἡ κομμούνα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης (Athens, 1928), but judging from his other writings Kordatos doubtless approached the problem from the Marxian point of view.

[36] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, I, 548; Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, III, 197.

[37] M. Manojlović, "Le peuple de Constantinople, de 400 à 800 après J.-C. Etude spéciale de ses forces armées, des éléments qui le composaient et de son rôle constitutionnel pendant cette période," translated from the Croatian by Henri Grégoire, *Byzantion*, XI (Brussels, 1936), 617 ff. This work was originally published in *Nastavni Vjesnik*, XII (Zagreb, 1904), 1-91, but because of its language it was not available to most scholars.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 685.

the tumult that led to the overthrow of Michael, "was already beyond control and violently excited at the idea that it was going to seize the power from him who had usurped it."[39] Toward the end of the twelfth century the right of electing an emperor, hitherto exercised by the army or the senate, while the populace only acclaimed their choice, came to be looked upon as a right which, by custom, belonged to the people.[40] About the same time a new democratic tendency manifested itself. This was the calling of a kind of assembly composed of the senate, the clergy, and the commercial and industrial elements of the population. Thus in 1197 the emperor Alexius III called an assembly of the senate, the clergy, and the commercial and industrial elements of the population in order to consider a new imposition for the raising of funds to meet the demands of Henry VI whose grandiose plan of expansion included also the conquest of the Byzantine empire.[41] Cantacuzenus called a similar assembly in 1347 in an attempt to ameliorate the financial conditions of the empire. In this assembly every element of the Byzantine society—merchants, soldiers, artisans, ecclesiastics, and many of the lower classes—participated.[42]

It is in the light of this popular tradition that the uprisings of the populace in the fourteenth century must be interpreted. The usurpation of Cantacuzenus, whether justified or not, provoked a political crisis to which the populace, conscious of its constitutional rights as to the creation of an emperor, could not remain indifferent. The election of the emperor was one of the fundamental constitutional tenets of the empire down to the end, but the principle of heredity gained important ground and the nearest relative of the emperor, generally his eldest son, was looked upon as his legitimate successor.[43] In 1341 the legitimate successor to the throne was John V Palaeologus and it was for the protection of his rights that the populace everywhere took up arms against Cantacuzenus and his supporters. The

[39] Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, edited and translated into French by Emile Renauld (Paris, 1926), I, 102: *Τὸ δ' ἀγοραῖον γένος καὶ ἄφετον ἤδη που καὶ παρεκεκίνητο ὡς ἀντιτυραννῆσον τῷ τυραννεύσαντι.*

[40] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia* (Bonn, 1835), p. 600. See also Stein, "Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," p. 7.

[41] Nicetas Choniates, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

[42] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, III, 34.

[43] John B. Bury, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*, in *Selected Essays*, ed. Harold Temperley (Cambridge, 1930), p. 106.

writers of the period, all of whom were hostile to the zealots, attributed the popular disturbance to the desire of the poor to pillage the property of the wealthy, but there is enough evidence, drawn from the same writers, to support the view that the populace moved primarily in order to uphold the dynastic rights of John V. The church was the bulwark of legitimacy and its bishops urged the populace everywhere to arise against the partisans of Cantacuzenus.[44] The uprisings in both Adrianople and Thessalonica did not break out until it became quite evident that the nobility were ready to turn the cities over to Cantacuzenus. The assassination of Michael Palaeologus, the leader of the zealots in Thessalonica by John Apocaucus and the nobles, left the populace unmoved[45] but the same populace rose up in revolt and massacred the nobles, including John Apocaucus, in cold blood when it was learned that they planned to surrender the city to Cantacuzenus. Likewise the overthrow of Andrew Palaeologus, the successor of Michael Palaeologus as leader of the zealots, did not arouse the populace, and his party, no longer able to appeal for the protection of John V, for the latter had made his peace with Cantacuzenus, solicited the aid of Stephen Dushan, a step which led to its final downfall.[46] It seems quite obvious, in view of the popular attachment to John V, that the dynastic issue contributed greatly to the uprising of the populace against Cantacuzenus and his partisans.[47]

There is no doubt, however, that the deplorable economic condition of the population contributed to the strife and gave to it the aspect of a class struggle. In the history of Byzantium popular upheavals took the form of social struggle, especially when the empire was faced by some great crisis.[48] Cantacuzenus was extremely wealthy and his principal support came from the wealthy aristocracy which dominated and ruthlessly exploited the lower classes.[49] The forces of John V

[44] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 614.

[45] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 570: *δ, τε δῆμος οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεσόντος ἠγανάκτησεν.*

[46] *Ibid.*, III, 109. *Οἱ Ζηλωταὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸν δῆμον ἄγειν ἠδύναντο οὐκέτι, οὐδὲ διαρπάζειν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχόντων, τὴν προτέραν ἀποθέμενοι ὑπόκρισιν, ὡς ὑπὲρ βασιλέως ἀγωνίζονται τοῦ νέου, ἔπρασσον, ὅπως ἡ πόλις προδοθείη Τριβαλοῖς.*

[47] This view was also expressed by the Russian scholar P. Yakovenko in his review of Tafrali's book. Cited by A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II (Madison, 1929), 397, n. 296.

[48] Manojlović, *op. cit.*, p. 705.

[49] According to Kydones some of the nobility were wealthy enough to maintain an entire army: *Monodia*, p. 645.

Palaeologus were directed by Alexius Apocaucus, a man of low origins, who relied upon the populace to break the political hold of the nobility.[50] The civil war brought ruin and destruction everywhere. The population, whose fields were devastated and their livestock destroyed, distressed by poverty and hopeless of the future, crowded the cities and turned malignant eyes upon the property of the rich.[51] The misfortunes brought on by the war merely intensified, they did not create, the hatred of the populace against the rich. That hatred was already there and it was due to the insatiable desire of the aristocracy for gain at the expense of the poor.[52] Usury was one of the great evils of the time. A group of the aristocracy had money-lending as their only vocation, and the rates which they charged were exorbitant, for their aim was to acquire the property of the debtor. The poor debtor was charged a higher interest than the rich and was at the mercy of the money lenders.[53] If his harvest was good they seized what was due to them without regard to his needs; if for some reason he failed to meet his obligations they invaded his home, seized him by the neck, subjected him and his wife to repeated blows and then dragged him before the judge, the latter, adds Kydones, might have rendered him justice, "but it is plain that the unfortunate had come before another thief."[54] In general, the money-lenders throttled the poor, threatened them with famine and deprived them of their goods. "Wailing and the gnashing of teeth," says Nicolas Cabasilas,

[50] Alexius Apocaucus had been brought up in poverty. He had begun his political career as an employee of the fisc and owed his political rise to John Cantacuzenus: Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 577; Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, I, 117; II, 89 f.

[51] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 673; Giuseppe Cammeli (ed.), *Demetrius Cydones: Correspondence* (Paris, 1930), p. 5; Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, II, 402; Palamas, *Homilia XIX*, *MPG*, CLI (Paris, 1867), 261.

[52] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 177; *καὶ οἵ τε δῆμοι καὶ πρότερον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐκ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν ἄγεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι ἐν τῇς εἰρήνης τοῖς καιροῖς πολλὴν ἔχοντες ἀπέχθειαν.* The wealthy rendered the poor still poorer. Thomas Magister, *Oratio ad Niphonem Patriarcham*, *MPG*, CLXV (Paris, 1865), 393. *Καὶ τὰ μὲν σφέτερ' αὐτῶν* (the rich) *ἀτόποις ἐπαυξόντων προσθήκαις, ἐκείνους δὲ* (the poor) *κλάειν ἀναγκαζόντων καὶ καθιστάντων πενήτων πένητας.*

[53] Nicolas Cabasilas, *Oratio Contra feneratores*, *MPG*, CL (Paris, 1865), 745, 733, 741.

[54] D. Kydones, *Letters*, edited by Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, p. 258. That the courts were corrupt is attested by other writers. See for instances Chumnos, *Θεσσαλονικεύσι Συμβουλευτικὸς*, pp. 171, 174, 176.

who launched a vigorous attack against the usurers, "was the fruit of usury." [55]

The poor were oppressed not only by the usurers. They were generally exploited by the rich and those in authority. The workers were deprived of their wages by their wealthy employers who promised them an ample compensation for their work but when the day of payment came beat them and drove them away empty handed.[56] They were cheated by the merchants who employed false weights and measures.[57] Their property, left unprotected, was plundered by the soldiers who were not contented with their pay. They were oppressed by the cruelty and inhumanity of the custom collectors and tax gatherers. "The poor," declared Palamas in one of his homilies, "not able to endure the cruelty and inhumanity of the tax-gathers and the continual violence and injuries of the strong, clamor against those in authority and the army." [58]

The oppressiveness of the tax collectors was one of the most serious grievances of the population.[59] Both the customs and tax collectors bought their charges and vied with each other in their efforts to bring more into the treasury.[60] But while for a consideration they were willing to reduce the taxes of those who were able to pay, they were most exacting against the poor.[61] Behind the oppressiveness of the tax collectors lay the deplorable financial conditions of the empire. Toward the end of the thirteenth century the revenues of the state must have been considerably less than 1,000,000 *solidi*. At the best, says

[55] Cabasilas, *Oratorio contra feneratores*, p. 733: *νῦν δὲ ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων ὁ τῶν τόκων ἐστὶ καρπὸς.*

[56] Thomas Magister, *Oratio de subditorum officiis*, p. 533 f.

[57] Palamas, *Homilia XXXIX*, *MPG*, CLI, 489 f.

[58] Palamas, *MS. gr. Paris, 1239*, fols. 284-284v, cited by Tafrali, *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle*, p. 109, n. 1.

[59] *Idem*; Patriarch George Cyprius, *Laudatio Andronici Palaeologi*, *MPG*, CXLII (Paris, 1865), 412.

[60] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, I, 317; II, 741. The last passage refers to a certain John Batatzes who became rich by virtue of his function as *ἀπογραφεύς*. The *ἀπογραφεύς* was a functionary who estimated the value of property and fixed the tax accordingly. Stein, "Spätbyzantinische Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," p. 16.

[61] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans, p. 42: "E Vuolsi avere a mente che chi fa onore a' commerchiari e dona loro alcuna cosa o danri, e a loro scrivani e turcimanni, ellino si passano molto cortesemente e sempre ragionano la mercatantia che tu metti meno ch'ella non vale."

an authority on the internal history of Byzantium, they could not have amounted to more than one-eighth of the revenues of the empire during the eighth century, although the empire at the beginning of the reign of Andronicus II was almost half as big as that ruled over by the Isaurians, while the semi-natural economy of the eighth century had given way to such a highly developed money-economy that the purchasing power of the *solidus* under the Palaeologi must have been considerably less.[62] The shrinkage in the public revenues was in large part due to the commercial privileges accorded to foreign merchants, notably the Venetians and the Genoese, and to the tax exemptions granted to the ever increasing ecclesiastical properties. Indeed, the granting of commercial privileges to the Italian republics "became the gnawing worm of the Byzantine public economy."[63] While the custom revenues of Constantinople by the middle of the fourteenth century had shrunk to about 30,000 *solidi*, those of the Genoese colony of Galata went up to about 200,000 *solidi*.[64] The port of Galata was seething with activity. The "Frankish Christians who dwell in Galata," writes the Muhammedan traveler Ibn Battuta, "are all men of commerce and their harbor is one of the largest in the world; I saw there about a hundred galleys and other large ships, and the small ships were too many to be counted."[65]

[62] Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 10. There is no general agreement as to the amount of the Byzantine budget during the early periods of the empire. The Greek historian C. Paparregopoulos estimated it at 43,800,000 *solidi* annually. Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, ed. P. Karolides (Athens, 1925), IV, 36. This estimate was accepted by J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), p. 219, but has been modified by A. Andreades who places it at no less than thirteen million, "Le montant du budget de l'Empire byzantin," *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, XXXIV (Paris, 1922). Charles Diehl has repeated the estimate of Paparregopoulos in his recent history of Byzantium. C. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081* (Paris, 1936), p. 502. Ernst Stein rejects the estimates of both Paparregopoulos and Andreades and fixes it in turn between seven and eight million: *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinische Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 141, and again in his review of the article of Andreades in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIV (Leipzig, 1924), 377 ff. G. Ostrogorsky agrees with Stein: *Byzantion*, XIII (Brussels, 1938), 756. Stein's estimate is probably the more accurate, although Andreades has never accepted it: *Œuvres*, I (Athens, 1938), p. 565.

[63] Andreades, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσίας Οἰκονομίας, I (Athens, 1918), 514.

[64] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, 842.

[65] Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa (1325-1354)*, tr. by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1929), p. 160.

The tax obligations of the lower classes tended rather to increase than to diminish. There was a general increase in taxes in 1321 in order to buy off the Turks and prevent their further devastation of the country. But the only result of this policy was to increase their demands, without really stopping their incursions, and also the taxes. "Within a short time," writes the historian Gregoras, "although the territorial extent of the Roman empire had been reduced, the public revenue paid to the imperial treasury increased to 1,000,000 *solidi*." [66] The tribute paid to the Turks and to the other enemies was the heaviest financial burden of the empire and it was met principally by the small property owners and other members of the lower classes. "The entire public revenue," declares Demetrius Kydones in one of his letters, "would not suffice to pay them. It will be necessary to levy a tax in specie also on the very poor if we are to meet at least in part their insatiable demands." [67]

The barbarian invasions and the civil wars, the venality of the rich and the oppressiveness of taxation brought poverty and misery to the inhabitants. The usurpation of Cantacuzenus plunged the country into another civil war and threatened, as it actually did, to further impoverish the population. Cantacuzenus was capable and had he become emperor, he might have been able to save the empire, but his attempt to seize the throne by force aroused the people to protect the rights of John V, the legitimate emperor, and his support by the aristocracy, which had exploited them for so long, further infuriated them and gave to the war the aspect of a social struggle. The "populace everywhere," writes Cantacuzenus himself, "considered their duty to remain loyal to the emperor Palaeologus," and they "were ready to revolt at the slightest pretext . . . for they hated the rich for their bad treatment of them during peace time and now hoped, above all, to seize their property." [68]

Of the various popular outbreaks the revolution of the zealots in Thessalonica had definite social aims. Indeed it was charged by the opponents of the zealots that they were moved entirely by selfish motives, that they confiscated the property of the rich and the monasteries in order to enrich themselves and their friends,[69] but this is not

[66] Gregoras, *op. cit.*, I, 317.
[67] Cammeli, *Demetrius Cudones: Correspondence*, p. 11.
[68] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 177.
[69] See note 20.

borne out by what is known of their social objectives. They themselves have left us no record of these objectives, but they have been defined by Nicolas Cabasilas, one of their enemies who barely escaped with his life at the time of the revolt, who recorded them in order that he might refute them.[70]

The zealots confiscated, at least in part, according to Nicolas Cabasilas, the property of the wealthy aristocracy and that of the monasteries, but they insisted that these confications had no other end in view than that of the public good. The property seized was used to feed and house the poor, to provide for the priests, to adorn the churches, to arm the soldiers, and to repair the walls of the city. "Is it terrible," they asked, "if, by taking a part of the goods dedicated to the monasteries, goods which are so plentiful, we feed some poor, provide for the priests and adorn the churches. That will cause them no harm, for that which remains suffices for their wants, and is not in contradiction with the thoughts of the original donors. They had no other aim than to serve God and to nourish the poor." [71] They urged that the protection of the walls and the laws of the city was the most urgent of all things and asked further, "How is it not better if with this money we arm soldiers who will die for these churches, for these laws, for these walls, than if these same sums were spent in vain by monks and priests whose table and other needs are slight, for they stay at home, live in shelter and expose themselves to no danger? What injustices, do we commit if we seek to rebuild ruined houses, care for fields and villages, and nourish those who are fighting for the freedom of these?" [72]

It is quite obvious, therefore, that the zealots had a definite social program. Their aim was twofold: to check the devastations of the

[70] This pamphlet of Cabasilas is entitled, *Λόγος περὶ τῶν παρανόμως τοῖς ἄρχουσι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς τολμωμένων*, and forms a part of *MS. gr. Paris, B. N., 1213.* It has not yet been published, but lengthy passages from it have been cited by Sathas (*Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, vol. IV, p. XXVI, note 1.) and by Tafrali (*Thessalonique au quatorzieme siècle*, pp. 261 ff.) and it is to these works that I refer. Not only this pamphlet, but the entire manuscript, for it contains other works of Cabasilas and some of Demetrius Kydones, should be published, and I hope to edit it as soon as the international situation permits. See further R. Guilland, 'La correspondance inédite de Nicolas Cabasilas,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (Leipzig, 1930), 96-102.

[71] *MS. gr. Paris, 1213*, fol. 246^{v}, cited by Sathas.

[72] *Idem.*

marauding foreign armies by building a good army; and to revitalize the life of their community by ameliorating the conditions of the poor and the downtrodden. These objectives, however, could not be accomplished without money and the zealots turned to the only source available—the property of the nobles and the monasteries. They seized these properties in violation of the laws and for that reason they were compared by their opponents to ordinary robbers. In their defense they appealed to the exigencies of the public good. "It is permitted," they said, "to those who are in charge of public affairs to do anything when they have in view only what is useful to all." [73] They felt that their conscience was clear, for they acted not for themselves but for the community as a whole. "How is it just," they asked, "to be accused, when we act thus toward all and put nothing aside for our own use, when we neither augment our fortunes nor adorn our houses, but seek always in our expenditures to do what is useful for the governed?" [74]

The zealots were thus motivated by the highest intentions.[75] They were, indeed, not free from abuses and even criminal acts, but these were incidental and not unusual in the disturbed conditions of the fourteenth century both in eastern and western Europe. What is distinctive of them is that they seem to have seen clearly that only a radical social and economic reorganization of their society could restore to it its former vigor and prosperity. The reorganization which they conceived involved the reduction of the properties of the rich nobles and monasteries for the benefit of the masses and the community as a whole. But they were in the minority and their cause became identified, in the eyes of the people, with the dynastic rights of John V Palaeologus, and when the latter made peace with his antagonist they lost the support of the populace and fell from power.

The war between Cantacuzenus and John V Palaeologus ended in February, 1347, shortly after the former entered Constantinople, when a treaty was concluded with Anne of Savoy, the empress-regent, whereby Cantacuzenus was recognized as co-emperor, but the rights of John V Palaeologus were safeguarded. One of the first measures adopted by Cantacuzenus was the restoration of all landed property confiscated during the war. And while the movable property was not returned

[73] *Ibid.*, fol. 246, cited by Tafrali, *op. cit.*, p. 265, n. 3.
[74] *Ibid.*, fol. 246v, cited by Tafrali, p. 268, n. 1.
[75] See further, *ibid.*, fol. 253, cited by Sathas.

to the original owners, they were compensated in some other way, though it is not stated of what this compensation consisted. No further steps for the solution of the social problem were taken.[76]

The civil wars had left the empire in a ruinous state. The treasury was empty and the taxes were not collected. The cities had been reduced to extreme poverty either because of the internal conflict or the barbarian incursions. Cantacuzenus made an attempt to revive the financial and economic life of the empire for upon that revival depended the restoration of the power of the empire, but he was not successful. His subjects refused his appeal for voluntary contributions to the treasury,[77] while his measures to revive the commercial prosperity of Constantinople and the naval power of the empire were defeated by the Genoese of Galata.[78] Then the civil war broke out again between the two emperors; the Ottoman Turks occupied Gallipoli shortly after (1354) and Cantacuzenus, despite the fact that he had reached another agreement with his antagonist, John V Palaeologus, gave up the throne to embrace the monastic life. Up to 1354 there was some hope that the empire might still be saved; that hope was completely destroyed by the events of that year. Civil wars among the members of the family of the Palaeologi and continuous loss of prestige and territory characterized the remaining history of the empire until finally the capture of Constantinople in 1453 closed its last chapter.

Yet it had been hoped that the establishment of the despotat of Morea would enable the Greeks to eliminate the remaining Latin states in Greece and then, pushing northward, to check the Serbian power and reëstablish the supremacy of Byzantium in the Balkan peninsula. "For if with the aid of God," writes Cantacuzenus, "we manage to win over the Latins of the Peloponnesus, the Catalans who inhabit Attica and Boeotia will be obliged, willy nilly, to yield to us. When this is accomplished the Roman state will extend without interruption, as before, from the Peloponnesus to Byzantium, and we can see that it will not be difficult to punish the Serbs and the other neighboring barbarians for the injuries which they are inflicting against us for such a long time." [79] The realization of this hope was made impossible not only by the civil wars in Byzantium, but also by the jealousies,

[76] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, III, 11.

[77] *Ibid.*, III, 33 ff.

[78] On the Galata war see Charanis, "An Important Short Chronicle of the Fourteenth Century," p. 346.

[79] Cantacuzenus, *op. cit.*, II, 80.

intestine strife, and bitter opposition of the propertied nobility of the Peloponnesus against the central authority. They revolted against the despot Manuel because he had imposed a new tax for the construction of a fleet to check the Turkish pirates who had reduced the Peloponnesus into a desert;[80] they fought bitterly against Theodore I;[81] and resisted stubbornly, although without success, the efforts of the emperor Manuel to fortify the isthmus of Corinth against the Turks.[82] The despots Manuel and Theodore I revitalized somewhat the economic life of the country by settling Albanian peasants on the land, but they were hampered in every way by the ceaseless opposition of the nobility.[83] This nobility, according to a contemporary inscription, "breathed jealousy, deceit, strife and murder."[84] They fought the central government because they feared that its strengthening would curtail their lawlessness and impose on them new financial obligations.

Thus the strife between the nobility on the one hand and the central government supported by the lower classes on the other continued throughout the fourteenth century. Nor was it ended with the conquest of the Byzantine territories by the Ottoman Turks. It smoldered underneath and then broke out again in all its violence with the first political crisis of the Ottoman state. For social discontent was at the bottom of the civil wars among the sons of Bayazid following his defeat at Ankara in 1402. This was especially true of the struggle between Musa and Mehmed in which the lower classes, both Moslems and Christians, supported Musa. Indeed, Cheikh Bedreddin, the highest religious dignitary of Musa's army, was the leader of a vast social and religious movement, preaching a kind of communism in which he sought to unite Moslems and Christians.[85] The attempt was being

[80] *Ibid.*, III, 85 ff.

[81] Gabriel Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XXIII (Paris, 1899), 152. Cf. D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée* (Paris, 1932), p. 127.

[82] Mazaris, Νεκρικὸς Διάλογος edited by J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III (Paris, 1831), 178 ff.; D. Chrysoloras, Σύγκρισις παλαιῶν ἀρχόντων, edited by S. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, III (Athens, 1926), p. 243; L. Chalcocondylas, *Historiarium libri decem* (Bonn, 1843), p. 184.

[83] Zakythinos, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff., 131 f.

[84] Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 152; μεστοὶ φθόνου ψεύδους ἔριδος καὶ φόνου . . . ἢ θανατῶσαι καὶ ἀδεσπότως μένειν. Mazaris uses almost the same terms in denouncing the nobility of Morea: *op. cit.*, p. 178. See further Manuel, Ἐπιτάφιος, edited by S. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, III, 67.

[85] P. Wittek, "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, année 1938 (Paris, 1938), p. 30.

made to eliminate the differences of the two religions. Already under Bayazid, a Moslem preacher of Brusa had dared to declare from the pulpit that Christ was not a lesser prophet than Mohammed,[86] and the gospel of "Barnabas," that curious mixture of Mohammedan and Christian teachings, which was written about this time,[87] may have been a product of this movement.

Musa was defeated by Mehmed in 1413, but his followers continued the struggle.[88] Cheikh Bedreddin himself was exiled by Mehmed to Nicaea, but he succeeded in escaping and passed over to Wallachia from where he sought to arouse the populace. His emissaries in the meantime were working hard both in the Balkan peninsula and in western Asia Minor, where one of them, Burgluzen Mustapham, made a communistic appeal to the populace, Moslem as well as Christian, in which he urged them to eliminate private property, and sought to reconcile their religious differences by pointing out that they worshipped the same God. He thus won a considerable following especially among the peasants of Aydin, six thousand of whom took the field, and before they were defeated they destroyed two regular armies which had been sent against them. They were finally crushed by a special force sent from Thrace under the command of the Great Vizier himself.[89] The movement led by Bedreddin finally collapsed. He himself was turned over to the Sultan and was executed in Serres.

Civil and social strife was doubtless one on the principal factors in the disintegration of the Greek empire. The empire had lost its great ideals, while its vast administrative machinery had broken down. Its people, with few exceptions, sought to promote their own narrow interest, whether they belonged to the masses, to the aristocracy, or to the imperial family itself. Under these circumstances effective resistance to the ever increasing danger from without was impossible. The only outcome was disintegration and then complete obliteration. The same fate might have overtaken the young Ottoman state if the movement headed by Bedreddin had been allowed to spread and undermine the ideals of the state.[90]

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[87] Lonsdale and Laura Ragg, *The Gospel of Barnabas* (Oxford, 1907), p. xlii.

[88] J. Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae* (Frankfort, 1591), pp. 464-667.

[89] Ducas, *Historia Byzantina* (Bonn, 1834), pp. 111-115.

[90] Concerning the basic principles on which the Ottoman state was built see P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938).

Y EUT-IL DES INVASIONS RUSSES DANS L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN AVANT 860?

Par GERMAINE DA COSTA-LOUILLET

[En 1936, Madame G. da Costa-Louillet, mon élève, présenta au Ve Congrès des Etudes byzantines, tenu à Rome, une communication sous ce titre. Brièvement annoncée dans les *Actes* du Congrès, elle a eu cet heureux succès d'être adoptée, quant à ses principales conclusions, avant d'avoir été réellement publiée. Elle avait été imprimée pour paraître dans BYZANTION, 1940; mais les événements ont encore retardé la date de la publication effective. On verra par l'extrait ci-dessous de l'ouvrage de M. N. de Baumgarten combien la découverte de Madame da Costa-Louillet, en écartant définitivement les théories de Vasilievski, a simplifié le problème des origines russes. A vrai dire, il n'y a pas de problème du tout. Textes orientaux, byzantins, et occidentaux s'accordent admirablement pour marquer trois étapes et trois dates dans la conquête de la Russie par les Scandinaves: 1°, début du IXe siècle, expéditions commerciales; 2°, vers 839, un état scandinave près de Novgorod, sous un chef qui, sans aucun doute par imitation du royaume khazare, prend le titre de *Khakan* (entre parenthèses, jamais fait historique ne fut plus solidement établi que celui de cette titulature, bien que M. de Baumgarten semble encore hésiter là-dessus, faute d'employer certain texte arabe); 3°, enfin, dernière période qui commence peu avant 860: les Scandinaves sont installés à Kiev, et c'est de là qu'ils lancent leurs attaques contre Constantinople.

Deux de ces attaques, seulement, sont historiques; celle de 860 et celle de 941.

Vasilievski avait cru trouver des traces ou des preuves d'expéditions antérieures à 860. Mais il faut renoncer à ce qu'on a cru trop longtemps "établi" par lui. Si l'empereur Théophile, vers 833, a envoyé un ingénieur militaire fortifier Sarkel, près du Don, pour le compte des Khazares, ce n'est point pour repousser les Russes, amis des Byzantins à cette époque, tout comme les Khazares, ni d'ailleurs pour contenir les Magyars, vassaux ou alliés des Khazares; c'est tout simplement pour arrêter les Petchénègues, lesquels, soixante ans plus tard, submergeront la première "Hongrie," celle qui s'étendait, à l'ouest des Khazares, du Don au Danube.

Quant à la mention d'une invasion russe dans la Vie de St Georges d'Amastris, Madame da Costa-Louillet semble avoir hésité à l'identifier avec l'une des deux attaques russes, celle de 860 ou celle de 941. Elle s'est finalement ralliée à mon identification, la seule possible: il s'agit de l'expédition d'Igor, puisque nous savons qu'en 941, et en 941 seulement, les Russes ont saccagé la Paphlagonie.

Enfin, la *Vie de St Etienne de Surož* n'est qu'une imitation tardive de la *Vie de St Georges.*

Telles sont les réalités par lesquelles Madame da Costa-Louillet remplace les chimères de Vasilievski. Voici maintenant les citations annoncées de l'ouvrage de M. de Baumgarten:

"Le traité de Vasilievski (433 pages) sur St Georges d'Amastris et St Etienne de Surož n'est au fond qu'un magnifique plaidoyer d'un avocat brillant pour disculper son client, en lui établissant un alibi. La grande renommée du savant byzantiniste et éminent érudit en impose à tel point que même ses adversaires, Kunik par exemple, se tiennent pour battus et déposent les armes. L'existence des Russes aux bords de la Mer Noire avant 842 paraît être définitivement acquise, et si même de faibles doutes peuvent s'élever, on n'y prête aucune attention. Un savant sérieux comme Lamanski, par exemple, nie absolument, dans sa Vie de St Cyrille, la possibilité des expéditions russes à Amastris et à Surož à l'époque indiquée par Vasilievski, mais sans ponsser à fond la question.

"Le Père Peeters émit aussi quelques doutes sur la chronologie de Vasilievski. Mais ce n'est que tout dernièrement que Mlle Louillet a reconnu que le sac d'Amastris par les Russes eut lieu en 860, non pas à l'époque attribuée par Vasilievski.

"Le principal argument de Vasilievski, sinon l'argument unique, est un argument négatif. Ne trouvant aucune mention des icones dans la Vie de St Georges d'Amastris, il décida que la Vie de ce saint avait dû être écrite au temps des empereurs iconoclastes, notamment sous l'empereur Théophile . . . Le patriarche Photius, en 860, parle catégoriquement des Russes qui ont attaqué Constantinople cette année-là, comme d'un peuple jusqu'alors inconnu . . . L'hagiographe raconte que les Russes qui saccagèrent Amastris venaient de la Propontide. Un tel témoignage ne pouvait pas être accepté par Vasilievski, car il ruinait toute sa thèse. Les Russes, pour entrer en Propontide, devaient nécessairement passer devant Constantinople. Un tel fait ne pouvait pas passer inaperçu, ni manqner de provoquer une forte alarme. Il est certain de même qu'on en trouverait des traces dans les chroniques byzantines, mais elles gardent le plus absolu silence sur une entreprise russe quelconque avant 860. En cette année, les Russes pénétrèrent effectivement en Propontide. Nicétas le Paphlagonien raconte que le patriarche Ignace lui-même, qui était alors pour la seconde fois relégué dans l'île de Térébinthe, a failli tomber dans les mains des Russes qui pillèrent les couvents et les églises de cette île et des îles avoisinantes du groupe de Prinkipo. C'est bien précisément ce qui a eu lieu durant l'incursion russe attribuée à Askold. Les Russes alors pillèrent aussi les côtes de la Mer Noire. Nous l'apprenons par le Continuateur de Théophane et ensuite par Cédrénus.

"Les recherches et les arguments de Mlle Louillet dont parlent Vasiliev et Grégoire ont été malheureusement inaccessibles à l'auteur." [1]

Cette citation justifie pleinement, pensons-nous, la publication du méritoire travail critique de Madame da Costa-Louillet.

M. de Baumgarten cite Madame da Costa-Louillet d'après une note de l'édition française de *Byzance et les Arabes*. On verra plus loin pour quelles raisons Madame da Costa-Louillet a préféré l'invasion de 941 à celle de 860.

H. G.]

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[1] N. de Baumgarten, "Aux Origines de la Russie," *Orientalia Christiana*, CXIX (Rome, 1939), surtout pp. 24 sqq.

La première invasion russe dans l'empire byzantin qui soit dûment et historiquement bien attestée par les sources grecques et slaves, est celle de 860. A cette date, les Russes, ayant traversé la Mer Noire vinrent attaquer Constantinople. L'empereur Michel III était absent; en lutte contre les Arabes, il se trouvait à ce moment sur le Mauropotamos, en Asie Mineure. Il revint en hâte dans la capitale qui finit par être sauvée grâce à un miracle de la Vierge des Blachernes, dont le maphorion plongé dans la mer provoqua une violente tempête qui mit en déroute les bateaux ennemis.

Jusqu'à 1894, les savants dataient cette invasion de 865, d'après les données fournies par la *Chronique de Nestor*. Mais un manuscrit du XIIIe siècle, actuellement déposé à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles et découvert en 894 par M. Fr. Cumont, nous précise la date exacte de la célèbre attaque russe, le 18 juin 860: *μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιη' ἰνδικτιῶνος η' ἔτους ,Ϛτξη' τῷ ε' ἔτει τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ* (= Michel III).[2] Cette datation, particulièrement complète, figure dans une chronique anonyme qui fut vraisemblablement rédigée au XIe siècle par un membre du clergé de Constantinople, peut-être même un moine du couvent de Stoudios. Les sources de cette chronique n'ont pas encore été identifiées. A côté d'étranges confusions et d'erreurs chronologiques, elle contient, comme nous pouvons le remarquer, des indications chronologiques particulièrement précises.

Nous trouvons encore des renseignements sur l'invasion de 860 dans diverses chroniques byzantines,[3] dans deux homélies de Photius[4] et dans l'une de ses encycliques,[5] dans la Vie du patriarche Ignace écrite par Nicétas le Paphlagonien.[6]

La seconde attaque des Russes contre la capitale byzantine est celle de 941, sous le règne de Romain Lécapène. C'est l'expédition du

[2] F. Cumont, *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, dans le *Recueil des Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Gand*, 10e fasc. (Gand, 1894), I, "Chroniques byzantines du Ms. 1176," p. 33. Voyez aussi C. de Boor, "Der Angriff der Rhos auf Byzanz," *Bz. Zts.*, IV (1895), 445 sqq.

[3] Theoph. Cont., p. 196 (Bonn); Georg. Mon., p. 826 (Bonn); Sym. Mag., p. 774 (Bonn); Leo Gram., pp. 240-241 (Bonn); Cedren. (= Joh. Skylitzes), II, 173 (Bonn).

[4] Aristarches, *Φωτίου Λόγοι καὶ ὁμιλίαι* (Constantinople, 1900, II, 5-27 et 30-37. Voyez surtout les pages 16-17 et 36). La première édition complète de ces deux textes a été donnée par A. Nauck, *Lexicon Vindobonense* (St Pétersbourg, 1867), pp. 201-203.

[5] Photius, *Ep. Encycl.*, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CII, 736 (encycl. XIII), et éd. Valetta (Londres, 1864), ép. 4, p. 178.

[6] *Vita Ignatii*, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CV, 516.

prince Igor, fils de Rurik, le premier chef varègue qui ait régné sur les Slaves. Les chroniques grecques [7] et la Chronique de Nestor [8] nous donnent d'amples détails à ce sujet. Byzance fut sauvée, cette fois, grâce au fameux " feu grégeois " qui mit en fuite les ennemis. La Chronique de Nestor répartit sur deux années, 941 et 944, les renseignements fournis par les sources grecques pour l'année 941. D'après elle, il y eut une première attaque effective en 941, qui fut repoussée victorieusement par les Grecs. L'attaque de 944 ne fut que préparée mais non exécutée, car Romain Lécapène, effrayé, consentit à payer un tribut aux Russes et à conclure avec eux un traité de commerce. Les chroniques grecques ne parlent que de l'attaque de 941. Celle-ci est, comme la première, restée fameuse dans l'hagiographie. La Vie de St Basile le Nouveau ou le Jeune en parle avec des détails plus ou moins légendaires.[9] St Basile prédit une invasion de redoutables Barbares à Constantinople: *Βάρβαρον ἔθνος ἐλεύσεται ἐνταῦθα λυσσωδῶς καθ' ἡμῶν, προσαγορευόμενον Ῥὸς καὶ Ὄγ καὶ Μόγ.* Ces barbares sont envoyés par Dieu contre les Grecs pour les punir de leurs péchés. Ils saccageront le rivage depuis Chrysopolis jusqu'à Hiéron. Cette invasion eut effectivement lieu quatre mois après: *Ἐφθασαν δὲ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ῥίβα παρεκτείναντες τὰ κροῦσα αὐτῶν μέχρι Πόντου Ἡρακλείας καὶ Παφλαγονίας, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατηγίδα Νικομηδείας διελθόντες πλείστους τραυματίας εἰργάσαντο, ἐνέπρησάν τε πᾶσαν τὴν παράλιον τοῦ Στενοῦ καθὰ προφθάσας ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεράπων Κυρίου* (p. 67). Ils furent repoussés par les généraux Pantherios, Phocas le Patrice, Théodore le Stratélate, surnommé Spongarios [10] et les survivants furent obligés de se rembarquer. La flotte grecque les poursuivit au moyen du " feu grégeois " et les dispersa.

Chose curieuse, tous les détails fournis par le biographe de St Basile ont passé dans la Chronique de Nestor qui dépend ici de l'hagiographie grecque!

Ajoutons encore que parmi les chroniqueurs grecs, Léon Diacre est le seul à nous donner le nom du grand chef russe: Igor. Jean

[7] Theoph. Cont., pp. 423-425 (Bonn); Sym. Mag., pp. 746-747 (Bonn); Georg. Mon., pp. 914-915 (Bonn); Leon Diac., p. 106 (Bonn).

[8] *Chronique de Nestor*, trad. Leger, pp. 33-34; en allemand, R. Trautmann, *Die Nestorchronik* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 27-28; en anglais, S. H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 157-158.

[9] *Vita S. Basilii Junioris*, dans *Sbornik otd. russk. jaz. i slov.*, XLVI (St. Pétersbourg, 1890), v, Pril. 1, pp. 65-68.

[10] Les généraux cités dans les chroniqueurs grecs sont Théophane, Phocas et Jean Courcouas. Pour l'explication de *Σπογγάριος*, le surnom de Théodore, voyez H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 606, cf. von Dobschütz, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, X, 172.

Tzimiscès s'adressant à Sviatoslav lui rappelle la honteuse défaite de son père: *οἶμαι γάρ σε μὴ λελῆθέναι τὸ πταῖσμα τοῦ πατρὸς Ἴγγορος*, etc. . . . De plus, Léon Diacre donne au sujet de la mort d'Igor une version différente de celle fournie par la tradition russe. Au cours d'une expédition chez les Germains il fut fait prisonnier, et supplicié: attaché à des branches d'arbres, il périt écartelé.

Nous n'avons pas mentionné l'expédition dite d'Oleg contre Constantinople en 907, qu'il est bien difficile de croire authentique, même si l'existence du traité de commerce rapporté par la Chronique de Nestor est incontestable.[11] Aucune source grecque en effet ne parle de cette expédition; il serait vraiment extraordinaire que les chroniqueurs byzantins aient gardé le silence sur un événement aussi important. En outre, le patriarche Nicolas Mysticos dans ses Lettres,[12] Léon Magistre Choirosphaktès dans ses Lettres,[13] l'empereur Léon le Sage dans ses *Tactica*,[14] trois personnages contemporains de l'événement, citent toute une série de Barbares, mais ne parlent jamais des Russes.

Quant à la mention de Helgu-Oleg dans la littérature khazare, elle ne peut plus être prise au sérieux, depuis qu'on a démontré le caractère apocryphe de cette littérature.[15]

Nous résumons donc en affirmant que l'Histoire ne connaît que deux attaques des Russes contre Constantinople: celles de 860 et de 941.

Avant 860, si l'on excepte les auteurs arabes, les Russes (*Rhôs*), ne sont mentionnés qu'une seule fois par un texte historique: à propos de l'ambassade d'Ingelheim, en 839. Louis le Pieux fut prié par l'empereur Théophile de renvoyer chez eux des Rhos, amis de l'empire,

[11] Voyez notamment à ce propos G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 95-99.

[12] Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, III, 28-405.

[13] Sakkelion, *Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, I (Athènes, 1883), 377-410.

[14] Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, CVII, 672-1120.

[15] Voyez la bibliographie à peu près complète de la question chez Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), pp. 168-172. Cf. Mošin, "Les Khazares et les Byzantins d'après l'Anonyme de Cambridge," *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), 309-325; Kokovtsov, *La correspondance hébraïco-khazare au Xe siècle* (russe; Leningrad, 1932). Mon maître, M. Henri Grégoire, vient de reprendre la question de ces "faux khazares" et me semble l'avoir considérablement clarifiée; voyez *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 601-604. Cf. Grégoire, "La légende d'Oleg et l'expédition d'Igor," *Bulletin de la classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, XXIII (1937), 2-3.

venus à Byzance et auxquels un peuple ennemi dont on ne nous dit pas le nom, barrait la voie du retour. Louis les renvoya en effet chez eux après qu'une enquête eut révélé que ces Russes sont des Suédois. Voici le passage:

(Theophilus) misit cum eis [= Théodose, métropolite de Chalcédoine, et le spathaire Théophane] quosdam qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant, quos rex illorum, *Chacanus* vocabulo, ad se amicitiae, sicut asserebant, causa direxerat, petens per memoratam epistolam quatenus benignitate imperatoris redeundi facultatem atque auxilium per imperium suum totum habere possent, quoniam itinera, per quae ad illum Constantinopolim venerant, inter barbaras et nimiae feritatis gentes immanissimas habuerant, quibus eos ne forte periculum inciderent, redire noluit. Quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans, comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum, exploratores potius regni illius nostrique quam amicitiae petitores ratus, penes se eo usque retinendos judicavit, quod veraciter invenire posset, utrum fideliter eo necne pervenerint; idque Theophilo per memoratos legatos suos atque epistolam intimare non distulit, et quod eos illius amore libenter susceperit ac si fideles invenirentur, et facultas absque illorum periculo in patriam remeandi dantur, cum auxilio remittendos; sin alias, una cum missis nostris ad eius praesentiam dirigendos ut quid de talibus fieri deberet, ipse decernendo efficeret.[16]

Ce texte a excité l'imagination de bien des savants. Il y est question du *chacanus* des Russes. Les uns, ne voulant connaître d'autre *hakan* que le prince des Khazares, ont dit que ces Rhos de 839 étaient sujets des Khazares, donc probablement installés en Crimée. D'autres, comme Vasilievski, se sont servis de ce texte pour affirmer qu'en 839 les Rhos avaient déjà fondé un empire slave dans la région de Kiev.[17] Enfin les savants slavophiles ou antinormands ont pensé que le *hakan-khagan* était le prince des Russes de Russie et que ce titre, à lui seul, prouvait que les Russes n'étaient pas des Normands. Un peuple slave, en effect, pouvait avoir emprunté un titre turc comme celui de *Khagan,* mais non un peuple germanique (scandinave).

Les auteurs arabes du IXe et du Xe siècles nous parlent abondamment des Russes, mais aucun ne fait allusion à une attaque des Russes contre l'empire byzantin avant 860. Le témoignage le plus ancien datant du premier tiers du IXe siècle est celui d'Ibn Khordâdhbeh: [18] "Les Russes qui appartiennent aux peuples slaves se rendent des régions les plus éloignées de Ṣaklaba (le pays des Slaves) vers la Mer

[16] *Prudentii Trecensis Annales, M. G. H., SS.*, I, 434 (Pertz).

[17] Voyez son introduction à la *Vie de St . Georges d'Amastris,* dans *Trudy* (= *Travaux*) III, (St Pétersbourg, 1915), p. I sqq.

[18] *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum,* éd. de Goeje (Leyde, 1889), VI, 115.

romaine et y vendent des peaux de castor et de renard noir ainsi que des épées. Le prince des Romains prélève un dixième sur leurs marchandises. Ou bien ils descendent le Tanaïs (= le Don), le fleuve des Slaves et passent par Khamlydj, la capitale des Khazares où le souverain du pays prélève sur eux un dixième. Là, ils s'embarquent sur la mer de Djordjân (la Caspienne) et se dirigent sur tel point de la côte qu'ils ont en vue. Cette mer a cinq cents parasanges de diamètre. Quelquefois, ils transportent leurs marchandises à dos de chameau de la ville de Djordjân à Bagdad. Ici, les eunuques slaves leur servent d'interprètes. Ils prétendent être chrétiens et paient la capitation comme tels." Ce passage, selon de Goeje, appartient à la première édition du Livre des Routes et des Empires, rédigé au début du XIe siècle. Ce livre fut complété ultérieurement et une deuxième édition en parut en 887. On remarque que les Russes sont confondus avec les Slaves. Gardons-nous d'en déduire que les hommes du Nord y apparaissent déjà slavisés. C'est exactement le contraire qui est vrai. Pour Ibn Khordâdhbeh, les "Slaves" désignent les peuples du Nord, germains et scandinaves. D'autre part, ce texte ignore encore la constitution d'un *état russe*. Les Russes n'ont pas de souverain et ils sont représentés comme des marchands nomades.

Après le témoignage d'Ibn Khordâdhbeh, vient celui d'un géographe arabe perdu, mais dont l'exposé peut se reconstituer à coup sûr grâce à plusieurs auteurs qui l'ont copié: Ibn Rusta, al-Bakrī, Gardīzī, ʿAufī, etc. Ce second témoignage est infiniment précieux; il permet, en effet, d'enregistrer et de dater approximativement la formation du premier état russe. Les marchands nomades ont maintenant une base en Russie même. Ils occupent une île lacustre qui ne peut être parcourue d'un bout à l'autre qu'en trois jours; elle contient une population de 100.000 hommes. Il s'agit à peu près sûrement de *Novgorod* (= Holmgarðr des Scandinaves: la "ville de l'île").[19] Dans cette île, ils ont fondé non seulement un établissement permanent mais encore un état, puisqu'ils ont mis à leur tête un prince auquel ils ont donné le titre le plus usuel dans cette partie du monde, mais d'origine nullement normande: celui de khagan.[20] Ce titre porté par

[19] Voyez au sujet de cette île entre autres: Odinec, *L'apparition de l'organisation de l'État chez les Slaves de l'Est* (en russe), p. 157, note.

[20] A propos de Ibn Khordâdhbeh et de Jaihâni, voyez le plus récent commentaire dans Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, "The regions of the world," *a Persian Geography, 372-982 A.D.*, traduit et expliqué par V. Minorsky, Oxford, 1937, p. 432 sqq. (consacrées aux Rūs). Pour l'énumération complète et l'analyse

le souverain des Khazares l'avait été antérieurement par les chefs des Huns, des Avars et d'autres peuples encore. La valeur de ce renseignement est considérable. Il est confirmé d'une manière tout à fait frappante par un témoignage absolument indépendant, celui des *Annales Prudentii*, déjà cité. Les deux textes sont sensiblement de la même époque. L'Arabe a dû écrire vers 839.[21] Le renseignement qu'il nous donne sur l'île des Russes permet de répondre à la question que se posait le gouvernement d'Ingelheim, lequel se demandait d'où venaient en réalité ces Russes qui étaient des Suédois et qui pourtant ne retournaient pas en Suède: les Russes d'Ingelheim s'étaient rendus de Novgorod à Constantinople et retournaient à Novgorod par la Germanie, parce qu'un peuple ennemi—les Petchénègues plutôt que les Magyars ou les Khazares—leur barrait le chemin du retour.

Que les premiers princes russes se soient réellement appelés khagans, voilà qui est encore attesté par un texte postérieur: la lettre de Louis II le Germanique à Basile le Macédonien datée de 871: *Ad Basilium Orientis Imperatorem quem, hortantem ut a nomine Augusti abstineat, irridet.* Il y dit notamment qu'en matière de titres il s'en réfère de préférence à la Bible, et que le titre de *chagan* donné aux chefs des Khazares, des Avars, des Normands équivaut au titre royal: "Verum nos omnibus literis scripturas sanctas praeferimus, quae per David non Protosymbolos sed Reges Arabum et Saba perspicue confitentur. Chaganum vero non Praelatum Avarum, non Cazarorum aut Northmannorum nuncupari reperimus, neque Principem Bulgarum, sed Regem vel dominum Bulgarum."[22]

Les Russes de 839 sont encore, en vérité, des Scandinaves purs. Si Théophile demande pour eux le passage par les États carolingiens, c'est évidemment parce qu'ils doivent retourner vers Novgorod. D'autre part, le texte même de 839 les identifie comme Suédois, témoignage décisif bien mis en relief déjà par Vasilievski.[23]

de toutes les sources arabes ainsi que pour la bibliographie relative à celles-ci voyez l'article de V. Minorsky, *Rūs*, dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (livraison 55, 1937). Nous nous sommes bornés à mentionner les sources qui intéressent directement notre sujet.

[21] M. H. Grégoire a fixé définitivement la date de cette source, en notant qu'elle connaît la présence, sur le Danube, d'une colonie de chrétiens grecs originaires d'Andrinople, qui y restèrent de 813 à 836 (*Byzantion*, XIII [1938], 267-278).

[22] Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, nouv. éd. publ. sous la dir. de L. Delisle (1869-1874), VII, 574.

[23] *Loc. cit., Introduction à la Vie grecque de St. Georges d'Amastris.*

Remarquons ici que A. A. Vasiliev [24] distingue les Russes du Sud, cités dans les textes les plus anciens (dans une source syriaque du VIe siècle déjà), et les Russes du Nord signalés au IXe siècle. J'avoue que je ne comprends pas cette distinction. Le terme *Ros* ou *Rus* désigne un seul et même peuple: les Normands suédois que les Finnois appellent *ruotsi*. Ceux-ci, avant de s'aventurer sur l'Océan, s'aventurèrent dans la grande plaine "russe" et descendirent les fleuves tels que le Dnieper, le Don, la Volga, dès le VIe siècle. Dès cette époque, des marchands russes parcourent les rives septentrionales de la Mer Noire et atteignent l'empire byzantin. Si les chroniqueurs byzantins les qualifient quelquefois de *Scythes*, c'est par manque de précision. Ignorant encore l'origine exacte des Ros, ils les rangeaient parmi les Scythes, terme vague par lequel ils distinguent d'une manière générale tous les peuples situés au nord des terres byzantines.

Certains savants russes, comme Vasilievski,[25] ont voulu démontrer que les *Rhos* formant un état et déjà installés dans le sud de la Russie, firent des incursions dans l'empire byzantin bien avant 860 vers 825! Dans ce but, ils ont tenté de découvrir d'autres mentions des Russes antérieures à 860. Ils ont allégué d'abord les fameuses *lettres russes* de la *Vie de St Constantin*.[26]

Celui-ci faisant route vers le pays des Khazares, s'arrêta à *Cherson où il trouva l'Évangile et le Psautier écrits en lettres russes* et un homme parlant cette langue. Après avoir parlé avec lui, il s'appropria le génie de la langue et la comparant avec la sienne, il discerna les lettres, voyelles et consonnes. Ayant adressé à Dieu une prière, il commença à lire et à parler de telle sorte que de nombreuses personnes l'admiraient en louant Dieu." Si à l'époque de la mission de Constantin en Khazarie (en 860) il existait déjà un psautier russe, quelle doit être l'ancienneté de l'établissement des Russes dans le sud de la Russie! Ce texte a suscité une longue controverse [27] à laquelle M. Vaillant a mis récemment fin grâce à une simple et élémentaire correction: "La langue sacrée que Constantin a apprise n'est pas celle d'un peuple de Crimée. C'est une langue dont l'étude accompagne celle de l'hébreu et du samaritain: c'est le syriaque. *Il suffit de corriger* (*dans le texte slavon de la Vie de Constantin*) *rusïskymi*

[24] Dans son article intitulé "La Russie primitive et Byzance," *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves: Les Balkans*, 1er recueil (Paris, 1930), pp. 9-19.

[25] *Loc. cit.*

[26] *Vie de Constantin*, trad. franç. de Dvornik, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

[27] Voyez à ce sujet Dvornik, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

pisĭmeny en *surĭskymi*, et toutes les difficultés tombent. Il était naturel de la part des copistes de supposer à Cherson des Russes plutôt que des Syriens. Même au chapitre XVI, où les Syriens sont mentionnés à côté des Arabes et des Égyptiens (Coptes), deux manuscrits altèrent COVPИ et POVCИ.[28]

D'autre part, Constantin Porphyrogénète et le Continuateur de Théophane racontent que le khagan des Khazares et leur Πέχ envoyèrent une ambassade à l'empereur Théophile pour lui demander de faire construire une forteresse, sur le Don inférieur. Cette construction devait se justifier par la présence menaçante de certains ennemis qui malheureusement ne sont pas nommés. Elle avait donc pour but de défendre les territoires byzantins de Crimée et le pays des Khazares contre des attaques éventuelles. Théophile répondit à cette ambassade en envoyant vers les Khazares le spatharocandidat Petronas Kamatēros. Celui-ci arriva à Cherson et avec l'aide des habitants de l'endroit il construisit sur les bords du Tanaïs la forteresse de Sarkel, surnommée ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον ou λευκὸν οἴκημα (= Bĕla Věža, c'est-à-dire, la Tour blanche, dans les annales russes).

Voici les deux textes qui remontent à un original commun:

'Ἀπὸ δὲ κάτωθεν τῶν μερῶν Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ τῆς Δρίστρας ἀντίπερα ἡ Πατζινακία παρέρχεται καὶ κατακρατεῖ ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ Σάρκελ τοῦ τῶν Χαζάρων κάστρου, ἐν ᾧ ταξεῶται καθέζονται, τὰ κατὰ χρόνον ἐναλλασσόμενοι. 'Ερμηνεύεται δὲ παρὰ αὐτοῖς τὸ Σάρκελ ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον. Ὅπερ ἐκτίσθη παρὰ σπαθαροκανδιδάτου Πετρωνᾶ τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου Καματηροῦ, τὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον πρὸς τὸ κτισθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸ κάστρον τοῦτο τῶν Χαζάρων αἰτησαμένων. Ὁ γὰρ χαγάνος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ καὶ πὲχ Χαζαρίας, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα Θεόφιλον πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες κτισθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸ κάστρον τὸ Σάρκελ ᾐτήσαντο. Οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῇ τούτων αἰτήσει πεισθεὶς, τὸν προρρηθέντα σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτον Πετρωνᾶ μετὰ χελανδίων βασιλικῶν πλωΐμων ἀπέστειλε, καὶ χελάνδια τοῦ κατεπάνω Παφλαγονίας. Καὶ δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς Πετρωνᾶς τὴν Χερσῶνα καταλαβὼν τὰ μὲν χελάνδια εὗρεν ἐν Χερσῶνι τὸν δὲ λαὸν εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς καματερὰ καράβια ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ κάστρον ἔμελλε κτίσαι . . . (Constantin Porph., *De Adm. Imp.*, ch. 42, p. 177 [Bonn]).

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει πρὸς τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων πόλεμον οἵ τ' 'Αγαρηνοὶ καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος ἐξελθόντες ἔμειναν ἄπρακτοι παντελῶς ἀλλήλους καταπτοούμενοι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπανέστρεφον. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ὅ τε χαγάνος Χαζαρίας καὶ ὁ Πέχ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Θεόφιλον ἔπεμπον πρεσβευτάς, τὸ κάστρον ὅπερ οὕτω Σάρκελ κατονομάζεται αὐτοῖς κτισθῆναι ἐξαιτούμενοι, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται μὲν Λευκὸν οἴκημα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμόν, ὃς τούς τε Πατζινακίτας ἐντεῦθεν καὶ αὐτοὺς

[28] A. Vaillant, "Les 'lettres russes' de la Vie de Constantin," *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, XV (1935), 74-77. Remarquons que A. A. Vasiliev, dans son dernier livre *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 113, ne cite pas la découverte de Vaillant.

διείργει τοὺς Χαζάρους ἐκεῖθεν, ἔνθα καὶ Χαζάρων ταξεῶται καθέζονται τριακόσιοι κατὰ χρόνον ἐναλλασσόμενοι. ὧν τῇ αἰτήσει καὶ παρακλήσει πεισθεὶς ὁ Θεόφιλος τὸν σπαθαροκανδιδάτον Πετρωνᾶν τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου Καματεροῦ [sic] μετὰ χελανδίων βασιλικοπλωΐμων καὶ τοῦ κατεπάνω τῆς Παφλαγονίας ἀπέστειλεν, εἰς πέρας τὴν τούτων αἴτησιν κελεύσας ὑπαγαγεῖν. ὃς ἅμα τῷ τὴν Χερσῶνα καταλαβεῖν τὰς μὲν μακρὰς νῆας ἐκεῖσέ που προσορμίσας ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου κατέλιπεν, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἐν στρογγύλαις εἰσαγαγὼν ναυσὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ταναΐδος διεβιβάσθη, ἔνθα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔδει τούτοις οἰκοδομεῖν (Theoph. Cont., pp. 122-123 [Bonn]).

Les deux auteurs nous donnent ensuite les détails sur leurs travaux: il n'y avait pas de pierres dans la région; ils firent des briques avec l'argile du fleuve et bâtirent des fours pour les cuire. Avec les cailloux du fleuve ils firent de la chaux. La forteresse terminée, Pétronas revint à Constantinople et déclara à l'empereur que, s'il voulait maintenir son autorité dans le pays de Cherson, il ne devait pas se fier aux chefs locaux et y envoyer un stratège. Théophile obéit à son conseil et, comme on le devine, chargea Pétronas de cette haute fonction.

Quelle est la date de la fondation de Sarkel? Le Continuateur dit τῷ δ'ἐπιόντι ἔτει, "l'année suivante," c'est-à-dire l'année qui suivit l'avènement de Jean Grammatikos au patriarcat (21 avril 832), donc l'an 833. S'il est permis de douter d'une date fournie par le Continuateur de Théophane, nous n'avons aucune raison de douter des renseignements précis fournis par Constantin Porphyrogénète qui ne donne pas de date, mais place la construction de Sarkel et l'organisation du "thème" de Cherson sous le règne de Théophile. Et pour le sujet qui nous occupe, c'est là le seul point que nous retiendrons.

Nous ne parlerons donc pas de la "théorie" fantaisiste de F. Ouspenski qui a tenté de démontrer que Sarkel avait été construite sous le règne de Léon VI le Sage, en 904! Vasilievski s'est du reste chargé de réfuter ses arguments.[29]

[29] Pour la controverse entre Ouspenski et Vasilievski au sujet de Sarkel voyez F. I. Ouspenski, "La domination byzantine sur la rive septentrionale de la Mer Noire aux 9e et 10e siècles," *Kievskaja Starina*, Mai-Juin, 1889, pp. 3 sqq. et 35 sqq. (en russe); Vasilievski, "Au sujet de Sarkel," *Journ. du Min. de l'Instr. Publ.* (St Pétersbourg, 1889), fasc. 266, p. 273 (en russe); F. I. Ouspenski, "Les mirages découverts par Vasilievski," *ibid.*, pp. 550-555 (en russe); Vasilievski, "Réponse à l'article de Ouspenski," *ibid.*, pp. 555-557 (en russe). Vasilievski date la fondation de Sarkel de 837 (p. 273). Sur Sarkel, voyez encore Kokovtsov, *La correspondance hébraïco-khazare au Xe siècle* (russe; Leningrad, 1932), p. 105, n. 18; "sans aucun doute, la forteresse Khazare de Sarkel, sur le cours inférieur du Don, fut construite sous l'empereur Théophile." Tomaschek, *Die Gothen in Tourien* (1881), p. 30. Westberg, "Les Notes d'un Toparque goth," *Viz. Vrem.*, XV (1908), 263-271

D'autre part, les savants se sont demandés quels étaient les ennemis qui menaçaient à la fois la Chersonnèse et la Khazarie, et dont la dangereuse présence nécessita la construction de Sarkel. Certains ont songé aux Petchénègues,[30] d'autres aux Alains,[31] d'autres encore, s'appuyant notamment sur un texte du géographe arabe Ibn-Rustah ont pensé qu'il s'agissait des Magyars.[32]

Vasiliev, dans son dernier ouvrage, déjà cité, sur les Goths en Crimée, reprenant la question de Sarkel, a bien prouvé qu'il ne peut être fait allusion aux Magyars, qui pendant la première moitié du IXe siècle furent des alliés des Khazares. Ibn-Rustah, selon lui, parle *d'une manière générale*, car il cite les Magyars et *d'autres peuples voisins*. Vasiliev pense, par contre, qu'il s'agit des Russes et pour appuyer sa démonstration, il a recours aux Vies de St Étienne de Surož et de St Georges d'Amastris qui, elles aussi, relateraient des expéditions russes de la première moitié du IXe siècle (vers 825 environ).[33] Nous constatons que Vasiliev a adopté sans discussion la théorie de Vasilievski. Or, comme nous allons le voir, les expéditions russes relatées dans les Vies de St Étienne et de St Georges sont bien postérieures à la première moitié du IXe siècle. Nous pouvons donc affirmer que Sarkel a été construite contre les Petchénègues, et sûrement pas contre les Russes. En 833, ceux-ci habitaient encore le Nord de la Russie, et seuls quelques groupes de marchands, descendant le cours des fleuves, venaient visiter les bords de la Mer Noire et de la Mer Caspienne.

Passons maintenant aux deux textes hagiographiques dont se sont servis les savants russes: la Vie slavo-russe de St Étienne de Surož[34] (= Sougdaia) et la Vie grecque de St Georges d'Amastris.[35] Dans

(russe). Pour de plus amples indications bibliographiques sur la question, consultez le livre cité de Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode*, p. 172 sqq.

[30] F. Westberg, "Analyse de sources orientales de l'histoire de l'est de l'Europe," *Journ. du Min. de l'Instr. Publ.* (1908), n. s. XIII, 364-412, XIV, 1-52 (russe).

[31] Vasilievski, "Recherches russo-byzantines," *Trudy* (= *Travaux*), III (1915), 114 (russe).

[32] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 28; C. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1930), pp. 74-77.

[33] Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, pp. 108-112. Ces pages seraient entièrement à récrire. Id., *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 137 (en russe).

[34] Ed. Vasilievski, *op. cit.*, III (1915), 74-98.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-73.

l'une et l'autre Vie, il est question d'une invasion des Russes à Surož et à Amastris; leur prince est converti par un miracle du saint dont il a voulu violer l'église et le tombeau. Quelle est la valeur historique de ces deux textes? Celle de la Vie slave d'Étienne de Surož paraît fort mince. Vasilievski dans son brillant mémoire prodigieusement riche en découvertes [36] a montré que cette Vie avait été rédigée en slavon au XVe siècle (après 1406) avec des sources slaves et non grecques, principalement une traduction slavonne de la Vie fabuleuse de St Jean Chrysostome par Georges d'Alexandrie! Néanmoins on ne peut, selon lui, méconnaître l'existence d'un noyau historique garanti par des textes parallèles. Le *Ménologe de Basile* (fin du Xe siècle, début du XIe) à la suite d'une notice consacrée à St Étienne le Jeune, mentionne une série de saints qui ont subi le martyre pour les saintes Images en même temps que lui et sont fêtés le même jour; parmi eux, nous voyons cité un Étienne de Surož: *Ἄλλος δὲ Στέφανος ὀνόματι εἰς Σουγδίαν ἐξορισθείς, καὶ πολλοὺς ὠφελήσας, τέλος ἔσχε τοῦ βίου.*[37] Remarquons qu'il n'est point question de son épiscopat.

Le *Synaxaire de l'Église de Constantinople* reproduit à peu près la même notice: *Ἕτερος Στέφανος καλούμενος εἰς Σουγδίαν ἐξορισθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς ὠφελήσας διὰ τῆς τῶν τρόπων χρηστότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων λαμπρότητος, τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο.*[38] Il existe également un *βίος ἐν συντόμῳ* du saint, écrit en grec.[39]

Ce *βίος*, très peu intéressant, accumule les lieux communs habituels de l'hagiographie. Nous en retiendrons un seul détail: l'auteur nous dit qu'Étienne est né en Cappadoce, à Boribasos. Aucune allusion aux Russes dans ce texte.

En outre, Vasilievski nous apprend qu'un service liturgique grec en l'honneur d'Étienne de Surož est conservé dans un synaxaire de la bibliothèque de Chalki. Le 15 décembre, date de sa mort, sa mémoire est célébrée à Surož. Il est fêté également le 30 janvier avec trois autres grands hiérarques. On parle de lui dans les livres liturgiques russes: " Tu n'as pas craint la persécution 'excrémentielle' (c'est-à-dire, de Constantin Copronyme), mais tu l'as écartée." [40] Bref, il

[36] Il s'agit de sa longue introduction à la *Vie de St Georges d'Amastris*, déjà citée.

[37] Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XCVII (28 Novembre), 181.

[38] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*) Bruxelles, 1902, 28 Novembre, col. 264.

[39] Vasilievski, *op. cit.*, III, 72-76.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. ccxii.

existe un culte local du saint, qui est évident. D'autre part (et ceci nous paraît décisif), Étienne, évêque de Surož est cite dans les Actes du Concile de Nicée de 787: Στέφανος ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Σουγδαίων ἐξεφώνησεν ὁμοίως.[41] Il paraît bien qu'Étienne de Surož a réellement existé et qu'il a été évêque de cette ville à l'époque de Constantin Copronyme, de Léon le Khazare et même de Constantin VI.

Il est question entre autres dans sa Vie d'un officier khazare du rang de *karkhan*. Ce titre parfaitement attesté est commun à tous les dialectes turcs; il est employé particulièrement chez les Bulgares et les Khazares.[42] La ville natale du saint, Boribasos porte un nom qu'a l'air cappadocien: cf. Borissos et Balbissa. Le successeur d'Étienne, Philarète, dont la Vie nous parle également, est un des correspondants de St Théodore Studite.[43]

Nous pouvons conclure que la *Vie d'Étienne* possède réellement un fonds historique. Quant à l'épisode de l'attaque et du miracle des Russes, contrairement à Vasilievski, nous ne pensons pas qu'il appartienne à ce fonds historique. En effet, les recherches de Halanski [44] semblent avoir éclairci le mystère du nom du prince russe *Bravlin* comme celles de Vaillant ont résolu l'énigme des lettres russes. Le Bravlin de la Vie de St Étienne est en dernière analyse une personification de l'invasion varègue dans la Russie méridionale. Sous divers noms, ce héros primitif avait laissé un peu partout des souvenirs légendaires. L'auteur de la *Vie slavonne de St Étienne de Surož* a emprunté ce nom au folklore et peut-être à la tradition locale. En résumé, il serait plus que téméraire d'accorder une importance historique quelconque à cet épisode de la Vie et il est très probable, d'autre part, que le dit épisode s'inspire de la *Vie de St Georges d'Amastris*. Le texte slave a soin de ne nous donner aucune indication chronologique précise; il se contente de dire que cette attaque a eu lieu "*plusieurs années après la mort du saint.*"

Quant à la princesse Anne, nommée dans la *Vie de St Étienne*, c'est à peu près certainement la Porphyrogénète Anne, épouse de Vladimir. L'anachronisme s'explique par le fait que le légendaire *Bravlin* s'est converti au christianisme; souvenir évident de la conversion de Vladimir.

[41] Mansi, *Sacrorum Conc. nov. et ampliss. collectio*, XII, 1095.

[42] Il signifie "celui qui rassemble l'armée," "le chef d'armée." Voyez à ce sujet Vasilievski, *ibid.*, p. cclxvii.

[43] Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XCIX, 1520.

[44] Halanski, "Sur l'histoire des légendes poétiques relatives à Oleg le Sage," *Journ. Min. de l'Instr. Publ.*, Août., 1902, p. 287 sqq.

Enfin, que faut-il penser de la Vie de St Georges d'Amastris? Vasilievski la considère comme très ancienne. Il se fonde, en effet, sur cette particularité que bien que St Georges ait vécu à l'époque des premiers iconoclastes et qu'il ne semble pas qu'il ait été de leur bord, l'hagiographe néanmoins ne vante point sa fermeté ni sa résistance et ne souffle mot de ses luttes pour les Images. D'autre part l'hagiographe paraît à Vasilievski être plutôt partisan des Images. Le critique conclut qu'il a dû écrire à une époque où une grande réserve lui était imposée, c'est-à-dire la période du second iconoclasme, et plus précisément sous le règne de Michel II le Bègue, vers 825, comme c'est le cas également pour la *Vie de St Philarète le Miséricordieux* où il n'est point question d'Images et qui fut écrite en 821-822.[45] Vasilievski va même jusqu'à déterminer par conjecture l'auteur de la Vie de Georges, le diacre Ignace, biographe de diverses Vies, notamment la Vie du patriarche Taraise et celle du patriarche Nicéphore. Il faut reconnaître que, au point de vue du style, il y a des ressemblances assez nombreuses et même assez frappantes entre notre Vie et les diverses productions d'Ignace.[46] Ceci entraîne donc le *terminus ad quem,* Ignace étant mort vers 850. L'histoire des Russes est racontée tout à la fin:

Ἔφοδος ἦν βαρβάρων τῶν Ῥῶς· ἔθνους, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν, ὠμοτάτου καὶ ἀπηνοῦς καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιφερομένου φιλανθρωπίας λείψανον. Θηριώδεις τοῖς τρόποις, ἀπάνθρωποι τοῖς ἔργοις, αὐτῇ τῇ ὄψει τὴν μιαιφονίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ἐπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν πεφύκασιν ἄνθρωποι χαίροντες, ὡς ἐπὶ φονοκτονίᾳ. Τοῦτο δὴ, τὸ φθοροποιὸν καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα, ἀπὸ τῆς Προποντίδος ἀρξάμενον τῆς λύμης καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπινεμηθὲν παράλιον ἔφθασεν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πατρίδος, κόπτων ἀφειδῶς γένος ἅπαν καὶ ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν, οὐ πρεσβύτας οἰκτείρον, οὐ νήπια παρορῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντων ὁμοῦ τὴν μιαιφόνον ὁπλίζον χεῖρα, τὸν ὄλεθρον ἔσπευδεν διαβῆναι ὅση δύναμις· ναοὶ καταστρεφόμενοι, ἅγια βεβηλούμενοι, βωμοὶ κατὰ τόπον ἐκείνων, σπονδαὶ παράνομοι καὶ θυσίαι, ἡ ταυρικὴ ξενοκτονία ἐκείνη ἡ παλαιὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς νεάζουσα, παρθένων σφαγαὶ, ἀῤῥένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν· ὁ βοηθῶν οὐδεὶς, ὁ ἀντιπαρατατόμενος οὐκ ἦν . . . λειμῶνες καὶ κρῆναι καὶ δένδρα σεβαζόμενα. Ἡ ἄνωθεν παραχωροῦσα πρόνοια ἴσως διὰ τὸ τὴν κακίαν πληθυνθῆναι . . . ed. Vasilievski, *op. cit.*, III, 64-65.

Quand ces Barbares entrèrent dans l'église d'Amastris et qu'ils virent le tombeau de Georges, ils crurent que quelque trésor y était caché et ils se précipitèrent pour l'ouvrir. Mais soudain ils se sentirent affaiblis, s'arrêtèrent, les pieds et les mains liées par d'invisibles chaînes. Ils se mirent à pousser des cris. Leur chef demanda des explications à l'un de ses prisonniers, un habitant d'Amastris, qui lui répondit que

[45] Cf. *Byzantion*, IX (1934), I, 96. [46] Vasilievski, *op. cit.*, III, pp. ci-ciii.

c'était l'œuvre du Dieu souverain. Une conversation s'engagea entre les deux hommes, au cours de laquelle le prisonnier expliqua au chef russe qu'il ignorait les vrais dieux et que le vrai Dieu, le Dieu des chrétiens, ne voulait pas de sacrifices mais de bonnes actions. Il lui conseilla d'offrir à ce Dieu de l'huile et des cierges, de délivrer les prisonniers et de respecter les églises (§ 45). Le Barbare obéit et les Russes convertis organisèrent une pannychie et chantèrent des psaumes. Ils furent ainsi affranchis de la colère divine et désormais respectèrent les églises.

Vasilievski nie que ce passage soit une addition. Il conclut: l'invasion des Russes à Amastris dont nous parle la Vie de Georges ne peut être aucune des deux invasions russes connues, celle de 860 et celle de 941, mais une razzia antérieure à 860 et même à 850 qui doit se situer vers 825! Nous avons vu qu'à cette date, rien ne nous autorise à admettre déjà l'existence d'un état slavo-russe dans la Russie méridionale capable de menacer Byzance. Au contraire, à cette date, les Russes sont encore de simples commerçants suédois, amis de l'Empire, ou des guerriers s'engageant au service de Byzance et résidant probablement encore dans la Baltique.

La Vie de St Georges d'Amastris peut-elle être invoquée contre les témoignages précis que nous avons cités? Nous ne le croyons pas. Même en admettant l'argumentation de Vasilievski et en lui concédant, ce qui d'ailleurs est bien difficile à prouver rigoureusement, que la Vie y compris les miracles semble être tout à fait d'un seul jet, il resterait possible et même vraisemblable d'attribuer la rédaction actuelle à Syméon Métaphraste ou à l'un de ses contemporains. Syméon Métaphraste ne se gênait nullement, on le sait, pour adopter tout en les adaptant, des Vies de Saints plus anciennes dont il reproduisit textuellement la phraséologie. Voyez par exemple, ce qu'il a fait pour la *Vie de Ste Théoctiste de Lesbos*, écrite au début du Xe siècle par Nicétas, et qu'il s'est borné en grande partie à transcrire, sans mentionner le nom du premier auteur. Il a gardé au récit l'allure personnelle qu'il avait prise sous la plume de Nicétas, et l'aventure de cet écrivain devenait nécessairement pour le lecteur une page de la vie de Métaphraste. "On s'y est trompé de bonne heure et, en vieillissant Métaphraste d'un demi-siècle, on a introduit dans l'histoire littéraire de ce temps-là un élément perturbateur qui devait inévitablement entraîner une foule d'autres erreurs." [47]

[47] H. Delehaye, "La Vie de Ste Théoctiste de Lesbos," *Byzantion*, I (1924), 191-200. Cette Vie a été publiée pour la première fois par Theophilos Ioannou,

Le plan décousu de la Vie de Georges, son manque d'ordre chronologique contribuent à nous convaincre qu'il s'agit d'un texte tardif du Xe siècle et non d'un récit écrit immédiatement après la mort du saint. Nous avons l'impression que le Métaphraste de la fin du Xe siècle a pu se servir d'une Vie du diacre Ignace ou d'un de ses émules où l'on passait légèrement sur la question des Images pour les raisons qu'indique Vasilievski: il en aura lu et transcrit certains passages qu'il jugeait intéressants et aura laissé tomber ceux qui lui semblaient sans valeur; de là, le manque de cohésion et d'ordre de l'ensemble. Enfin, il aura ajouté l'histoire des Russes, ce qui explique pourquoi cet événement important est raconté tout à la fin de la Vie. Si cette addition est bien de la fin du Xe siècle, nous avons le droit d'identifier la razzia d'Amastris avec une des deux invasions russes connues: 860 ou 941. Le savant russe Kunik avait déjà pensé qu'il s'agissait de celle de 860 (= 866 pour Kunik qui, écrivant son article en 1846-1847, n'a pas connu le manuscrit de Bruxelles). Il avait rapproché certaines expressions de l'hagiographie de St Georges d'Amastris de celles de deux homélies de Photius au sujet des Russes et de l'Encyclique de Photius aux patriarches orientaux datée de 867.[48] Cependant, les coïncidences textuelles qui existent entre ces textes sont trop générales pour permettre d'en tirer des conclusions.

D'autre part, en 860, aucun texte ne dit que les Russes repoussés de Constantinople aient infesté la Paphlagonie. Les Russes qui, selon la Vie de Georges, font irruption à Amastris, viennent de la direction de Constantinople; c'est ainsi qu'il faut comprendre l'expression *ἀπὸ τῆς Προποντίδος ἀρξάμενον*, etc. Vasilievski a tenté vainement de tourner cette difficulté en disant qu'on appelait *Προποντίς* non seulement la Mer de Marmara actuelle mais encore les Dardanelles et le Bosphore. D'après lui, la *Προποντίς* de notre Vie désignerait le Bosphore et non la Mer de Marmara. A l'appui de cette affirmation il n'apporte malheureusement aucun texte susceptible de nous convaincre. Dvorník, de son côté, a pensé qu'il fallait entendre ici par *Propontide* " les rives du canal qui sépare les péninsules de Kerč et celle de Taman " [49] en Crimée. Je crois, pour ma part, qu'il faut prendre le mot *Προποντίς* dans son sens habituel tout simplement.

Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά, pp. 1-17, et ensuite dans les *Acta Sanctorum*, Novembre, IV, 224-233.

[48] Kunik, " Der Raubzug und die Bekehrung eines Russenfürsten," *Bulletin histor.-philol. de l'Académie de St Pétersbourg*, III, 3 (1847), 33-45. Voyez notamment le parallèle textuel établi par l'auteur, p. 40.

[49] Dvorník, *Les Vies de Constantin et de Méthode*, p. 173.

Par contre, un texte déjà cité, la *Vie de St Basile le Jeune*[50] nous dit formellement à propos de l'expédition de 941, que les Russes repoussés de la capitale de l'empire envahirent la *Paphlagonie*. Dans ces conditions, nous avons le droit et même le devoir de penser que le coup de main russe sur Amastris n'est autre qu'une conséquence de la grande expédition contre Constantinople, dite d'Igor, en 941. Et le prince russe pourrait bien être Igor lui-même.[51] Cette conclusion est d'autant plus vraisemblable qu'au témoignage de l'hagiographie, l'expédition de 941 est celle qui a le plus frappé l'imagination populaire comme le prouve le passage de la *Vie de St Basile le Jeune*.

L'épisode russe de la *Vie de St Étienne de Surož* ressemble d'une manière frappante à celui de la *Vie de Georges*. Cette ressemblance qui a déjà donné lieu à bien des soupçons, reste troublante. J'estime pour ma part, qu'une imitation de la Vie de Georges par l'hagiographe d'Étienne est infiniment probable.[52]

Quoi qu'il en soit, il ne sera plus permis désormais d'invoquer l'hagiographie ni l'autorité d'un homme que nous ne devons pas cesser d'admirer (car les *Recherches russo-byzantines* de Vasilievski demeureront éternellement classiques) pour introduire dans l'Histoire des invasions russes antérieures à l'année 860.

Nous pensons avec la majorité des savants que l'installation de Rurik et de ses frères à Novgorod et puis à Kiev ne peut avoir eu lieu avant 856 environ. Jusqu'alors les Russes ne sont que des marchands, d'exotiques voyageurs vus à Constantinople avec une grande sympathie, des guerriers au service de l'armée byzantine. Ce ne sont pas les redoutables *catalyseurs* du monde slave dont la force nouvelle, soudainement révélée, fera trembler l'empire en 860. Il faut renoncer non seulement aux fantaisies antiscientifiques des slavomanes qu'un Vasilievski avait toujours combattus, mais encore aux ingénieuses combinaisons grâce auxquelles on a voulu antidater la création de l'État russo-slave. Au fond, les résultats de nos recherches confirment en gros le récit de la vieille chronique russe dite de Nestor.

[50] Voyez plus haut, p. 243.

[51] Remarquez que déjà W. von Gutzeit, *Bull. hist.-philol. de l'Académie de St Pétersbourg*, XXXVII (1881), 338, avait rapporté l'attaque d'Amastris par les Russes à 941.

[52] Kunik, *loc. cit.*, le premier, je crois, a dit que la *Vie de St Etienne de Surož* s'inspirait de la *Vie grecque de St Georges d'Amastris* et que le miracle de la conversion des Russes opéré auprès du tombeau de Georges avait été transféré à celui d'Etienne.

INFLATION AND ITS IMPLICATION IN EARLY BYZANTINE TIMES

By Angelo Segrè

1. Ἀττικαὶ δραχμαί *in Egypt in the time of Diocletian*

It is well known that the Attic drachma and the denarius are considered as synonymous in Roman metrology.[1] We know also that the denarius in Egypt was worth four Egyptian drachmas, and that consequently the Attic drachma corresponded to four Egyptian drachmas.[2] We know, too, that in the fourth century A. D. the price of a pound of gold in denarii was steadily rising. No doubt the aureus was rising in value of denarii in the period between Diocletian and Licinius.[3]

A libra auri in the year 301 was worth 50,000 den. (Ed. d. p. r. v., xxx, 1[a]);[4] in 304 it was worth 100,000 den. (P Oxy 2106);[5] in 307 it was worth about 125,000 den. (P SI 310); and in 324 it was worth 293,272 den. (P Oxy 1430). These figures show that in the years between 301 and 307 the inflation speeded up much faster than in the following years between 307 and 324.[6]

Comparing the relation of the solidus to the denarius:

[1] See Angelo Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 47 ff., 134 ff., 412; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, p. 153 (202 A. D.)

[2] Evidence for ἀττικαὶ δραχμαί P Oxy 705 (200-202 A. D.) 46 P Oxy 2113, 17 (316 A. D.) P SI 965, 5 (beginning of the fourth century A. D.). Outside Egypt, Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 8, 4; Migne, *P. G.*, XX, 816; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, p. 153, n. 46. A. Segrè, "Atene e Rome," *Bull. d. filol. Class.*, NS VI (No. 23), 296.

[3] *Metrologia*, p. 536 ff. I did not say that from 316 to 324 the quotation of the solidus was what Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, p. 107 states it to be. See, for example, the diagrams of A. Segrè, *Circolazione*, p. 66. I believe that the high prices in gold of some commodities in this period depended mostly on the precarious condition of the Egyptian economic system (see p. 262 ff.), and that Mickwitz is wrong in assuming the price of wheat as nearly fixed, and in trying to adjust the quotation of the solidi to these prices. He concludes from his assumptions that "between 301 and 316 the quotation of the denarius falls 30 times, between 316 and 324 rose nearly four times." Such a deflation would be astonishing. Neither are the conclusions of Mickwitz accurate if we accept his own method of calculating. Considering the price of an artaba of cumin in P. S. 1667 (320 A. D.) and that 5000 drachmae are equal to the price of 1/3 solidus in P Lond IV 1075, we have to deduce that a solidus equals two and a half talents in 320. See A. Segrè, *Circolazione*, p. 148-9 and p. 66.

[4] A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 535.

[5] Appendix I, p. 275 ff.

[6] The financial difficulties relieved by the falling of the denarius were an important reason for the abdication of the Emperor.

1 solidus	=	833 1/3	denarii	Ed. d. p. r. v., xxx, 1[a]	(301)
1 "	=	2000	"	P SI 310	(307)
1 "	=	3500	"	P Oxy 2113	(316)[7]
1 "	=	4354	"	P Oxy 1430	(324)

We are led to believe that probably the solidus in the year 316 was about equal to 3500 ἀττικαὶ δραχμαί = 3500 denarii. Assuming (p. 263) that the trend of the inflation was very swift during the years 301 to 307 and much slower in the following years, we suppose that the value of the libra auri in 316 was not much lower than in the year 324.

According to A. Segrè, "Note sull' economia dell' Egitto ellenistico," *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, n. 29 (1934), p. 42, the surface of the soil cultivated in Egypt reached about ten million arurae in the best periods.[8] Probably the figures about the surface of the soil, the population, and the productivity of the country should be considerably reduced in the period of the fourth to the sixth century (A. Segrè, *ibid.*, p. 3 ff.). But differences are not so great as to bar calculations that do not have to be very accurate. Assuming 80,000 solidi as the amount of money paid in the time of Justinian for the transportation of wheat to Constantinople, and ten million arurae as the surface of the soil put under cultivation, we get an average amount of 6.4/1000 of a solidus per arura. But the cultivated surface of Egyptian soil was surely so much reduced that the charge per arura was about 1/100 solidus. Proceeding from this statement, the Attic drachma about the year 316 must have had a value or the order of about 1/5000 solidus. Further considerations deduced from *Cod. Theod.*, XIII, 5, 7 (334), Nov. Just. Ed. XIII, 8, 9, P Oxy 552, II, would

[7] P Oxy 2113 supports the equation Attic drachma = denarius. P Oxy 2113 (316) is an account of a levy on land to pay for transportation from Alexandria to Byzantium and Heracleia: for each arura under seed of whatever kind must be paid 50 Attic drachmas; for each olive tree 2 Attic drachmas; for each arura of pasture land 100 Attic drachmas (ll. 16-17). It is easy to show that Heichelheim, following A. Segrè in P SI, 965, Symb. Osloenses, fasc. XIV (1935), 82 f., was wrong in affirming that the ἀττικὴ δραχμή meant the silver coin of Diocletian of 3 scruples silver. For each arura the charge would have been made of about 3 aurei; that would have corresponded to the production of an arura for a period of at least ten years! The evidence of Nov. Just. Ed. XIII, 8 and *Cod. Theod.*, XIII, 5, 7 may be used to show the equation denarius = Attic drachma. In the time of Justinian the wheat sent from Egypt to Constantinople, according to Nov. Just. Ed. XIII, 8, amounted to eight million artabs (26 2/3 million modii). For its transportation the Alexandrians paid 80,000 solidi.

[8] The result of our calculations would induce us to believe that the soil cultivated in Egypt and paying the levy tax for the transport of wheat to Constantinople would be about six million arurae instead of ten million. Such a reduction would be very likely.

suggest a rate of exchange of the aureus of between 2770 and 3600 Attic drachmas. We may reckon the aureus in the year 316 at about 3500 Attic drachmas. These considerations are interesting in so far as they show that the Attic drachma of the period of Diocletian is the denarius of the Edict of Diocletian.

Evidence of papyri and particularly P Oxy 2113 proves that the Attic drachma of the time of Diocletian is the denarius. P SI 965 proves that the Attic drachma is used as synonymous with denarius in the chancery style of Diocletian in his constitutions addressed to the Greek-speaking eastern part of the Empire.[9] For the Greeks, drachma and denarius have the same value. For the Egyptians the edict of Diocletian made it clear that the drachma was an Attic drachma, because for them the drachma, without any other specification, had been a *πτολεμαϊκὴ δραχμή*, formerly equal to a sestertius or a nummus.[10]

But nummus, in the beginning of the fourth century, means a debased whitewashed copper coin which constituted the main currency of Egypt, and had nothing to do with the Egyptian drachma.[11] Wessely, *Pal. St.*, XX, 85 (about 305/6 A. D.): *ἐν νούμμοις ἰταλικοῖς (ταλ.)* l. 9 *ἐν ἰταλικῷ νομίσματι (ταλ.) ν*, P Grenf. II 75 (308 A. D.) l. 7 *ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος ἐν ν[ο]ύμμο[ι]ς τάλαντα εἴκοσι*, S. B. 5679 (307) l. 8 *ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν καινοῦ νομίσματος τάλαντα δύο καὶ γ' δραχμαί* shows that nummi could not be anything else than the debased Antoninian currency and the larger coins of Diocletian called folles by numismatists. He was right.

The *ἰταλικοὶ νοῦμμοι* are the debased Antoniniani, and the *νοῦμμοι* are the folles. The word *νοῦμμος* occurs mainly in a period when the old tetradrachma was still in circulation, and people used to distinguish the drachmas of the *καινὸν νόμισμα* [12] from the drachmas of the *πτολεμαϊκὸν παλαιὸν νόμισμα*.

[9] At the same time the word sestertius means the Egyptian drachma in the Roman documents, as in P Grenf. II 110 (293 A. D.) I. num. HS oc(t)ogentum vig(inti).

[10] See p. 249.

[11] Heichelheim (*ibid.*, p. 82 ff.) asserts that in P Oslo. 83 the nummus is a golden coin, quoting SB 6222 ll. 29-30, *χρυσοῦν νοῦμμον ἕλαβον*, and P Giess. Univ. Bibl. III 22, ll. 3-4. It is possible to call the aureus *χρυσοῦς νοῦμμος*; but in most cases *νοῦμμος* is a token coin. See *Metrologia*, pp. 439 ff., 460 ff., 482 ff., 535 ff. After all, he has no reason to choose two rather exceptional texts (*op. cit.*, p. 83) among so many others where the nummus is a token coin.

[12] P Oxy XIV, 1773 (III century) is particularly important. A woman is asking for a sum of money to be paid to the bearer of a letter from whom the writer had borrowed. The addressee of the letter had to pay (ll. 18 f.) two and a half *τάλαντα καινοῦ νομίσματος*, l. 25 ff., *κόμισε δαὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν παλεοῦ δραχμὰς δισχιλίας ἐνενήκοντα δύο γί(ν.) (δρ.) Βρβ πλήρης καὶ τὸν ὄνον μου μαιτὰ τοῦ σαγίου*. Mickwitz, *Geld*, p. 53, doubts that the Antoninianus and the tetradrachm circulated together. He says that if we find hoards of coins with Antoniniani

2. *Nummus of the* καινὸν νόμισμα *and denarius or* ἀττικὴ δραχμή

The value of the nummus in denarii of the καινὸν νόμισμα was not always the same, but changed with the debasement of the coinage and the decreasing purchasing power of the new denarius.[13] But we can show that for a certain period, from about 300 A. D. until the third decade of the fourth century, the value of the nummus in denarii in Egypt remained unchanged. The value of the nummus in denarii may be determined with the evidence of three very important papyri: P Oslo, III, 83, P SI 965, and P Ryl. inv. 650 (all about 300 A. D.). We give again the full text of the first two papyri:

P Oslo III, 83 (about 300 A. D.)

\- - - - - - - -
]. αλαιε[
]. . Ἡρκουλιανῆς χαίρειν . [
ε]ὐτυχούσης αἴσεσθε . ἔρρω[σθε
l. 5 ε]ὐθενιακῶν εἰδῶν ἀποστεῖλαι εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρε[ιαν
χρυσο]ῦ ἢ ἀργυροῦ ἢ χρημάτων, ἐσθῆτος παντοίων εὐθην[ιακῶν εἰδῶν
] . ει ποιῆσαι ἀπόστειλον πρὸς τὸν βοηθὸν σ . [
]νομίζεις ἀκόλουθον εἶναι διὰ τῶν μετὰ σοῦ τὰ νῦν[
]μένων πρ[ό]ς σε . ἔρρωσο.
l. 10]. εως εἰς εἴκοσι πέντε Ἀττικάς, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ κλ[
το]ῦ καθολικοῦ, τὰ μὲν θείως ὡς καὶ νῦν νο[μίζ?
τ]ῶν δὲ νούμμων εἰς δώδεκα ἥμισυ Ἀττικάς[
] . ας διὰ προγράμματος παρὰ τῆς μεγαλειότη[τος
τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἐπάρχου] . ων νομισμάτων πεφοίτηκεν ὡς ἂν εἰς[ἔρρωσο?]
].[...]. α..[..] α[.].[

P SI 965 (about 300 A. D.)

τῆς ἑαυτῶν οἰκουμένης οἱ πάντα νεικῶντες δεσπότε ἡμῶν αὐτοκρ[άτορες
ἐπιφανέσ]τατοι καίσαραις ἱερὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὠνίοις κατέστησαν καὶ τὴν[
ἡ]μῖν χρῆναι εἶσην πανταχόσαι νομίζεσθαι, προστάξαι κατηξίωσαν

and tetradrachms we cannot say that the coins were hoarded before Diocletian. But we may observe that generally we find in every period fairly homogeneous hoards. We find, e. g., denarii together, asses together, etc. Note the evidence of P Oxy 1773 (third century), where we found καινὸν νόμισμα and παλαιὸν νόμισμα distinguished from each other. See *Metrologia*, pp. 435 and 440. Mickwitz doubts that the καινὸν νόμισμα meant the Antoniniani, and thinks it can refer to the debased drachmas coined in the third century. Why, then, in Egypt did they begin to use the term καινὸν νόμισμα just about 260? I think the first instance is Pal St. XX, 72 (264), a loan of δραχμαὶ παλαιοῦ νομίσματος, and why do we find a great quantity of debased Antoniniani after the time of Claudius II?

[13] See p. 263 ff.

ἐν πάσαις] ἐπαρχείαις καὶ ἐν ἀυτῇ τῇ βασιλεούσῃ Ῥώμῃ . . . . . [
]με Ἀττικῆς προεχώρι οὐ μὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ τριω[
]τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἀντὶ τοῦ δυοκαίδεκα [καὶ ἥμισυ

P Ryl. inv. 650.

προσέταξε ἡ θεία τύχη τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τὸ
Ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα εἰς ἥμισυ νούμμου καταβι-
βασθῆναι· σπούδασον οὖν πᾶν τὸ Ἰταλικὸν νό-
μισμα ὃ ἔχεις ἀναλῶσαι.

These three interesting documents lead us to the following conclusion. Diocletian used first a nummus italicus worth 25 denarii. Then he introduced the nummus or follis, and gave to this latter coin the value of 25 denarii, reducing the value of the nummus italicus to 12 1/2 denarii.

From P Ryl. inv. 650 we deduce that Diocletian, perhaps about the year 300, fixed the rate of exchange between the debased Antoninianus of the *καινὸν νόμισμα* and the follis or nummus of nearly 10 grams issued by him in the year 296,[14] and decreed that a nummus was worth two *νοῦμμοι ἰταλικοί*. (See Wessely, *Pal. St.*, XX, 85, 4 of about 305/6 A. D.) From P Oslo 83 and P SI 965 we learn that a coin which was worth 25 *ἀττικαί* was reduced to 12½ *ἀττικαί*.

We understand that the *ἰταλικὸς νοῦμμος*, i. e., the debased Antoninianus, was reduced to the value of 12½ *ἀττικαί*. The nummus or follis kept its value of 25 *ἀττικαί*. We cannot argue too strongly from mutilated papyri, but we can show that this is the right interpretation of the texts.[15]

We assume that the Antoninianus was 25 *ἀττικαί*, and that Diocletian issued his own nummus, the follis, with the same value of 25 *ἀττικαί*, but with a much higher intrinsic value.[16] Was it the intention of Diocletian to replace with the *νοῦμμος* follis the nummi italici which were so debased and abundant on the market that they caused a strong inflation? I think so. Diocletian coined a better nummus with the same value as the old Antoninianus, XXI or KA,[17] to deflate the money market. For this purpose he reduced the value of the bad Antoninianus to 12½ denarii, half of its former value.[18]

[14] See p. 255. I do not agree with Mattingly, Num. Chron. 5 Ser. VII, p. 225, that a nummus in the time of Diocletian is a sestertius.

[15] See p. 252. [16] See p. 255. [17] See p. 256.

[18] We cannot give a different explanation of the three papyri. It is impossible to imagine that Diocletian coined nummi with the value of 12 1/2 denarii as the debased Antoniniani, and later raised the value of his nummus to 25 denarii. The reasons against such an interpretation would be: (1) P Ryl. inv. 650 gives us the impression of the fall of the nummus italicus and not of the rise of the *νοῦμμος*; (2) the rise of a *νοῦμμος* would be an inflatory measure

The folles during the first years of the two Augusti of the first tetrarchy displaced the Antoniniani which, since the time of Aurelian, were coined in considerable amounts. Seeck [19] supposed that Diocletian and Maximian devaluated the Antoninianus in this period, and it may be also that the revolt of Achilleus in Alexandria was connected with this monetary policy. Basing our argument on the nummus of 25 denarii, we can state that the gold pound worth 50,000 denarii in the Edict of Diocletian corresponded to 2000 nummi-folles, or 4000 debased Antoniniani. Until the aureus was fixed at 1/72 libra auri, people used to reckon not in aurei, which changed in weight, but in gold. As to the silver money, we may say that its function was not very important.[20]

In the time of Diocletian the unit of value was the gold pound, to which the silver pound was linked.[21] The aureus of 1/60 pound coined in the year 286 [22] was worth, in 301, 66⅔ Antoniniani and 33 1/3 folles, as appears from the following table:

libra auri.....	1						
libra argenti....	10 5/12	1					
aureus of Diocletian ...	60	5.76	1				
solidus	72	6.912	1 1/6	1			
miliarensis	1000	96	16 2/3	13 8/9	1		
follis	2000	192	33 1/3	27 7/9	2	1	
antoninianus ...	4000	384	66 2/3	55 2/3	4	2	1
denarius	50000	4800	833 1/3	694 4/9	50	25	12 1/2

In 304 we have:

libra auri.....	1					
aureus	60	1				
miliarensis	1000	16 2/3	1			
follis	4000	66 2/3	4	1		
antoninianus	6000	133 1/3	8	2	1	
denarius	100000	266 2/3	100	25	12 1/2	1

Now that we are sure that a nummus was 25 denarii, we can explain many peculiarities in the inscriptions and in the coins. It is clear why

that would be against the policy of Diocletian, see Angelo Segrè, "Editto di Diocleziano," s. v. Editto, *Enciclopedia Treccani*. It is not easy to explain why Diocletian put the sign XXI or KA on coins of 25 denarii. Perhaps he did so to show at the beginning that they were as valuable as the Antoniniani, which often had the inscription XXI and KA.

[19] O. Seeck, "Die Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger," *Zts. f. Num.*, XVII (1900), 116.

[20] *Metrologia*, p. 485 ff.

[21] We assume the value of the silver pound as moneyed silver containing 96 miliarenses, see p. 265.

[22] Mickwitz, p. 68. We assume the pieces of 3 scruples silver with the sign XCVI were miliarenses, see p. 265.

most prices of the Edict are multiples of 25 denarii,[23] now that we understand why some Antoniniani coined under Licinius had the sign of value XIIΓ (12½ denarii).[24]

In the main, I am in accord with the description of Mattingly. I think, however, that he is wrong in believing the piece with radiate head to be a coin of the same sort as the laureate, plate I. VI. 9. The coins of the Diocletian age may be classified as follows:[25]

nummus	about gr.	10		25 den.
Antoninianus (sometimes with the sign XIIΓ)	"	"	4 1/2	12 1/2 den.
coin (sometimes with the sign X)	"	"	4	10 den.

But in the Diocletian period the nummi and the Antoniniani circulated with the old local coinage.[26] There is no doubt of the intention of Diocletian to stabilize the price by linking a debased silver coin to the gold libra and reducing the value of the Antoninianus. But he did not issue a large amount of golden coins, and his silver coinage has practically no importance. It may be that he intended to restore a silver circulation, but his attempt did not succeed.[27]

[23] Mickwitz, p. 69, deduced that there was a coin multiple of 25 denarii and that was the silver coin of 3 scruples.

[24] It may be useful for the reader if I review the main features of the coinage of Diocletian from Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (1928), pp. 223 ff. It is as follows:

In gold Diocletian struck an aureus of 1/60 of a pound of gold sometimes marked with Ξ (1/60). In the East this coin continued to be struck till 324, but in the West Constantine introduced the solidus of 4 γράμματα in the year 312. The solidus of 4 γράμματα became the standard coin of the whole Empire in the year 324.

In silver Diocletian struck a piece of 3 γράμματα. This coin was struck in the East and West till early in the reign of the sons of Constantine. The siliqua was introduced as the gold unit in 312. The larger silver piece miliarensis was struck from about 330 (see p. 264).

In bronze thinly coated with silver, Diocletian struck the nummus about gr. 9.72, the Antoniniani about gr. 3.89, and a small coin with laureate head on the obverse of about gr. 1.3. [We know now that they are respectively pieces of 25, 12 1/2, and 5 denarii.] The nummus of 25 denarii began to lose weight about 308, and fell by degrees often hardly perceptible to 7.77, 6.48, 4.53 and at last to 3.24 grams. When it fell to this last figure, the radiate crown, which was the distinguishing mark of Diocletian's second denomination, occasionally reappears on this coin. I think they are pieces of 12 1/2 denarii. A smaller denomination, probably of 10 or 5 denarii, was struck at intervals down to about 324. The piece of 3.24 gr. remained at the same standard until about 330, when it again dropped to about gr. 2.59 in 335. It fell later to gr. 1.94.

[25] *Metrologia*, pp. 440, 443 ff.

[26] See p. 256 f. I do not doubt that in most of the other provinces the same thing happened as in Egypt, i. e., in the countries which used the Antiochean drachm.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 486.

3. *Drachmas of the παλαιὸν νόμισμα and Drachmas of the καινὸν νόμισμα*

The currency of Diocletian did not bring a real chasm in the Roman coinage. The monetary system of this emperor was linked with the older one through the equation of nummus italicus to 25 denarii. The Romans did not stop immediately the issue of the provincial money used in Egypt, at least until the year 307. In the first years of Diocletian, Egypt was using a nummus (follis) of 25 denarii and a tetradrachm the intrinsic value of which, in the last year of its coinage, was about 1½ times the value of a nummus.[28] In the documents of the time of Diocletian a real tetradrachm of the *παλαιὸν νόμισμα* could not correspond to a denarius of the Edict:[29] at a certain moment the drachm was no longer the old silver drachm.[30] But when did "drachma" mean a very small fraction of the silver tetradrachm? When did the distinction arise between the old drachma of the *πτολεμαϊκὸν νόμισμα* and the drachma of the *καινὸν νόμισμα*?

The Antoninianus in the earlier part of the reign of Diocletian corresponded to 100 Egyptian drachmas (25 denarii), while in the beginning of his coinage under Caracalla it was perhaps 2 denarii.[31] During the first decade of the third century we do not believe that the rate of exchange between the denarius and the aureus underwent important changes. The quotation of the aureus was about 100 Egyptian *δραχμαί*. The Antoninianus of 2 denarii was 8 Egyptian drachmas. But about the time of Claudius II the aureus corresponded certainly no longer to 12½ Antoniniani, and the Antoninianus did not equal 8 drachmas in value. The tetradrachm at the time of Diocletian, if we consider its metal value of 1/18000 of a libra auri, must have been at least equal to 2½ denarii or 10 drachmas.

Although we have no possibility of direct comparison of contemporary prices expressed clearly in *καινὸν νόμισμα* and *παλαιὸν νόμισμα*, the determination of the value of the tetradrachm in denarii at the time of Diocletian is not as hopeless as it appears at first sight. Starting with the equation Antoninianus = 2 denarii = 2 tetradrachms, if the Antoninianus as *ἰταλικὸς νοῦμμος* was 25 denarii before the reform of Diocletian, the tetradrachm must have been 12½ denarii. But we cannot retrace the steps of the devaluation of this coin in the years

[28] The intrinsic value of a tetradrachm corresponded to about 1/300 of aureus of 1/60 libra; the intrinsic value of a nummus to about 1/450 of an aureus.

[29] See p. 263.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] I was wrong in *Metrologia*, pp. 368 ff., when, following the opinion of Mommsen, I accepted his equation Antoninianus of Aurelianus with XXI or KA equals 20 asses.

from Claudius II [32] to the age of Diocletian because of lack of evidence in the documents. In the later period of the Diocletian age a talent καινοῦ νομίσματος means a talent ἐν νούμμοις (120 νοῦμμοι ἰταλικοί or 60 νοῦμμοι = folles). In the earlier period a talent corresponded to 60 Antoniniani, and a talent of 6000 drachmas of the καινὸν νόμισμα must have been equivalent to 240 δραχμαὶ παλ. νομ. or 60 real tetradrachms.[33]

We do not know the value of the Antoninianus in denarii in the time of Aurelian, but it seems probable that his inscribed XXI meant 20 sestertii or 20 Egyptian drachmas, and that the tetradrachm was valued at 10 drachmas or 2½ denarii.[34]

The introduction of the Antoninianus accelerated the trend of the inflation. In the first half of the third century A. D. the purchasing power of silver money was visibly diminishing. At the same time its intrinsic value also diminished, if we consider the denarii or the Antoniniani in Rome, or the tetradrachm in Egypt. Gold coins were also reduced in weight, but not proportionally to the reduction of the intrinsic value of the silver coins. I think the debased silver coins brought on the inflation because they cost the government less than the good ones. The régime did not find a reason for restricting their issuance, in so far as the cost of this monetary species was concerned. At the same time, the government tried to keep the rate of exchange aureus-denarius at par, with the result that gold circulation in the Roman Empire was considerably reduced. Gold was certainly hoarded, or used for foreign exchange, or exacted by the government for the payment of specific taxes.

The silver currency in Egypt was represented by the δραχμαί and the Antoniniani. We suppose, at first, a rate of exchange in the time of Aurelian of 1 Antoninianus = 20 δραχμαὶ καινοῦ νομίσματος = 2 tetradrachmas. The tetradrachm was 10 δραχμαὶ καινοῦ νομίσματος. Tetradrachm and Antoninianus linked together perhaps at this ratio as early as the year 260. About this period there were in circulation Antoniniani with 50 percent content of silver, and tetradrachms with 20-75 percent silver.[35] The two currencies still had a rather considerable intrinsic value,[36] but both were a debased coinage and in a

[32] For the different qualities of the Antoniniani and the probable great change in the imperial silver circulation about the year 260, see *Metrologia*, pp. 373 ff.

[33] See p. 256.

[34] *Ibid.*, but for this equation we have no sure evidence.

[35] *Metrologia*, p. 409.

[36] Mickwitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff., thinks that the bankers did not want to exchange the old tetradrachms for the new ones. I cannot add anything to the interpretation of P Oxy XII, 1411 (260) given in *Metrologia*, p. 414 ff. It is clear that the bankers of the κολλυβιστικαὶ τράπεζαι closed their offices

way fiduciary money. While, until the first half of the third century, the Egyptian currency was linked to a denarius which represented a reasonably sound metallic circulation, in the second half of the third century it was linked first with a debased denarius and then with a more debased Antoninianus. When the Roman money became a fiduciary one, gold aurei were exchanged with an always increasing number of silver denarii.

To get an idea of the possible rate of exchange of gold with the δραχμαὶ τοῦ καινοῦ νομίσματος we may imagine, for instance, that Aurelian fixed the auri libra at the same rate of exchange as the Antoniniani or νοῦμμοι ἰταλικοί as it was in the period immediately before the reform of Diocletian. If we assume that the sigle XXI means 20 sestertii, the Antoninianus was in the time of Aurelian worth 5 denarii of the καινὸν νόμισμα, instead of 25 as in the time of Diocletian. The libra auri would be 2000 Antoniniani or 10,000 denarii καινοῦ νομίσματος. If we assume that Aurelian fixed the same number of νοῦμμοι ἰταλικοί equivalent to a libra auri as did Diocletian later, i. e., 1 libra auri = 2000 ἰταλικοὶ νοῦμμοι, we have an aureus of 1/60 libra corresponding to 166⅔ denarii or 666⅔ drachmas τοῦ καινοῦ νομίσματος. The aureus would then be the equivalent of 33⅓ ἰταλ. νοῦμμοι or 66⅔ tetradrachmas, instead of the parity of 25 denarii. With this rate of exchange the denarii with more than 40 percent silver would be hoarded as well as the Antoniniani with more than 50 percent silver.

Assuming an aureus of Aurelian of 1/50 libra, we can tabulate the currency system of Aurelian as follows:

libra auri.....	1							
aureus—1/50 libra.....	50	1						
old denarii with old parity....	750	25	1					
Antoniniani debased.....	2000	40	1 3/5	1				
denarii with the new parity..	4000	80	3 1/5	2	1			
old drachmas with old parity..	5000	100	4	2 1/2	1 1/4	1		
denarii of the κ. ν.....	10000	200	8	5	2 1/2	2	1	
drachmas of the κ. ν.....	40000	800	32	20	10	8	4	1

From this table we can infer easily that the Egyptians did not wish to exchange an old tetradrachm that was worth an old denarius or 1⅗ Antoniniani for one half a new Antoninianus. These hypothetical figures are intended to give a more accurate idea of the procedure of the emperors in carrying out the inflation at the end of the third century A. D.

and refused to accept the debased θειὸν τῶν Σεβαστῶν νόμισμα for the change (κατακερματιζειν) with copper coins. Κατακερματίζειν means "change into small coins."

4. *The currency inflation between the time of Claudius II and Diocletian and the evidence of the papyri*

During the period between about 260 A. D. and 300 A. D. the prices in the documents are always expressed in δραχμαί, the δραχμαί of the παλαιὸν νόμισμα, and the δραχμαί of the καινὸν νόμισμα. Comparing the dates in δραχμαὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ νομίσματος with the dates of the καινὸν νόμισμα, we have the impression that the former alone were the drachmas contained in the tetradrachma.[37]

Prices of commodities in Egypt began to rise sharply after the introduction of the καινὸν νόμισμα. In the period about 254 and 255 prices are two or two and a half times higher than those of the Antonines (A. Segrè, *Circolazione*, p. 102, 103); P London III 1126 (254): an artaba of wheat = 12 dr.; in BGU 14 (255) 16 dr.; in BGU 14 (255 A. D.) lentils = 16 dr. (pp. 110, 111).

In BGU 14 the wages are very high (pp. 116, 117), but in P Lond III 1170 (258-259) they are again normal, about 2 dr., and in P SI VII 811 (third century, probably about 250-260) 2 dr., 6 ob. Still, in 264 we have the impression that the prices were not much higher than in 255 (pp. 138, 139).

But in 277 A. D. (P S 8021 of Narmouthis Arsinoites) the price of a female ass is 3800 dr. If we assume as an average price 200 dr. for the Antonine period, we get almost a twenty-fold rise in price in 277. Then, already in this period we would have a level of prices corresponding to an artaba of wheat at about 120 drachmas.[38]

[37] Compare, e. g., the loans of the end of the third century and beginning of the fourth century expressed in the old drachmas with those expressed in the new drachmas: St. Pal. XX 72 (264) 1500 dr.; (268) 1200 dr.; (270) 1500 dr.; P SI 841 (IV cent.) 400 dr. π. ν. S. B. 7338 (300) 3000 dr. π. ν. show much smaller items than the BGU 1064 (271/28), 10 tal., P Oxy 1713 (279), 148 tal. κ. ν. 1280 dr. κ. ν., S. B. 7338 (277/78), 3 tal. Other items without certain date and often without explanation of this kind of drachmas are cited by Mickwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 216. Still more important would be P Bad II 26 (28), where the prices are abnormally low. See Mickwitz, p. 216.

On the recto we find many items like ll. 5 ff. π(αρὰ) Σιλβανοῦ Ἀριάμμωνος οἰνοπ(ώλου) ὑπὲρ τι(μῆς) οἴν(ου) κυρωθ(έντος), αὐτῷ ἀπὸ κτήματος πρὸ[ς κώμη] Σιναρχῆβι κ(εραμίων) ρα ὡς τῶν κ(εραμίων) ρα (δραχμὰς) φ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μεχεὶρ εἰς Πρερη. But it is uncertain whether they sold wine at about 5 drachmas a ceramion and (l. 21 ff.) land growing wheat at 16 dr. per arura (l. 28) and land in hay at 21 dr. per arura. In the same document l. 35, ὑπὲρ κοτυλῶν β(δραχμὰς) κ, l. 104 κοτύλη α δραχμὰς νς, show the use of the usual currency in the time of Diocletian. l. 35 is an oil price corresponding to 1 tal. 206 dr. for a metretes. Reckoning with the money of the edict, it would be a price of 4 aurei for a metretes. l. 35 is very likely a wine price. If we assume a cotyla = 1/24 of a κεράμιον of 6 choes, we get a price of 240 dr. for a ceramion, but if we assume the cotyla = 1/72 ceramion, the price would be 720 dr. These are all prices that would fit the δραχμή of the καινὸν νόμισμα.

[38] The comparison of these prices may give an idea of the inflation because

P Oxy XIV, 1733 gives the price of barley at 160 and 140 dr. an artaba (*Circolazione*, pp. 108, 109). The date of this document is probably about 280-290 A. D.[39] The price of barley in P Oxy 1733 would correspond to about $266\frac{2}{3} = 233\frac{1}{3}$ for an artaba of wheat. In P Oxy XVII 2142 (293) an artaba of wheat costs 300 dr.[40]

From this evidence, I think we can consider as a normal price for an artaba of wheat in the years 255-264 about 16 drachmas of the *παλαιὸν νόμισμα*; in 277, about 120 drachmas of the *καινόν*; in 293, about 300 dr., and in 301, about $1333\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas. The price of an artaba of wheat in the Edict of Diocletian is 100 denarii a modius castrensis, or $333\frac{1}{3}$ denarii $= 1333\frac{1}{3}$ drachmas per artaba.[41]

The evidence of the papyri agrees in an astonishing way with the conclusions on p. 256. According to these conclusions, the 16 drachmas of the years 255-264 would correspond to $16 \times 8 = 128$ drachmas of the coinage of Aurelian. Between 277 and about 295 the debased Antoniniani passed from 5 to 25 denarii, but we cannot follow the steps of the inflation.

The price of wheat in the Edict appears in every case two or four times higher than the Egyptian price in 293. If we assume the aureus of $\frac{1}{60}$ libra as the unit of measure, an aureus of Diocletian would buy $2\frac{1}{2}$ artabas of wheat.

The Egyptian price of 293 would give a price for an artaba of $1/11\frac{1}{3}$ aureus if the rate of exchange between gold and silver had been the same as in the Edict of Diocletian, while if we suppose the same purchasing power of gold in this year we must suppose a pound of gold to equal about 12000 denarii. Prices of donkeys, camels, and slaves [42]

we could get a price of an artaba of wheat about 60 as well as of about 240 drachmas. But this rise could support the hypothesis of a tetradrachm at 12 1/2 denarii (see p. 256).

[39] The price of *σάκκων σιππίων* is 200 dr. a ceramion of wine dr. 160. These harmonize better than the prices of P Grenf. II 77 (an artaba of barley 20 dr. and wine at 96 and 120 drachmas per ceramion of 6 choes.

[40] The average rent of an arura about 5 artabas wheat from P Oxy 1690 (287) [lease of 5 arurae at the rent of 3000 dr. per arura] and P Oxy 1691 (281) [lease of 3 arurae to be sown with flax at 2500 dr. per arura] would correspond to an artaba at about 600 dr. In P SI 1071 (296 A. D.), with 6 arurae of hay for a year at 1 tal. 1800 dr., 1300 dr. per arura, we find as a probable value of an artaba of wheat 600, 500, and 260 drachmas. We can consider 400 as an approximate average.

[41] See Appendix II, p. 277 ff.

[42] The price of a female donkey in P Sb. 8021 (277), of Narmouthis Arsinoites, is 3800 drachmas. In P S 5679 (307) a female donkey is valued at 5 talents ;in P Oxy XIV 1708, a donkey is quoted at 10 talents (311); in P Cornell 13 (288 A. D.) a female ass at 10 talents; Mickwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 54. The prices of slaves suggest the same considerations. See A. Segrè, *Circolazione*, pp. 124 and 125, and Mickwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Wessely, *Pal. St.*, 20, 71 (268-70) says a slave is sold at 5000 dr. while in P Oxy 1205 (291) the prices of slaves are 14 tal. and in P Lips 4 (293) 15 tal. (nearly 30 aurei).

in the period immediately before the reform of Diocletian and the first decade of the fourth century would give us the wrong impression that the level of prices was almost the same, although the aureus in 307 reached 2000 denarii, but the prices of wheat show, on the contrary, that the inflation continued. However, we think the mintage of the folles of Diocletian, which were larger than the Antoniniani, did slow up the inflation for a while, and perhaps improved the exchange of the debased silvered coins with the gold coins, but for a very short time. If prices did not rise rapidly, with the exchange of the aureus going from 833⅓ denarii in 301 to 2000 in 307, then prices expressed in gold must have showed a notable decrease.

After this period it was a race between the prices of gold and the prices of commodities, with prices of commodities running far ahead. I do not believe I am wrong in calculating the solidus at about 80 talents and the price of an artaba of wheat at about ⅓ of ⅓ solidus from P Oxy, 1 85 and P ER E 200 (314). An artaba of σῖτος and an artaba of barley are both put at 1 tal. 4000 dr. or about 1 aureus for an artaba.

I cannot retrace the fluctuations of the purchasing power of money in this period as did Mickwitz, and I must limit myself to my exposition in *Circolazione Monetaria*, corrected to the present date, *Metrologia*, pp. 495-99 ff., 535 ff.[43, 44] But judging from this consideration, namely, that very probably the prices of wheat were expressed by a higher gold price [45] in the third century than in the preceding period,[46] I think the price of gold in drachmas about 290 was considerably lower than in the Edict of 301. We see that the end of the third century and the first half of the fourth century are characterized by a very low purchasing power of gold which, connected with the bad harvest, bad conditions of agriculture, wars, high taxes, etc., made of this period one of the worst in the economic and political history of the world.

[43] See *Circolazione*, p. 54. [44] P. 53 ff. [45] See p. 260.

[46] I do not think that the Kardassi (Nubia) inscription CIG v 5008-10 of the time of Philippi (Wilcken, *Zts. f. Num.*, XV (1887), 325; Kubitschek, *Quinquennium*, p. 105; Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*), can be of use. Wilcken reads aureus χρυσοῦς = 125 drachmas, Kubitschek, p. 325. The parity would be 100 drachmas. I think the reading of Kubitschek impossible. The doubts about the exchange of the aureus with 25 denarii at the beginning of the first century and the beginning of the third century A. D. and the considerations of Mickwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff., are not very pertinent. I think, for example, that in Rome, as in Egypt, the prices rose in denarii and the rate of exchange between denarii and aurei remained unchanged. The real stipendium of the legions changed much less than the figures show. I think the prices in Rome had a trend similar to that in Egypt. These considerations about currency contribute to explain the changes of political and social organization of the time of Diocletian.

5. *Why were prices in gold in the early Byzantine period much higher than later?*

We stated that the purchasing power of gold in the period between the end of the third century and the first half of the fourth century in Egypt was extremely low, perhaps between one-half and one-third of that in the period between Nero and Marcus Aurelius. I think we can explain the low purchasing power of gold.

First, we must consider that the same condition appeared in the period of the Ptolemaic copper inflation. From P Tebt. III_2 890 we deduce an exchange of a μναϊαῖον for about 80 silver drachmas, when the official rate of exchange must have been at 100 and perhaps in private transactions more. At the same time the price of wheat increased about 50 percent. If we compare the purchasing power of gold [47] in the period before the inflation with the later one, we find a diminishing purchasing power of 80/100 x 1.5, i. e., nearly half. If we assume that at the end of the second century A. D. and the beginning of the third the rate of exchange of the aureus with the denarius and consequently with the drachma was the same as before,[48] we deduce a purchasing power of gold as at least half of the purchasing power during the former period.

Each inflationary period in Egyptian currency was characterized by a diminishing purchasing power of gold. We see from all our data that gold was sold in Egypt considerably below its value in money.[49] We can easily understand the low purchasing power of gold if we imagine Egypt in an inflationary period as a country in which the government fixed a low rate of exchange between the debased coin and gold. Let us visualize these considerations with a modern example. The German mark is nominally worth 40.3325 cents. It might be exchanged for a certain amount of gold corresponding to 40.3325 cents. Suppose its purchasing power to be twenty cents. Nobody in Germany would then get the value of 40.3325 cents for a mark. We should find that the purchasing power of a practically non-existent gold mark would be half its bullion value.

In Egypt the possibility of buying gold money was undoubtedly very slight, and the country was practically in the condition of a closed economy, like most other territories of the Roman Empire which had their money linked to fixed rates of exchange with Rome or Constantinople. An Egyptian fellah made his transactions with his wheat and his debased coins. He was not much affected by the rate of exchange of the aureus with the debased coinage.[50]

[47] *Circolazione*, p. 25 ff. [48] See p. 261, n. 46. [49] See p. 261.

[50] For this statement see Angelo Segrè, "Mutuo e tasso di interesse," *Atene e Roma*, V (1924), 119-138.

6. *Coinage in the period of Constantine and later*

It is much easier to study the coinage of Diocletian than the coinage of his successors. The difficulties in the latter case are manifold: (a) there was a serious inflation everywhere, but not with the same features; (b) although the type of coins was fairly uniform in the different regions of the Empire, they had different names and the way of reckoning depended greatly on the features of the different inflations. The Egyptian way of reckoning was very peculiar, and cannot be extended to the rest of the Empire. The features of the Egyptian inflation are reviewed in the following tables.[51]

Name of coin	Year of circulation	Possible greatest number of coins contained in an aureus	Possible lowest number of denarii contained in a coin	Value of aureus in denarii	Value of the coins	Evidence of papyri
tetra-drachm	270	300			2 1/2 den.	aureus — 1/50 libr.
antoni-nianus	270	480	1.7 den.	133 1/3 den.	5 den.	See p. 258
follis	295-307	180	4.6 den.	833 1/3 den.	25 den.	833 1/3 den. in Ed. d. p. r. v.
antoni-nianus	295-307	480	1.7 den.	833 1/3 den.	12 1/2 den.	aureus — 1/60 libr.
				1666 2/3 den.	25 den.	Follis in year 304/5 see p. 249
follis reduced	307-314	400	5 den.	2000 den.	25 den.	in 307 see p. 250 aureus 1/60 libr.
follis reduced	316	400	5 den.	3500 den.	25 den.	in year 316 see p. 250
follis reduced	314-330	720	5 den.	4500 den.	25 den.	in year 324 see p. aureus — 1/72 libr.
coin of 1 scrup.	330-489	3000	18 den.	5400 den.		in year 334 see p. 264
about	340	"	50 den.	20 myr. den.		see p. 264
"	350	"	100 den.	40 myr. den.		see p. 264
"	360	"	2/3 myr. den.	2020 myr. 2250 myr.		see p. 264
VI and VII cent.		"	2 myr. den.	6000 myr. 8000 myr.		see p. 264

Although I think the greater part of my researches on Byzantine currency in *Metrologia*[52] is correct, I must point out specifically the

[51] *Circolazione*, p. 25 ff.

[52] See p. 462 ff.

errors in that work, because I often refer to it to simplify my exposition.

From the preceding table we may assume that about 330 the value of a follis was no longer 25 denarii.[53] The silver-white washed coins had increased in value in denarii. Coins issued before 330 did not circulate with the later ones.[54] From the papyri we should expect that in the period between 296 and about 320 the follis or nummus was 25 denarii,[55] and consequently that the libra auri and the solidus corresponded to a gradually increasing number of folles. After about 330 Egypt suffered so drastic an inflation that the small coins issued after this date necessarily obtained a rapidly increasing value in denarii until a second period, beginning with 360 or so, when the inflation began to subside. A sort of stabilization was reached already at the end of the fifth century.[56] In the period after 360 the value of the solidi reckoned in δηναρίων μυριάδες was as follows:[57]

P Oxy XIII 1056 (360)	1800-2000 myr.
P Oxy IX 1223 (sec. half, IV century)	2020 myr.
P SI VIII 960 (about 370?)	3750 myr.
P SI VIII 961 (about 370-80?)	4550 myr.
P Oxy XVI 1911 (557)	5169 myr.
P Oxy XVI 1917 (VI century)	7200 myr.
P Oxy XVI 1904 (618)	7680 myr.

Besides, the δηναρίων μυριάδες in Egypt were reckoned very seldom with the small ordinary coins of the Empire, folles and nummia.[57] We find no other equations of solidi in folles than the later one solidus equals 288 folles.[58]

7. *The miliarensis and the other silver coins*

I think that the pieces of 3 γράμματα with the inscription XCVI issued by Diocletian[59] are miliarenses. The libra auri then in 301 was divided as follows:[60]

[53] See p. 263.

[54] For this statement, see Angelo Segrè, *loc. cit.*

[55] See p. 254 ff.

[56] *Metrologia*, p. 459, corrected with Addenda and Corrigenda, pp. 535 ff.

[57] The coin with the sign XIIΓ was coined about 313 by Constantine from 3.5 to 2.5 gr. Licinius went on with the coinage of folles. The units of the monetary system of Diocletian were used until the year 323, when Alexandria struck *ἰταλικοὶ νοῦμμοι* with XIIΓ (Bernhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 326).

[58] See *Metrologia*, p. 446.

[59] It seems that as early as about in 330 the follis in Egypt was no longer valued at 25 denarii, see pp. 263 ff.

[60] *Metrologia*, p. 488. For the chaotic conditions of the Egyptian currency in the fifth century, see J. G. Milne, *Num. Chron.*, V, 6, 26, pp. 43 ff.

libra auri.....	1				
follis	8	1			
miliarensis	1000	125	1		
nummus	2000	250	2	1	
denarius	50000	6250	50	25	1

The texts which give information about the folles and the miliarenses are very badly preserved.[61]

The miliarenses and the *νοῦμμοι* and denarii were adjusted to the libra auri and not to the aureus, the weight which was often changed.[62] Starting with the miliarensis of 3 scruples gr. 3.41, and corresponding to 1/1000 of a libra auri, we would have a siliqua—1/24 solidus of 1/72 libra auri silver—3.41/1.728—gr. 1.97. We cannot tell when the miliarensis was 2 siliquae instead of 1 3/4 siliquae. But as long as the pieces of gr. 3.41 circulated they were 1/000 of a libra auri and 1/16 2/3 of an aureus of 1/60 of a libra. When the solidus of 1/72 of a libra was introduced, the solidus corresponded to 13 8/9 miliarenses.

In this period there was a silver currency constituted by the miliarensis of 3.41 gr. corresponding to 1/14 of a solidus and by the siliquae of gr. 1.98 corresponding to 1/24 of a solidus. The siliqua is the most abundant silver coin circulating in the second half of the fourth century. We cannot say whether in the second half of the fourth century there was a piece of 2 siliquae with a normal weight of gr. 3.95 or a miliarensis of gr. 3.41, and we have no evidence to establish the time at which the miliarensis became a double siliqua.[63]

8. *The Byzantine Coinage Outside Egypt*

The Byzantine currency is derived from that of Diocletian. The coinage of Diocletian was valid in the whole Empire, and the dispositions of the Edict extended as well to the East as to the west.[64] But, after some years, in fact as early as the time of Licinius, although the currency was practically the same in the whole Empire, the modes of reckoning were very different.[65] The most important feature of the Byzantine circulation is the constant use of a solidus, which gave a

[61] *Metrologia*, pp. 488 ff.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 539, n. 1. In *St. Pal.*, XX, 244 (VI-VII c.) a *λιτόν* = 20 folles. We know *κεράτια λιτά*, *Metrol.* p. 472, but a *κεράτιον* is 12 folles (*Pal. St.*, XX 218 [VII c.] l. 29). In P SI 963 (581) a solidus is 3000 *λιτά*. A *λιτόν* would be about 2 1/2 myriads of denarii. See p. 264. In the papyri we have the impression that the folles are always pieces of 1/12 of a *κεράτιον* or about this value. I cannot believe that there were folles of 1/20 of the *λιτόν* of P SI 963.

[63] *Metrologia*, p. 480 ff. Pink, "Die Silberprägung der Diocletianischen Tetrarchie," *N. Z.*, xxiii (1930) 38, says that these pieces have an average weight of gr. 3.40-3.20, but there are coins of gr. 2.2-4.4.

[64] *Metrologia*, pp. 483 ff.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 428 ff.

sort of unity to the Byzantine coinage.[66, 67] For no part of the Empire have we available evidence comparable with the evidence of the papyri, but what we know from Egypt is directly of very little use for the study of the currency of the other parts of the Empire.

9. *Byzantine Currency of the Fourth Century*

The difficulties in the study of Byzantine currency outside Egypt are considerable because, beside the lack of valid evidence, we know that the exchange of the solidus with the local currency was variable as it was in Egypt. The trend was surely toward a depreciation of the baser coins. Characteristic of this age is Symmachus, Relatio 29, of the time of Gratianus, 367-83: "Vendendis solidis quos plerumque publicus usus exposcit collectariorum corpus obnoxium est, quibus arca vinaria statutum pretium subministrat. Huic hominum generi taxationis exiguae vilitate nutanti divus frater numinis vestri tantum pro singulis solidis statuit conferendum, quantum aequitas illius temporis postulabat dd. impp. Sed paulatim auri enormitate crescente vis remedii divalis infracta est, et cum in foro venalium rerum maiore summa solidus censeatur, nummulariis pretia minora penduntur. Petunt igitur de aeternitate vestra pro ratione presenti iusta definitionis augmenta, qui iam tanto oneri sustinendo pares esse non possunt."

The collectarii had to sell the solidi to the arca vinaria at a certain exchange already fixed by the Emperor. But the price of the solidus was increasing fast in the free market. The nummularii had to pay for the solidus at the market a higher price than that at which they could sell it.[67]

Seldom do we see a rise in the value of the vase coinage as in *C. Just.*, XI, 11, 12 (371-373): "pro imminutione, quae in aestimatione solidi forte tractatur, omnium quoque specierum pretia decrescere oportet."[68] In some parts of the Empire in the time of Licinius, the solidus was worth about 7200 folles.[69] I believe we can get the equation from

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 433.

[67] For the *nummularii* see R. Herzog, *Pauly-Wissowa*, s. v. The silver coins between Constantius and Honorius seem to show that the most important circulating coins weighed about gr. 1.90; see Mickwitz, *Die Systeme des röm. Silbergelds im IV Jahrh.*, p. 15, n. 2, and p. 66, p. 19. He calls the coins half-siliquae and thinks that the pieces with CN are the continuance of the half-siliquae. Unfortunately, we cannot rely on the applications of statistical methods by Mickwitz. He shows that the most frequent silver pieces are about 2 gr. (more than 500 pieces), then follow pieces of about gr. 4.17 (175 pieces), then pieces of gr. 5.20 (about 38 pieces). The question is not the application of statistics but the way in which one decides that the coins are of the same class.

[68] *Metrologia*, p. 465. [69] P. 267.

Cod. Theod., VII 20, 3 (320), but the calculation is approximate only.[70]

In *Cod. Theod.*, XIII, 3, 31 (321) a slave is pledged for a debt of 20,000 nummi. The price of a slave in *Cod. Just.* is fixed generally at 20 solidi. Thus, one solidus must have been worth less than 1000 nummi.[71]

From the inscription of Feltre (323),[72] Mickwitz, following the reading of Kubitschek, but disagreeing with him in the interpretation of the document, establishes an equation of 1 solidus equalling about 5000 denarii and practically accepts Kubitschek's results.[73] I think the inscription of Feltre should not be used because its readings and interpretation are not reliable.[74]

The penalties in the funeral monuments of the beginning of the fourth century [75] of between 600 and 1000 folles, if they correspond to the sums expressed in silver,[76] often given as five pounds of silver, being equal to about 1/3 libra auri, would give the ratio as solidus = 25-40 folles.

It seems that at the time of Licinius the solidus was then equal to a little more than 1000 nummi and about 7000 folles. The solidus in this period was equal in Egypt to about 5000 denarii,[77] but as the nummus must have been a piece of 25 denarii,[78] it appears evident that

[70] *Metrologia*, pp. 464 ff. Gold coins were in later times struck by barbarian rulers in imitation of the imperial mint. Procopius, *Bell. Goth.*, III, 33 ed. Haury, II, 442-43; Bonn II, 41. For silver coins there was more freedom. Gold coins alone had a function of a sort of international money.

[71] For the different sorts of solidi in the Byzantine period see *Metrologia*, pp. 464 ff. and G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte Byzantine*, 2nd ed. (1928), pp. 101 ff. It seems to me that G. Rouillard stresses too much the crisis of the currency in the time of Justinian and Edict XI (559 A. D.). The control of the weight and quality of the golden coinage is by no means an innovation of Justinian, and in the sixth century the inflation of copper coinage was practically checked.

[72] I think the interpretation of Mommsen, *R. M. S.*, p. 845, Seeck, *Zts. f. Num.*, No. 17, p. 80 is not correct, and Mickwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 89, is right.

[73] See Mickwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 90. It seems that the aureus was exchanged for a smaller number of folles. A similar thing occurs in the time of Justinian. See *Metrologia*, p. 475.

[74] This figure is approximate. The correspondence could be possible also with about 5000 folles.

[75] *Metrologia*, pp. 462 ff. If the solidus was about 5000 folles the folles were pieces corresponding to a denarius, but I would not venture to say that follis and denarius were equivalent.

[76] Kubitschek, p. 58.

[77] *Metrologia*, pp. 460 ff.

[78] *Geld und Wirtschaft in röm. Reich des IV. Jahrhts.* (Helsinki, 1932: Societas scient., fenn., *Commentationes num. litt.*, IV), p. 60. Mickwitz, p. 266, thinks a nummus = 5 denarii, but I do not know where he got this equation.

the Egyptian data are useless for this group of documents. In Nov., III, tit. 4, 1, Val. (445), the value of the solidus is between 7200 and 7000 nummi.

We have available certain documents dating between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century: (a) *Cod. Theod.*, XIV, 4, 3 (363) with the minimum price of 6 folles for a pound of pork; (b) *Cod. Theod.*, XIV, 4, 10 (419) places meat at a tariff price of 50 denarii. These prices must be compared with Ed. d. p. r. v., iv, 1[a], where a pound of the same meat costs about 1/60 solidus. The evidence of the texts of *Codex Theodosianus* at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century follows:

Cod. Theod., XVI, 4, 3 (363): solidus about 360 folles;
Cod. Theod., XIV, 4, 10 (419): solidus about 3000 denarii;
Cod. Theod., XIV, 19, 1 (398): [79] solidus less than 900 nummi, perhaps about 450 folles.

These data permit us to suppose that in this period the solidus was at about 360-500 folles or nummi, corresponding to about 3000 denarii. Some of the inscriptions of this period present evidence which is comparable to the evidence of the passages of *Cod. Theod.* of the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century. Others, on the contrary, present different evidence. It looks as though inflation were not responsible for all these discrepancies.

The inflated currency of the period between the reign of Constantine and the end of the fifth century presents the most difficult problems. The names of the coins have different meanings in the different parts of the empire. Folles, nummi, denarii mean quite different things in Egypt, Africa, Italy, and Constantinople, and have changing rates of exchange with the solidus.

The policy of the Roman emperors of the fourth century was generally the same as that adopted by Diocletian: the undervaluing of the coins of their predecessors. They tried to suppress the better coins of their predecessors and at the same time to bar the public from melting down the more valuable coins, and thus withdrawing them from circulation. Although we may recognize some rare measures of deflation in the monetary policy of the Byzantine emperors there is no doubt that such measures had only a very temporary success, and that the trend was decidedly toward inflation.

Three passages of the Codex Theodosianus are good tests of the monetary policy of the emperors of the fourth century and at the same time they help us to recognize the types of coins circulating at this period: [80]

[79] *Metrologia*, p. 403, n. 4.
[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 460 ff.

Cod. Theod., IX, 23, 1 (a. 395): "Centenionalem tantum nummum in conversatione publica tractari praecipimus maioris pecuniae figuratione submota. Nullus igitur decargyrum nummum alio audeat commutare sciens fisco eandem pecuniam vindicandam quae in publica potuerit conversatione deprehendi."

Cod. Theod., IX, 23, 1 (a. 356) where the traders may not take with them more than "1000 follibus pecuniae in usu publico constitutae," and they are allowed to trade with every commodity "praeter pecunias quae more solito maiorinas vel centenionales communes appellant vel ceteras quae vetitas esse cognoscunt."

Cod. Theod., IX, 21, 6 (a. 349): "Comperimus nonnullos flaturarios maiorinam pecuniam non minus criminose quan crebre separato argento ab aere purgare."

These texts show that the nummus centenionalis was the biggest bullion coin allowed to circulate in 395, that the pecunia maiorina was undervalued by the emperors, perhaps to foster the circulation of the nummus centenionalis (a. 349), and that in the year 356 the pecunia maiorina was undervalued and the centenionales communes were not considered as valuable money. But in 395 the centenionalis was again circulating, while the pecunia maiorina was no longer current.

The nummus centenionalis belongs to the sort of nummi coined about 348 by the sons of Constantinus with the inscription FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. Mattingly [81] describes two main sorts of coins, MB 1 abcd and PB 2 abcd. The type 2a, an intermediate size between MB and PB, is found sporadically at most mints, and very noticeably in Aquileia, where it bears the mark LXXII. The weight of these coins is about gr. 4.66. From the description of Mattingly I would say that the nummus centenionalis was the nummus which had the inscription LXXII. I think this inscription means 72 nummi, and the solidus was reckoned at 7200 nummi. The coin with LXXII would be a nummus centenionalis because 100 nummi centenionales are a solidus of 7200 nummi. Nummi centenionales are nummi which were reckoned by the hundred.[82] It seems that the nummus centenionalis was struck also as a coin of smaller size.[83]

The pecunia maiorina would be a coin weighing about gr. 7.7, apparently the follis of Diocletian. I suppose that the coin described by Bernhardt with a weight of gr. 9-8.50 under the first successors of Constantine was also a piece of pecunia maiorina. It is very likely that by pecunia maiorina the passages of *Codex Theodosianus* understood also the folles of Diocletian.[84] Mattingly assumes that the

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 461. [82] See p. 271. [83] See p. 264.

[84] Edict of Valentinianus III (445), *Cod. Theod.*, XXV: "Quo praecepto etiam illud in perpetuum volumus contineri, ne unquam intra septem milia nummorum solidus distrahatur, emptus a collectario septem milibus dncentis." Mommsen proposes the correction, *infra*, Marquardt, II, 44. ~~Hultsch~~, *Metrologia*, p. 340, n. 2.

nummus centenionalis was a larger coin. If I understand properly, he believes that pecunia maiorina and nummus centenionalis could be considered to have had the same value.[85]

I believe that the larger coins which Mattingly calls centenionales are pecunia maiorina and presume that nummi centenionales could be the nummi circulating with the value of the pieces of LXXII nummi. As Mattingly says: "After Constantius II the centenionalis was restored under Gratian; the larger piece of Magnentius and Julian was for a time struck in mass, then suspended from issue, then in 395 withdrawn from circulation."[86] I think he is speaking of the pecunia maiorina, and not of the centenionales.[87] The pecunia maiorina disappeared. Thus the follis of Diocletian practically disappeared from circulation. It comes to us only in a number of great closed hoards. The same thing happened with the centenionalis[88] or pecunia maiorina in A. D. 356, with the pecunia maiorina in A. D. 395,

[85] Segrè, *Circolazione*, pp. 146, 147.

[86] In P Oxy 1920, l. 16 (VI c. A. D. end) the price of a pound of bread is 1/80 of an artaba of wheat of 40 choenices, which would correspond to a weight of 90 x 0.75 = 67.5 Roman pounds of wheat. Assuming 1 solidus = 10 artabas of wheat, the panis ostiensis at one nummus, in *Cod. Theod.*, XIV, 9, 1 (398) would give a solidus about 900 nummi, but the price of wheat in gold in this period is probably much higher—perhaps more than twice as high, if we suppose that the effects of the inflation of the fourth century were still persisting. The sizes of the loaves of bread we find in the ancient texts are generally about one pound. According to *Forschungen in Ephesos*, VII (1923), Oesterr. Arch. Inst., pp. 101 ff., inscr. 10, at the time of Trajan the current price of bread is 2 oboloi for a pound and an ounce, and for a pound and two ounces, while at a later period, which could belong as well to the time of Marcus Aurelius as to that of Caracalla, white bread is sold in loaves of 14 ounces at 4 oboloi, and the panis cibarius at 2 oboloi. These inscriptions show the use of loaves of bread of about one pound. The editors of the inscriptions, J. Keil and Broughton, in Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey*, IV, 879, fail to notice that, starting from the prices indicated in the inscriptions, which are probably expressed in the cystophoric standard of a drachm of 12 asses, an artaba of wheat in Ephesos in the time of Trajan would cost about 25-33 drachmas of the cystophoric standard, or 18 1/2—17 1/4 Roman denarii, or 74—69 Alexandrian drachmas. It is impossible that Ephesos had a normal price for wheat more than ten times higher than the Egyptian current prices at the same period. We may try to explain the prices of bread in Ephesos by supposing the use of a copper drachma in Ephesos whose rate of exchange with the silver drachma was about one silver drachma = about 10-6 copper drachmas. Very probably Ephesos in the second century A. D. still retained a copper drachma issued during one of the copper inflations peculiar to the Hellenistic period. See *Metrologia*, p. 516 ff.

[87] *Metrologia*, p. 447, gives a partly wrong interpretation of the texts, and does not consider the coins issued at the time of the reform of the year 348. Mickwitz, p. 82, did not improve our knowledge about the currency of this period.

[88] Fel. temp. reparatio, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, XIII (1933), 182 ff.

and with other coins which we cannot trace so clearly, e. g., the "aes dichoneutum" of the edict of A. D. 371, *Cod. Theod.*, XI, 21, 1.

From the passages of *Codex Theod.* on p. 269 we may suppose that in 349 the flaturari melted the follis of Diocletian because this coin, originally of 25 denarii, was valued too low compared with the centenionales reckoned at 72 units.[89] But in 356 the better folles, as well as the centenionales, were out of currency and in 395 the centenionalis circulated, and was the biggest silver coin allowed.[90]

I think the classification of the coins before the period of Constantine to the end of the fifth century is very imperfect. The coinage was very inaccurate and the small coins, decreasing in weight, are difficult to classify.[91]

While in Egypt, in the years about 350, we find extreme inflation,[92] in the Roman coinage we get the impression that the solidus from the time of Licinius was stabilized or semi-stabilized at 7200 nummi. But this stabilization came after a continuous devaluation of the bullion coins of the previous period.

If nummi and denarii were exchanged at a fixed rate, we could imagine a Roman inflation to some extent parallel to the Egyptian, but more extreme in the years from Diocletian to Licinius.[93]

Cod. Theod., IX, 23, 1 mentions a decargyrus nummus. I do not know whether it is a silver piece or not, as the name decargyrus may quite well apply to a white-washed copper coin.[94]

[89] P. 187.

[90] I do not agree with Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 196, n. 1, when he says that the evidence is, in the main, linguistic and is decisive; miliarensis and centenionalis should mean pieces of a hundred units; the converse use "one of a thousand parts" is secondary and rare. On the contrary, it was a peculiarity of the Diocletian and Byzantine coinage to reckon by units constituted from many coins. Typical examples, the folles. See *Metrologia*, pp. 483 ff.

[91] Mattingly, p. 194, says that the only "Fel. temporum reparatio" type that continued commonly in later circulation is the warrior spearing horsemen in its reduced size. All coins of the MB type are definitely very rare in site finds. As regards hoards, too, the larger "Fel. temp. reparatio" pieces of Constantine II and Constans are found only in closed hoards, usually mixed with coins of Magnentius and Decentius.

[92] See *Metrologia*, p. 447 and Mattingly, *loc. cit.*, p. 199.

[93] See p. 263. At the time of Licinius the follis with the metallic value of 5 denarii (see p. 263) had to be worth at least ten nummi. The identification of this reduced follis of 25 denarii (*ibid.*) with a follis of 25 nummi in the metropolitan coinage is not impossible.

[94] Georg Elmer, "Die Kupfergeldreform unter Julianus Philosophus," *Num. Zeitschr.*, N. F., XXV (1937), 24 ff., puts the introduction of the pecuniae maiorinae as whitewashed copper coins and of the centenionales as copper coins in the year 342, p. 26, and considers the reform of Julianus as a return to the coinage of Constantius II and Constans. The average weight of pecunia

We will try to summarize the rates of exchange of the solidus with folles nummi in order to show the difficulties and the problems. The possible order of size of the monetary units compared with the solidus is as follows:

Cod. Theod., VII, 20, 3 (320), about 7000 folles.
Cod. Theod., XIII, 3, 1 (321), probably less than 1000 nummi.
Group of inscriptions at the beginning of the Fourth Century, about 50 folles.
Cod. Theod., XIV, 4, 3 (363), about 360 folles.
Cod. Theod., XIV, 19, 1 (398), less than 900 nummi.
Cod. Theod., XIV, 4, 10 (419), about 3000 denarii.
Nov. Val. III (445), 7000-7200 nummi.

10. *The Byzantine Currency from the Fifth to the Seventh Century*

In Constantinople, in the time of Justinian and his successors, the solidus corresponded first to 180, then to 210, and at last to 288 folles. The follis or nummus corresponds to 40 *νούμμια*. The solidus passed successively from 7200 to 8400 and 1152 *νούμμια*. In the late sixth century the solidus stands at 288 folles. The *νούμμια* were very probably used also in Alexandria. In the time of Justinian we find these copper coins of 30 or 33 units of the same type as the copper coins of Constantinople of 40 *νούμμια*.

The coinage of the early period of Justinian and that of the fifth century could be linked as follows:

Auri libra.....	1					
aureus	72	1				
siliqua	1728	24	1			
nummus centenionalis...	7200	100	4 2/3	1		
follis	12960	180	12	1 9/10	1	
νούμμια	518.800	7200	300	72	40	1

maiorina, according to this author (502 pieces), is gr. 8.25, of the nummi centenionales (508 pieces), gr. 2.95. *Codex Theod.*, IX, 23, 1 allows many interpretations, because we do not know whether the nummus decargyrus was a legal coin or a forbidden one. We may suppose it belonged to the pecunia maiorina, which was not bought from the public but from the fiscus. If we give to *Cod. Theod.*, IX, 23, 1 this interpretation, we can imagine that the coin above the centenionalis was a piece of 100 nummi, and an *ἀργυροῦς* was a piece of 10 nummi of about 1 gram weight. If we try to explain nummus decargyrus as a silver piece we have no easy task. A siliqua with a solidus of 6000 denarii had been equal to 10 folles of 25 denarii. The nummi of 25 denarii could have received the name of *ἀργυροῖ*. This rate of exchange had been possible in Egypt about 330 (see p. 263). But outside of Egypt we know too little to justify a conjecture. We must conclude that we know very little about the currency of the fourth century outside of Egypt. The possibility of different sorts of reckoning and of inflation shows that we have many reasons for expecting very confusing figures.

[95] From the descriptions of J. W. E. Pierce, *The Roman coinage from*

In this case, before introducing the follis of 40 *νούμμια*, we must remember that the follis was a piece weighing 40/72 of the nummus centenionalis, of white-washed copper. If the name of follis is correct for the nummus of Diocletian we have to suppose a debasement of the follis from a piece of nearly 10 gr., worth 25 denarii, to a piece of nearly 3 gr., worth 40 nummia, perhaps equal to pieces called at other times nummi or denarii.

The monetary reform of Anastasius—the coining of big copper pieces of about 16 gr. as pieces of 40 nummia—was one of the poor deflationary measures of the Byzantine period.[96] The coinage of the siliqua worth CN = 250 *νούμμια* had very little monetary importance. We assume that these silver coins were siliquae, that silver was coined on a ratio of 7 2/5 with gold, and that the solidus was normally of 6000 nummia, but that the gold solidus rose in value, and that very probably the pieces of CN nummia were worth considerably less than a siliqua.[97] Still, I cannot say if we may call the piece of 250 units nummia a siliqua. The *κεράτιον* or siliqua is not a silver coin, but a gold reckoning unit of 1/24 solidus. I think that the miliarensis, which must have been originally 1/1000 of a gold pound, is the typical silver coin of the Byzantine age.[98]

The question whether or not the piece of CN is a siliqua is not a practical one. The piece CN was related to the denarius used in the Merovingian and Carolingian dominions.[99] In the time of Justinian the solidus was worth far more than 6000 nummia (*Metrologia,* p. 475). We found that 210-180 folles corresponded to 8400-7200 nummia. The piece with CN had to be 1/33.6–1/28.8 of a solidus. In the kingdom of the Franks it was fixed at 1/30 of a solidus. The CN pieces were reckoned, not as siliquae, but as 250 nummi, and the silver piece was very likely about 1/30 of a solidus.[100]

No doubt the Vandalic coinage was linked with the Roman. The first Vandalic coins of Gaiseric (428-77) are imitated from the mint of Honorius, and are pieces of the average weight, about 2 gr. In

A. D. 364 to 423 (London, 1933), p. 106, it seems that the type of coins that I should call centenionales were disappearing after the close of the fourth century.

[96] See note, p. 268.

[97] A follis of Diocletian (see p. 263) had a metallic value of about 1/150 of solidus of 4 *γράμματα*, corresponding to 48 nummi of 1/4200 of a solidus.

[98] It was not very important as a circulating medium. A. S. Robertson, "A Hoard of Theodosian coins from Daxton, Northants," *Num. Chron.* (1936), p. 160, shows the absolute predominance of the smallest coins after 395.

[99] See, for attempts at classification, Bernhardt, *Handbuch für Münzkunde der röm. Kaiserzeit* (1926), pp. 35 ff. Mattingly, *Numismatic Chroniele,* XIII, 199 ff., J. W. E. Pierce, *op. cit.*,

[100] A. Segrè, *Riv. stor.*, IV (1931), 20 ff.

the same period Carthage struck pieces of XLII nummi after 539 A. D. Silver coins are still imitations of the Roman coins until under Gunthamund (484-86) the coinage of the pieces of 100 denarii begins. The Vandalic coins of the period about 500 A. D., if they are issued with the same relation to basic metals as the Byzantine coinage of the time of Justinian, show that a gold solidus was worth about 1440 denarii.[101]

E. Albertini, "Actes de vente au Ve siècle," *Journal des Savants* (1930), p. 28, where in the year 494 the solidus is worth 1400 folles,[102] leads us to assume that follis and denarius had the same or nearly the same value in Africa about the end of the fifth century.

Copper coins from 428 are represented by pieces of N XLII, of about 12 scruples, and smaller pieces of N XXI (6 scruples), XII (3.6 scruples), IIII (1.2 scruples) and by very small pieces[103] that range from the weight of the piece of IIII down to one-quarter of that weight.[104]

We do not know how the follis is linked with the nummia. If, as is very possible, the nummi are about the same pieces as the nummia which we find in the earlier coinage of Justinian, we can imagine the following division of the solidus:

Solidus	1				
Miliarensis	14	1			
piece of 40 *νούμμια*.....	175	12 1/2	1		
follis denarius.....	1400	100	8	1	
piece of 4 *νούμμια*.....	1750	125	10	1 1/4	
νούμμιον	7000	500	40	4	1

We conclude that in Africa in 494 the follis was very likely worth a denarius.[105] It may be that in Africa the inflation was carried on with the equivalence of the solidus to an always increasing number of folles, while the follis represented by a white-washed copper coin

[101] *Metrologia*, p. 481. The same folles are very likely mentioned in Augustinus, Sermo 389, 3 (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, XXXIX, 1704). 100 folles are a part of a solidus. I think that the solidus of Augustine was about 1400 folles, as in the Vandalic coinage. The same folles occur in Augustinus, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8, 9 (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, XLI, 765).

[102] "Auri solidum unum et fol(les) septingentos aureos obbrediacos ponderi plenos unum semis, quod solidum unum et folles septingentos venditores in se susceperunt." The date of the document is 493-496.

[103] *Metrologia*, pp. 425 ff.; Coins of the Vandals BMC 1911, introd., pp. xxii ff. The last copper coins with the sign of the value are struck under Huneric 477-484.

[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 475 ff.

[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 477 ff. Mickwitz, p. 92, quotes me inexactly (*Metrologia*, p. 481) and concludes that a follis = 2 denarii.

was continuously reduced in value.[106] If we compare the different currencies of the Byzantine periods, we see that they have many important common features. They use as a fixed unit the solidus of 4 γράμματα of gold. They use very small silver coins generally as token coins, and the chief bullion coins are represented by the small white-washed copper coins until the ends of the fifth century, and later also by some larger copper coins of the type of the follis of Justinian. All this currency started from the new organization of Diocletian and Constantine.

In Egypt we find that the number of nummi in the solidus was increasing, but in the period between 330 and the seventh century we cannot find any certain relation between the Egyptian and the Byzantine circulation of Constantinople, although the coins are nearly the same. Generally speaking, we may say that the Byzantine inflation went in two different directions.

Starting with the equation solidus = A folles = AB denarii, we find in some currencies an inflation beginning with an increasing number of folles and another with an increasing number of denarii. But everywhere the product AB was increasing very fast. Although the coins were about the same in the western as in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire, we see quite different systems of reckoning. It may be that these peculiarities did not affect trade very much because for larger transactions the traders used gold and silver bars or νομίσματα.

APPENDIX I

The P Oxy 2106

In P Oxy 2106, the Prefect of Egypt sends an epistle to the magistrates, the senators, and the logistes of Oxyrhynchos, giving them the order to collect 38 pounds of gold to be delivered at Nicomedia. People who are citizens of Oxyrhynchos and have property are bound to pay according to their means. The rationalis Aegypti provides that those who bring gold get the exchange of 100,000 denarii for a pound.[1]

P Oxy 2106 appeared to the Edd. to belong to the time of Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century. I think that further evidence shows that the document was written shortly before August 2, 304.

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[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 477 ff.

[1] Ll. 20 ff.: δέκα μυριάδων δηλαδὴ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης λίτρας ἀριθμουμένων τοῖς παρέχου[σ]ιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμιείου, means that the καθολικός tried to give to everybody who wanted to change gold for denarii the possibility of doing so. It is not very probable that people were eager to exchange gold for denarii. I imagine they tried to pay denarii instead of gold, and that the officials tried to collect gold as they could.

The price of a pound of gold was 50,000 denarii in the year 301, Ed. d. p. r. v., xxx, 1[a] and 125,000 denarii in 307.[2] As the denarius was steadily falling.[3]

The date August 2, 304, seems extremely probable because Diocletian was in Nicomedia between the beginning of 304, and his abdication there on May 1, 305. The letter of the prefect was written before August 2, 304, and thirty days later (September 1, 304), the gold was sent to Nicomedia through Alexandria.

Why did Diocletian need gold in Nicomedia? We know that he was asking continuously for money for his great public expenses,[4] but we can get a more accurate answer from Vaglieri, *Dizionario epigrafico di De Ruggiero*, p. 1862: "Indubbiamente al suo sentimento d'orientale occorreva che Nicomedia, la capitale dell' Oriente [Oriens Aug(usti) et Augustorum duorum nelle monete, Cohen, n. 349-354], uguagliasse in magnificenza Roma stessa (Lact. 7, 10) onde a malgrado dei terremoti che la sconvolgevano (Lact. 7, 9) non solo vi aveva edificato quanto le necessità dello stato richiedevano, ma anche eretto costruzioni di carattere semplicemente lussuoso. Tali dovevano essere i palazzi per la moglie e la figlia, le basiliche e il circo inaugurato alla fine di novembre del 304 (Lact. 7, 9, 17, 4; Vaglieri, *ibid.*, p. 1907), non meno degni di ricordo sono i restauri eseguiti di uno dei quali è cenno in C. III 324."

The prefect who sent the letter must be Clodius Culcianus.

In P Oxy 2106 gold had to be raised as aurum coronarium,[5] as appears from the aim of the contribution and from the formulation of the epistula.

In P Oxy 2106 those *ξένοι* were exempted from payment who did not have a permanent home (l. 16), *ἐφέστιον* = domicilium in the town. *καὶ μηδέπω ἐπολιτεύσαντο εὔποροί τε ὄντες τυγχάνουσιν* means to have the *ἰδία* = origo outside of Oxyrhynchos.[6] On the contrary, we infer that everybody who was *εὔπορος* and had a domicilium in Oxyrhynchos and had been curialis had to pay the aurum coronarium. We can attempt to give an idea of the amount of the aurum coronarium Egypt had to pay. We can perhaps calculate it at about 1000 pounds gold.[7]

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[2] P SI IV 310 (307); A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 438.

[3] Lact. *De mort. persecutorum*, 7, 6: "Idem cum variis iniquitatibus inmensam facent caritatem, legem pretiis rerum venalium statuere conatus est. tunc ob exigua et vilia multus sanguis effusus, nec venale quisquam metu apparebat et caritas multo deterius exarsit, donec lex necessitate ipsa post multorum exitium solveretur." We have to suppose that the date of the document must be a couple of years before 307.

[4] Lact., *op. cit.*, 7, 4.

[5] See Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Aurum Coronarium* (Kubitschek).

[6] The translation of the Edd. of *πολιτεύοντες* as senators is not right. See *C. Theod.*, XII, 13, 2 (364). Here *πολιτεύοντες* means to have been *πολιτευόμενος* = curialis. This is the first occurrence of the word in papyri. *P Oxy* 2106 would be in harmony with *Cod. Theod.*, XII, 13, 2 and XII, 13, 3.

[7] We calculate the number of the Egyptian *νόμοι* in the time of Diocletian at about 30, and consider the Oxyrhynchites as an average nomos in wealth. For the number of the nomoi see Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens*, pp. 1 ff. I know that this calculation is very conjectural.

I assume that P Oxy 2106 was translated from a Latin edict,[8] and very probably the edict was directed at least to the part of the Empire under the rule of Diocletian.

APPENDIX II

Modius castrensis, purchasing power of money and taxation

A. E. R. Boak's article, "Some early Byzantine tax records from Egypt," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LI, 35-60, following other documents from the same collection edited by the same writer in *Études de Papyrologie*, II (1933), 1-22; III (1936), 1-45 and V (1939), 85-117, is of special interest for the history of Byzantine financial administration. Three main points in the documents published by Boak furnished the reason for this Appendix II. They refer to: (a) the determination of the capacity of the modius castrensis; (b) the purchasing power of money in the years following the abdication of Diocletian; (c) the manner in which some Byzantine taxes were levied at the beginning of the Fourth Century A. D.

In Cairo, *Journal d'entrée*, M. 57030B (312 A. D.), Boak, "Early Byz. Tax Records," No. 4, gives an account of the sitos of some sitologoi of Karanis. I think Boak, p. 56, has given an inaccurate explanation of the items in the accounts, owing to an incorrect use of Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 35. The items of the accounts may be schematized as follows:

l. 42, pistikion, 2850 lbs., at 100 lbs. per artaba	28 1/2	artabas
l. 44, pistikion, 4528 lbs., at 75 lbs. per artaba	58 1/2 1/24	"
l. 45, pistikion, 515 lbs., at 78 114/157 per artaba	6 1/2 1/24	"

l. 50, to the amount of 65 talents, at the rate of 100 denarii for the modius castrensis, 297 1/2 1/12 artabas.

I understand that the account refers to an adaeratio of fresh spelt, of which 100 pounds in l. 42, 75 pounds in l. 44, and 78 114/157 pounds in l. 45, corresponded in value to an artaba of wheat. I think the document refers to an adaeratio, but in any case it is certain that the librae[1] do not refer to an indication of the capacity of the artaba. First, because artabas of different capacity would not be added together without a reduction to a common standard; second, because there is no artaba known of 75 and of 79 114/157 librae;[2] third, because, in the case of ll. 42 ff., we would not meet equations of a measure of capacity of 48 choenices of wheat with a weight of 100 librae; fourth because, when an artaba is mentioned in Byzantine papyri without further indication, we understand always the artaba of 40 choenices.[3] The

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[8] More than the words that appear were originally Latin; it is the construction of the phrases that gives the impression of a Latin original, and l. 27, *μεθ' ἃ ῥωμαϊκά*, at the end of the text.

[1] *Πιστίκιον* means fresh spelt, as pointed out by Prof. A. Ch. Johnson (see Edict. d. p. r. v., I, 7).

[2] See A. Segrè, *Studi ital. d. Filol. classica*, IX, 1 (1931), 115, containing a more complete table of the Egyptian artabas than *Metrologia*, p. 505, quoted by Boak. An artaba of 36 choenices which would correspond to 75 Alexandrian litrai is unknown in Egypt.

[3] See A. Segrè, *Metrologia*, pp. 29 ff.

artaba of 40 choenices as we know it corresponds to 3 1/3 modii italici of 8.733 liters.[4]

In l. 45, 65 talents at the rate of 100 denarii for the modius castrensis, 297½ 1/12 artabas, give the equation artaba = 3,313 modii castrenses.

I think that we may safely assume that the small difference of the artaba = 3,313 instead of 3,333 is due to a small inaccuracy in the accounts of the sitologoi.

It then follows that the artaba of 40 choenices corresponds to 3 1/3 modii castrenses, and that the modius castrensis of the edict of Diocletian is the modius italicus of 8.733 liters. This result, though unexpected, is absolutely certain. It may now be confirmed by evidence which was not appreciated as long as we were misled by the distorted texts of Heron.[5] Now we recognize the importance of the texts which assert that the iugerus castrensis was the ordinary iugerus divided into 3 modii castrenses.[6] Here the iugerus castrensis corresponds to the amphora of 26.20 liters or to the Roman cubic foot, while the modius castrensis is the modius italicus. The equation modius castrensis = modius italicus is supported by the evidence in the edict of Diocletian. The measures most used in the edict are the castrensis modius, the sestarius italicus, the italicus pondus. The italicus modius appears very seldom.[7]

There is no doubt that Diocletian, in the Edict d. p. r. v., used Roman measures, because the edict had to be applied to the whole Roman Empire. The latinization of the Empire in the epoch of Diocletian, chiefly on a military basis, is generally admitted. The use of modius castrensis instead of modius italicus may be considered as a sort of symbol of the unification of the Empire on a Latin military basis.

The second point which aroused my interest is the evidence of prices in Nr. 2, *Journal d'entrée*, No. 57037, A. D. 315. The Komarchs of Karanis receive from a shipmaster, who brings barley to Alexandria for horse breeders (see pp. 43 ff.), 13 tal. 2000 dr. for 80 artabs of barley, i. e., 10,000 dr. for an artaba of barley. The price of barley in this P Boak 2 is the same as that given for 314 A. D. by PER E 2000. Boak is right in stating that the prices of barley and wheat in this period were the same, i. e., that the usual relation of 2 : 5 between barley and wheat was absolutely disregarded. At this time, i. e., about 316, a solidus was worth about 3500 denarii; in 315 we may assume

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 29 ff.

[5] This statement does not agree with this passage of Heron in Hulsch, *Metrol. script. reliqua*, p. 204, where the text is badly interpolated and the figures distorted. My conclusions in *Metrologia*, p. 89, derived from the above passage of Heron, are inaccurate. The passage of Heron was still less reliable than I supposed. Also, my argument in *Metrol.*, p. 442, n. 2, was wrong. The price of sinapis confecta quoted there from the Ed. p. r. v. is lower than the price of sinapis. Looking at the Ed. d. p. r. v., we may observe that the better qualities of the commodity precede the inferior ones. This argument shows that my conclusions in *Metrol.*, p. 442, n. 2, were wrong.

[6] Hultsch, *Metrol. script.*, p. 243, under iugerus, *ibid.*, p. 126, l. 7.

[7] I think that italicus modius in Ed. d. p. r. v., I § 6, 20, 23, 25 does not mean a modius different from the castrensis modius. In I § 6, the prices of commodities are all expressed with a price for a number or with ital. modius. The italicus modius is here translated in Greek by *ἰταλικὸς μόδιος* (6, 23 and 6, 25), and with *μόδιος* in 6, 20.

about 3000 denarii; and a libra auri about 216,000 denarii. The statement of Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, pp. 90-100, that a pound of gold was equivalent to 1,404,000 denarii, and accepted by Boak, is wrong.[8] The price of an artaba of wheat as well as the artaba of barley about this time, with a solidus at about 3000 denarii = 12,000 drachmas, was 1/1⅕ solidus.

This price in gold is about ten times the price of the Byzantine period after the crisis of the Constantinian age,[9] and I think it is connected with the utterly ruinous economic conditions of the Roman Empire. This sort of economic nightmare was initiated about the period of Claudius II,[10] and lasted until the second half of the fourth century, i. e., about a century.[11]

The last but not the least important point which aroused my interest was the interpretation of the reference to the edict of Diocletian in No. 4, l. 50. The price of a modius castrensis in gold is 1/500 of a libra auri.[12] An artaba of 40 choenices costs 1/150 of a libra auri according to the prices of the edict. Taking as standard the solidus of 4 grammata of the Byzantine period, an artaba of wheat cost 1/2½ solidi. This price,[13] according to A. Segrè, *Circolazione Monetaria* (1920), pp. 106, 107, is about five times the price in gold of the later Byzantine period.

Now, in document No. 4 it appears that some taxes which had been assessed in money at the time of the edict, in 301 A. D., were not altered by the inflation of the years immediately following the edict. People went on paying according to the prices of the year 301, but they had to convert their tributes to the State in wheat at the rate of 100 denarii = modius castrensis. In other words, the people, who were taxed with 1000 denarii in 301, still had to pay 1000 denarii in 304. This sum in 304 (P Oxy 2106) was equal to half as much in gold as it had been in 301. Nevertheless, the people went on paying 1000 denarii in 304, but had to convert them into 10 modii castrenses fixed by the Edict d. p. r. v. of 301. This meant that some taxes were assessed with key numbers expressed in money based on the edict of Diocletian, but they were paid in natura with the adaeratio 100 denarii = a modius castrensis of wheat. Although this system of assessment does not seem usual in Egypt, it appears to me that it may throw a new light on the edict of Diocletian. Very probably Diocletian was much concerned with the financial problems of meeting the growing public expenses. His financial system was already caught in a highly inflationary movement which could hardly be checked. In his edict he shows a concern for the consumers, but to our modern eyes this looks more like a demagogic attempt to place the responsibility of the failure of his economic policies on the producers and traders. On the other hand, we can understand that he needed a fixed scale to reckon with in his financial assessments. The edict gave him the possibility of using a basis for his budget.

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[8] For the evidence of the rate of exchange of gold with denarii, see p. 250.
[9] A. Segrè, *Circolazione monetaria* (1920), pp. 106, 107.
[10] See *Metrologia*, p. 432 and pp. 535 ff.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 452 ff. and pp. 535 ff.
[12] The libra of gold in the edict of Diocletian corresponds to 50,000 denarii.
[13] *Circolazione monetaria*, pp. 106, 107.

THE LEGISLATION OF JUSTINIAN IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAPYRI[1]

By RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG

In the year 529, the Emperor Justinian published the draft of a Codex of which fragments are preserved in an Egyptian papyrus.[2] In the following years, the publication of the three law-books (*Codex, Digesta*, and *Institutiones*) and of a series of Novels took place. Let us consider in what degree practice reacted to these law-books.

1. We start with the *law of slavery*. In a large number of contracts from the late Byzantine epoch drawn up by slaves on behalf of their masters, the slave representing his master characterizes himself as οἰκέτης τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος (stipulantis) καὶ προσποριζων τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχήν.[3] Already Mitteis [4] had recognized that in these contracts Justinian's constitution *C* 14, 8, 37 was applied. According to that text, it often happened that, in such contracts, debtors alleged that the representative was really an unfree person or the slave of the creditor in whose name he acted. In order to prevent such subterfuges the constitution decides: "tales scripturas omnifariam esse credendas et sive adscriptus fuerit servus et ad quandam personam dicitur pertinere credi omnimodo et servum adesse et fecisse stipulationem et eam esse scripto domino adquisitam et non dubitari, si servus ipse praesto fuerit vel eius domini fuit is, pro qua scriptus est fecisse stipulationem." Taking into account this *praesumptio iuris et de iure* in our contracts, an *adscriptio* is made indicating whose slave the contractor is; by this *adscriptio* the *praesumptio* is justified.[5]

[1] I publish this article at the request of the editor-in-chief, Professor Henri Grégoire. It is based on chapter IV of my work "Geschichte der Rezeption des römischen Privatrechts in Aegypten," *Studi in onore di P. Bonfante*, I, 420 ff.; I have completed it only by adding the later literature and sources.

[2] Oxy 1814 (529 A. D.); Schultz, "Ein Blatt aus einem antiken Exemplar des Codex Justinianus," *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, LI (1931), 417-421, shows that no real reason has yet been given for the attribution of the fragment published by A. Segrè, *Studi Bonfante*, III, 429-430, to the first edition of the Codex. Where its text probably differed from our modern text the latter is conjectural, and early corruption is possible; see also Schönbauer, *Aegyptus*, XIII (1933), 633.

[3] Oxy 133-139 (550-612 A. D.); Lond III 774-777, p. 278-281 (552-582 A. D.); Jand 48, 49 (582-619 A. D.); Oxy 1976 (582 A. D.)

[4] Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 263; Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, pp. 266-267.

[5] Concerning the position of the slave in this epoch: the slave as representative of his master: Lond V, 1701 (VI A. D.); Grenf II 97 (VI A. D.); Amh 157 (612 A. D.); concerning the acquisition by the slave on behalf of the master:

If Cair. Masp. I 67.089 = III 67.294 falls under this heading,[6] this deed offers an illustration of a *manumissio per epistolam*. Justinian prescribes that such an emancipation must be accomplished by means of a document signed by five witnesses. In our document these five witnesses are missing; but we have to take into consideration that it contains only a draft in which even the signature of the deponent is not given. Otherwise it corresponds to the requirements fixed by Justinian's law for a *manumissio per epistolam* [7] because it contains the execution of a letter in which the intention of an emancipation is expressed.[8, 9]

2. The practice concerning *marital law* is in a high degree influenced by Justinian's legislation. The possessor of the power over the children concludes their marriages; [10] they are sometimes preceded by *sponsalia* with *arra sponsalicia*, as is usual in Justinian's legislation as well as prior to it.[11] The marriage is accomplished either ἐκ μόνης

Cair. Masp. I 67.089 — III 67.294[27-28]; see Wenger, "Ein christliches Freiheitszeugnis in den ägyptischen Papyri," p. 471; an allusion to the Sc. Claudianum in v. 12: see Wenger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 464-465. In the later document a "homo bona fide serviens" is involved, cf. Wenger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 468-469; in respect of his legal position, cf. Riccobono, "Dal dir. rom. class. al dir. med.," *Ann. d. sem. giur. Palermo*, III-IV, 679. A law-suit dealing with emancipation brought before a bishop is mentioned in SB 6097 (Byz. epoch).

[6] Cf, the objections of Wenger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 465 ff., 475, concerning the *manumissio per epistolam*. See Ferrari, "Form. not.," *Bull. ist. stor. ital.*, XI, 119, Steinwenter, "Latini Juniani," *RE* XII, p. 918.

[7] C. 1, § 1, C. 7, § 6; cf. also § 1; Inst I, 5 (see fr. Dosith 15 and Wlassak, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXVI (1905), 422, note 2; XXVIII (1907), 12). The pre-Justinian law required that the manumissor take cognizance of the emancipation; Justinian does away with such a requirement; in our case there is no mention of such a cognizance (see Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 476).

[8] The intention of emancipation of the slave is in Cair. Masp. 67.089, 35 expressed in an imperative mood, by the word γινέσθω ἐλευθέρα or ἔστω ἐλευθέρα, which corresponds to the Roman: *Stichus liber esto* or *liberum esse iubeo*, cf. Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 476.

[9] Otherwise we find also an emancipation by will in Cair. Masp. III 67.312[99-104], where the *peculium* remains with the slave. A *peculium* is mentioned also with the division of an inheritance in Cair. Masp. III 67.313[64-68]. In Cair. Masp. II 67.314 I[20-29-33], III[18], ἐτήσιον πεκούλιον is used in a different sense.

[10] Cair. Masp. I 67.006 verso[14] ff.: ἠγάγετ? ὁ προειρημένος τῷ προειριμέν[ῳ] ὑπεξουσίῳ υἱῷ Ἀφοῦτι—νυμφίῳ τὴν προηριμέν(ην). Cf. my article *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXVII (1916), 218.

[11] CPR 30[5] = M. Chrest. 290 (VI cent. A. D.); as concerns χιρολάβιον

διαθέσεως [12] or confirmed, according to Nov. 117, c. 4,[13] by the establishment of a dowry [14] or by taking an oath.[15] The dowry is in legal theory the property of the husband, and with Justinian *naturaliter* the property of the wife.[16] In the matter of legal relations concerning the dowry, the marriage contracts point simply to the provisions of Justinian's codification.[17]

The s. c. *ἰσόπροικον* also occurs in the papyri.[18] As part of it, the *donatio propter nuptias* identified with the *ἔδνα* appears.[19] Occasion-

mentioned in Cair. Masp. 67.006 verso[9] (comp. Tertul., *de vel. virg.*, c. 10) see Mitteis, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXI (1910), 392 ff.

[12] Lond 1711[57-58] (566-573 A. D.) where a *donatio propter nuptias* is arranged after the conclusion of marriage; cf. § 3 Inst. II, 7; Theoph., *Paraphr.*, II, 7, 3; Nov. 117, c. 3, 4; as concerns *consensus maritalis*: Cair. Masp. 67.006 verso[7-131]; CPR I 30 II[14]. Cf. Nov. 22, c. 3 *Γάμον μὲν διάθεσις ἀμοιβαία ποιεῖ*. See Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1915), p. 429; Pringsheim, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLII (1921), 284; Arangio Ruiz, *Istituzioni*[2], p. 400; as concerns the conception *διάθεσις*, see Drüffel, *Pap. Stud.*, 32.

[13] *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ νόμον πρώην ἐξεφωνήσαμεν κελεύοντα—ἢ ἄλλας συστάσεις προιέναι—δι' ὧν τοὺς γάμους προσήκει βεβαιοῦσθαι ἢ γοῦν ὅρκους παρέχεσθαι*, see Zachariae, *Jus. gr. rom.*, IV, 228, scholion of the emperor Leo, 56: *Ὁ μεθ' ὅρκου ἐν τάξει γαμετῆς προσλαβόμενος γυναῖκα.*

[14] Cair. Masp. 67.006 verso[111-114] (VI cent. A. D.); CPR I[6] (VI cent. A. D.); Cair. Masp. III 67.340 recto[9.7] (Justinian's epoch); Lond 1676[10] (566-573 A. D.); Oxy 1261[6-17] (572 A. D.); Lond 1731[18] (585 A. D.); as concerns *προικῶα συμβολαία*, see Nov. 117, c. 4; as concerns the pretended documentary authentication of *corporalis traditio* in regard of real estates belonging to the dowry in Cair. Masp. 67.006 verso[74] ff., see Druffel, *Papyrusstudien*, p. 61; Steinwenter, *Urkundenwesen*, p. 55, note 2.

[15] Cair. Masp. I 67.002[8] (553 A. D.): *καὶ ὅρκον ἀποθέσθαι μοι τῇ εἰρημένῃ Εἰρήνῃ ὅτι λαμβάνω [σ]ε εἰς γυναῖκα.* See also PSJ 643 ff. (VI cent. A. D.), a promise on oath of a wife: *συνπαραμενεῖν σύν σοι συνοικ[ήσουσά σοι] ὡς γνησ[ία] γαμετὴ κτλ.*

[16] C. 30, C. 5, 12, see Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1915), p. 439; comp. the consent of the husband in regard to the dispositions of the dowry by the wife in Oxy 1261[6-17]; [23-24] (572 A. D.).

[17] CPR 30 I 23: *οἱ δὲ ὡς εἰκὸς συμβησόμενοι κάσοι διαβεβαιωθήσονται πρὸς τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς κειμένοις νόμοις*; Cair. Masp. 67.006, V[112-114]; see Partsch, *loc. cit.* As concerns the restitution of the dowry in case of the dissolution of marriage, see Lond V, 1731[18] (585 A. D.).

[18] CPR 30 I[10]; Lond 1708[115]; Cair. Masp. III 67.340 recto [4-7]: *ἀντὶ τῶν παραχωρηθέντων παρ' αὐτῆς τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὶ νομισμάτων*; cf. Nov. 97.

[19] Lond V 1711[19-20] (566-573 A. D.) see Scherillo, "Studi sulla donazione nuziale," *Riv. di stor. d. dir. ital.* (1929), pp. 476 ff.; 1708[116] (567 A. D.) = Cair. Masp. 167.151[169] (570 A. D.). See Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLII (1920), 312, comp. also Cair. Masp. 67.006 verso[19-73] and Mitteis, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXI (1910), 393. As concerns the terminology *πρὸ γάμου δωρεά*

ally, when questions of inheritance connected with it are discussed, the papyrus makes reference to a *diva constitutio* and it is evident that Nov. 98, c. 1 (539 A. D.), is meant.[20]

In the same way the law of divorce follows the rules of Justinian.[21] In Oxy 129 = M. Chr. 296 (VI cent. A. D.), the father, as the possessor of the power over his daughter, secures her divorce according to the law since, in Justinian's Code, unilateral divorce is also admissible, when good reasons occur, it may be supposed that the *repudium* contained in this papyrus was in order. Precise motives are not mentioned but their existence is indicated: *ἔκθεσμα πράγματα*.[22] The divorce often takes place by mutual agreement,[23] just as it is allowed by Justinian's codification until Nov. 117 (542 A. D.), and then according to Nov. 140 (566 A. D.).[24] The divorcing parties as a rule reserve for themselves the right to remarry.[25] They regulate also the question of the

= donatio ante nuptias (not propter nuptias), cf. Kreller, *Erbr. Unt.*, p. 268, note 5; this terminology is also preserved in § 3 Inst. II, 7. Otherwise *ἔδνα* are mentioned: Lond 1712[13], 1725[13], 1713[25] = Flor 93 = M. Chrest 297; Cair. Masp. 67.003 (522 A. D.) see Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1911), p. 311. As concerns the alienation of *ἔδνα* in Cair. Masp. 67.088, cf. Pringsheim, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, LIV (1923), 555.

[20] Cat. Masp. 67.006 verso[117-139]; see Mitteis, *Grundz.*, p. 230; Kreller, *Erbr. Unters.*, p. 236; Scherillo, *loc. cit.*, p. 481. As regards Cat. Masp. I 67.005[12] where it has the character of a provision of a widow and where it is separated after the husbands death, see Kreller, *loc. cit.* pp. 25-26.

[21] Nov. 22 C. 19.

[22] Cf. Mitteis, *Hermes*, XXXIV (1899), 105; differently Volterra, "Il pap. Oxy 129 e la 5 C de spons. 5, 1," *Studi doc.*, III (1937), 135-139.

[23] Cair. Masp. 67.155 (VI cent. A. D.); 154 R. (Justin. epoch); 153 = 253 (568 A. n.); Lond 1712 and Flor 93 = M. Chr. 297 = Lond 1713 (569 A. D.); Cair. Masp. 311 (569-70 A. D.); Cair. Masp. 121 (573 A. D.) see Levy, *Ehescheidung*, p. 123$_7$; cf. P. Nessana, *Inv.*, p. 14 (*divortium bona gratia* according to Nov. Justini, A. D. 566, ed. Kraemer-Lewis, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LXIX (1938), 117-133).

[24] In respect to these Novels, Bonfante, *Corso d. dir. rom.*, I, 267. As a cause of divorce, the *πονηρὸς δαίμων* is mentioned in Cair. Masp. 154 recto[9]; Flor 93$_{13}$ and Cair. Masp. 311[15]; see Libanius (ed. Förster) *Decl.*, 46, VII, 558: *δαίμων πονηρὸς τῇ συζυγίᾳ φθονεῖ* see Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXIV (1913), 443; Nov. Just. 140 pr. (566 A. D.) *ὡς μήποτε σκαιοῦ δαίμονος ἔργον τούτους γενέσθαι*. In an other sense Zachariae, *Ius gr. rom.*, IV, 75, Ecl. ad. Proch. mut., III, 3 *εἰ δὲ συμβῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἕνα μετὰ τὸν γάμον ὑπὸ δαίμονος κυριευθῆναι*; as concerns *πονηρὸς δαίμων*, see Wenger, *Volk u. Staat*, p. 50.

[25] Cair. Masp. 67.153 recto[23] (Justinian's epoch); Cair. Masp. 153[23] (568 A. D.); Lond 1712[17] (569 A. D.); Cair. Masp. 121[11] (573 A. D.). An illustration is offered by Lond 1731[10] (585 A. D.): only in Cat. Masp. 121 (573 A. D.) the alternative law is established (v. 11): *ἢ συναφθῆναι ἑτέρῳ*

maintenance of their children, and generally the father [26] assumes this duty, according to Nov. 117, c. 7. In one case the emperor Justinian rules [27] that whatever the *pater binubus* had given to his first wife should be restored; and that, as regards his own property, the constitution of the Emperor Leo may be applied, according to which the *pater binubus* should not give to his second wife more than he has given to one of the children issued from his first marriage.

3. In the field of *guardianship* Justinian's dispositions are only partly observed. The guardian is regularly appointed in the will.[28] He represents the minor [29] with respect to his "business intentions and his honesty," [30] and is obliged to give an accounting.[31] But one

γάμῳ καὶ ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἢ [ε]ἰς μοναστήριον ἀνελθεῖν ἢ εἰς μονήρη β[ίον] [ἐ]λέσθαι; the latter was, according to the Nov. 117 C. 10, obligatory; see on the whole Bonfante, *Corso*, I, 268.

[26] Lond 1731[11] (585 A. n.): the father takes the costs of the maintenance upon him, the child remaining with the mother. Lond 1712[26-29] (569 A. D.): he takes the child with him. Lond 1713[28] = Flor I 93 = M. Chrest. 297 (569 A. D.), see Solazzi, *BIDR*, XXXV (1927), 305, note 4, he presents his children with a house. In Cair. Masp. 154 recto[25-27] is established: ἔδοξεν αὐτὸν εἶναι μέσον ἀμφοτέρων, cf. the provisions in the former documents: Oxy 906[5-7]; also Bas 6 (Antoninus Pius) see introduction; on the whole see Costa, *Studi Romani*, II, 25.

[27] In regard to the relations between the guardianship and curatorship cf. my "Rezeption," p. 409. The meaning of φρονρὶς in Cat. Masp. 67.026[5] is not clear; we do not know whether it deals with *cura* or simply with fostering relationship; see Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1911), pp. 227, 233; *Arch. f. Pap.*, V, 529; Peters, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXII, (1911), 306; Solazzi, "Studi sul concorso dei creditori n. d. r.," *Studi sc. g. e. soc. Pavia*, IX (1925), 60 ff.; Lond V, 1676[9] (566-573 A. D.) deals probably with a curatorship.

[28] Cair. Masp. 151[228-261].

[29] Ross. V, 42[3-4] (569/570): τῶν ἀφηλίκ[ω]ν δ[ιὰ ἐπιτρόπου χρηματίζοντες; Lond 1724[3-11] (578-582 A. D.): ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Τσίας—διὰ τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας. We have perhaps to deal with a representation of the ἀφήλικες in Lond 1695 (531(?) A. D.), v. introd.; see also the passage in Cair. Masp. 67.026[1]: παῖδες ἐπὶ νέας ἡλικίας. As concerns νέα ἡλικία, see Nov. Just. 155 (ed. Schöll-Kroll, p. 731, 7); see Peters, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXII (1911), 304 note.

[30] Lond 1724[2-8]: προαίρεσις καὶ γνώμη. As concerns γνώμη in Nov. 22, c. 18, see Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1915), pp. 434-435; if the relatives in Cair. Masp. 67.005[19], of whom the applicant says: ἔκδοτος ἐγενάμην (j'ai été donnée en mariage) μετὰ γνώμης τῶν ἐμῶν θείων περιόντων [cf. Lond 1676[8] (566-573 A. D.): συνήψατο με . . . τῇ αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ] were guardians, we would have an example where a pupil is given in marriage by the guardian.

[31] Cair. Masp. 151[228-261]; as concerns "aneclogistas esse volo," which we

a monk discharges as a guardian,[32] which is absolutely inadmissible in Justinian's codification.[33]

Justinian's codification prevails in the field *of the law of inheritance*. This fact is particularly proved by Byzantine private wills.[34] Since their form follows accurately the dispositions of Theodosius's law (439 A. D.),[35] which is repeated in Justinian's Code, their internal style corresponds to Justinian's legal language.[36] This is evident from two detailed *clausulae codicillares* contained in such wills, the *confirmatio codicillorum* and the formulation of the *institution* of the heirs.[37] The dispositions which we find in the papyri are generally identical with those of the pre-Justinian epoch: *exheredationes*,[38]

find also in P Berol. 7124 I13 (131 A. D.), see Kreller, *Erbr. Untersuchungen*, p. 289.

[32] Cair. Masp. II 67.151233 see Solazzi, "Sul Sc. di Gaio I 82," *Atti Acc. Torino*, LIV (1919), 957 note. This is perhaps popular law which influenced the statements of the Ecl. VII, 1 (Zachariae, *Coll. lib. jur. gr. rom.*, p. 29); see Zachariae, *Geschichte d. gr. r. Rechts*3, pp. 122 ff.

[33] Nov. 123, c. 5 (546 A. D.).

[34] *Test. trip.*, Cat. Masp. 67.312 (567 A. D.); 67.151 (570 A. D.); 67.324; see also Oxy 1901 (VI cent. A. D.); Lond I 77, p. 231 (late VI cent. A. D.) belongs to the special form of *test. ruri conditum*; see Kreller, *op. cit.*, p. 332. Public wills from this period are not extant. In respect to Oxy 1829 (577/9 A. D.), where such a will could be supposed see p. Meyer, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLVI (1926), 32; as regards Cair. Masp. 67.151, see Steinwenter, *Urkundenwesen*, p. 73. An oral will is mentioned in Lond 1709 p. 136 (570 A. D.), see Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLI (1921), 312-313; M. San Nicolò, *Zts. f. vgl. Rw.*, XXXIX (1921), 294; Wenger, *Aus Novellenindex*, pp. 45 ff.

[35] Cat. Masp. 67.31215-22; 67.15140-51; see also 67.32410 ff. In Oxy 1901 (VI cent. A. D.) an indication concerning the form of the will is missing unless it preceeded the preserved part. But we find there the signature of the testator (through a *subscriptor*) of the five witnesses and the private notary. Regarding the signature of the witnesses in Oxy 1901: ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ θεμένου, see Kreller, *loc. cit.*, p. 336. Wenger, "Il diritto dei papiri nell' età di Giustiniano," *Conf. per il XIV cent., delle Pandette* (Milan, 1931).

[36] In respect of Cat. Masp. 67.151, see Arangio Ruiz, *Aegyptus*, I (1920), 33, note 2; in respect of Cat. Masp. 67.312, Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLI (1929), 317. Regarding the legal language on the whole see Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1911), p. 319; *Ztschr. für. Handelsrecht*, LXX (1911), 492.

[37] The "Clausula Codicillaris": Cat. Masp. 31222-29; 15151-62; cf. codd.: Cat. Masp. 31228-34; 15162-66. The institution of heirs: Cat. Masp. 31257; 15176; see also Oxy 190126.

[38] Cat. Masp. 31249; see also Oxy 190147-8.

legacies,[39] modi,[40] emancipation,[41] prohibitions against contesting the will.[42] We find in a will a statement to the effect that the heir should be satisfied with the land allocated to him, and not make further claims against his co-heirs on the basis of the "lex Falcidia."[43] In another case the heiress is threatened with the loss of the gifts if she fails to fulfil the legacy imposed upon her, with reference to a *θεία διάταξις*, by which Nov. Just. 1, c. 1, 2 is meant.[44, 45] In regard to *mortis causa donations*, it is stressed that the *donatio* should be effective *μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν*, but at the same time it is stated it may have the effect of a *donatio inter vivos*: *κατὰ π[ᾶσαν] δικαίαν δωρεάν*,

[39] Cat. Masp. 151$^{101-160}$; $^{182-195}$; $^{261-274}$; $^{275-285}$; Cat. Masp. 312^{104}; 324^{4} ff.

[40] Cat. Masp. 151$^{160-163}$; cf. also Lond I 77$^{56-59}$; 151$^{94-97}$; cf. also Lond 77$^{48-50}$; 151$^{285-293}$; Cat. Masp. 312^{63}. With respect to the question how the proceeds of the sale of a house were used *εἰς ἀνάρρυσιν αἰχμαλώτων* (Nov. Just. 65, 120 c. 9), see Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLI (1920), 317. As concerns the prohibition to dispose contained in Cat. Masp. 151$^{156-160}$, see Lewald, *ibid.*, XXXIII (1912), 627 ff.

[41] Cat. Masp. 312$^{99-102}$.

[42] Cat. Masp. 151$^{195-228}$.

[43] Cat. Masp. 312^{93} with the motivation (v. 97-99) *διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ καταλειφθέντα αὐτοῖς—[π]ροχωρεῖν εἰς εὐσεβείας διαδόσεις* (the motivation reminds Nov. Just. 131 c. 12); otherwise *lex Falcidia* is mentioned in Cat. Masp. 97 verso D^{71}; 353 verso^{14}. As concerns this rule, see Steinwenter, "Lex Falcidia," *R. E.*, XII, 2348).

[44] Grenf I 62^{13} (VI/VII cent. A. D.); see Kreller, *loc. cit.*, p. 382.

[45] In the arbitration, Lond 1708 (567 A. D.), which deals with the *actio familiae erciscundae*, the imperial law is frequently applied. The defendant coheir is forced to take an oath of manifestation that he had not hidden anything (v. 243-246)—(an analogous application: C. 22, § 10, C. 6, 30 [531 A.D.], see Mon 6^{7} [583 A. D.], and Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 74)—and he is enjoined to pay the costs of the reparation of a damaged common house from the other socii (v. 74-79; 188-193, see fr. 32 D 39, 2 and Berger, *Teilungsklagen*, p. 147. The debts resting on the inheritance and the funeral costs of the testator are distributed among the heirs *pro parte hereditaria* (v. 57-69; 224-243), and the *collatio* is ordered of all that the defendant coheir had received in advance from his parents (v. 209-201); cf. c. 17 C. 6, 20 (467 A. D.); c. 19 and 20 C. 6, 20; Nov. 18 c. 6. Also the *collatio* of the *ἰσόπροικον* given by the heir to his sister has to take place (v. 122; see also v. 49-50 and p. 124 note). The question concerning the *collatio* of the *ἔδνον* given by the *husband* to the coheir, evidently in his capacity of *tutor* of his sister, is not clear (v. 115. 116$_3$ p. 123, note 115). According to Justinian's law, only property received from common ascendants must be restored. Concerning the *collatio* in Mon I^{35} (574 A. D.), see Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 31, and Kreller, *loc. cit.*, p. 166.

which means only that the *donatio* should be irrevocable.[46] According to Nov. 87, c. 1, a renunciation implying the revocation of the gift is admissible, and the *donatio mortis causa* becomes in consequence of this clause quite the opposite of a *donatio inter vivos.*[47]

5. It is highly probably that, due to Justinian's codification, Roman servitudes [48] as *servitus oneris ferendi* [49] now appear in practice. On the contrary, ususfructus,[50] designed as χρῆσις καὶ ἐπικαρπεία,[51] has its precursors in the real rights of usufruct[s] well known to the popular law, while the right of passage construed as an obligation [52] has precursors in similar forms in pre-Justinian times.

[46] A *donatio mortis causa* with the exclusion of revocation: Cair. Masp. 67.096$^{39-42}$ (573-574 A. D.), see Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXIII (1912), 624; Cat. Masp. 67.340 verso^{94} and Lewald, *ibid.*, XLI (1920), 318; Mon 8$^{25-30}$ (VI cent. A. D.); SB 4678$^{5-6}$ (574 A. D.); Cat. Masp. 67.154 verso^{18} (566-570 A. D.), see Arangio Ruiz, *Aegyptus*, I (1920), 34; without a clause of revocation: Lond 1729 (584 A. D.), see Lewald, *loc. cit.*, see in general Arangio Ruiz, *Lineamenti*, pp. 12 ff. According to Byzantine scholars, the donor has, in the *mortis causa donatio*, the right to revoke his donation κατὰ φύσιν τῆς μόρτις καῦσα δωρεᾶς, as we read in a Scholion of Stephanos concerning fr. 19 pr. D 12, 1 (Bas XXIII, 1, 19; Heimbach, II, 616); see Haymann, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXVIII (1917), 234; Rotondi, *BIDR*, XXIV (1912), 5 ff.; Arangio Ruiz, *Aegyptus*, I (1920), 31, note 1. In reference to this right see B. Biondi, *Appunti intorno alla m. c. d.*, pp. 35 ff.; in respect to the documentary authentication of *animus donandi* in Cat. Masp. 67.096^{52}, see Pringsheim, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLII (1921), 286; in respect to *donatio mortis causa* in general, see Bonfante, *Scritti giur.*, I, 417 ff.; San Nicolo, *Z. f. vgl. Rw.*, XXXIX (1921), 291.

[47] Cf. Cat. Masp. 67.151^{130} ff. (570 A. D.); see Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXXIII (1912), 627, where it is ordered that the legacy should have validity of a *donatio inter vivos.*

[48] It belongs to *res incorporales*; see Cair. Masp. 67.299$^{13-16}$ and Arangio Ruiz, *Aegyptus*, I (1920), 22; also PSI 709^{19} (566 A. D.).

[49] Mon 16$^{18-21}$ (VI cent. A. D.), see Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 173, further Brugi, *Studi Perozzi*, pp. 309 ff., who raises the question whether in our case a servitude on a *paries communis* occurs; see Beseler, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLV (1924), 231, in respect to the Byzantine character of the *servitus oneris ferendi.*

[50] Lond 1044, III^{20}, p. 254; M., *Chrest*, p. 367 (VI cent. A. D.) see Mitteis, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXVIII (1907), 384; Druffel, *loc. cit.*, 27$_1$; Kreller, *loc. cit.*, p. 18; Cair. Masp. 151^{12} (cf. fr. 34 § 7 D 31; Nov. 18, c. 3).

[51] Kreller, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.

[52] Heid, *Inv.*, p. 311 (VI cent. A. D.) see Druffel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.; my article in *Arch. f. Pap.*, VIII, 27 ff. The right of passage mentioned there is not a *precarium*, because (1) it is granted at the request of a third person (see Weiss, *Lit. Zentralblatt* [1915], p. 723), because (2) it is limited in

In emphyteusis, *utile dominium*[53] is granted to the emphyteuta, according to the tendency of Justinian's legislation. The arrangements by which the emphyteuta takes upon him the responsibility for the *periculum rei*[54] also correspond to its tendency. On the contrary, the stipulations that the emphyteuta has the right εἴτε εἰς βελτίονα εἴτε ἐνεγκεῖν ὅτιν, i. e., to improve or to deteriorate the land,[55] contradicts Justinian's provisions.[56] On the other hand, the clause according to which the proprietor may have the right to take the land away from the emphyteuta in case of two years delay in the payment of rent conforms to Justinian's rule.[57]

In hypothecary law, the influence of Justinian's codification is manifested in the *pacta de vendendo*[58] which now appear and by which the last remains of the pledge on forfeit prevailing in popular law are abolished. In addition, the stipulation by which the creditor has the right to retain the pledged property for a fixed price still survive.[59]

time (see Berger, *Grünhuts Zeitschrift*, XLII [1916], 716). The case discussed there reminds one of fr. 6 D 33, 3 (Pap., lib. 17 resp.): "Pater filiae domum legavit eique per domus hereditarias ius transeundi praestari voluit, si filia domum suam habitet, viro quoque ius transeundi praestabitur: alioquin filiae praestari non videbitur, quod si quis *non usum transeundi personae datum* sed legatum servitutis esse plenum intellegat, tantundem iuris ad heredem quoque transmittetur"; see Cohnfeldt, *Die sog. irreg. Servituten*, pp. 68 ff.

[53] Lond II, 483 ff., p. 323 (616 A. D.). In v. 15-16 we read: κατὰ τὸν διηγορευμένον τοῖς νόμοις περὶ ἐμφυτεύσεως τύπον. As concerns τύπος see § 3 Just. III, 24; see Pringsheim, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLII (1921), 291; cf. Cat. Masp. 299[22] (634/5 A. D.).

[54] See Cat. Masp. 299[21-22]; Cf. c. 1 C. 4, 65; § 3 Just. III, 42; see also Arangio Ruiz, *Aegyptus*, I (1920), 25, and *Istituzioni*[2], pp. 234 ff.; Costa, *Storia*[2], p. 272, note 2; Comfort, *Aegyptus*, XIII, 589 ff.

[55] Cat. Masp. 299[21] (634/5 A. D.); see Arangio Ruiz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.; *Istituz.*[2], pp. 233-234.

[56] Nov. 7, 3, 2; 120, 8.

[57] Lond II 483[72]: δύο ἢ τριῶν ἐτῶν. In an ecclesiastical emphyteusis, as here, two years are sufficient; otherwise three years are required; c. 2 C. 4, 66; in Cat. Masp. 67, 298[12], the agreement is guaranteed by a conventional fine; see Cuq, *Manuel*[2], p. 360$_4$. Receipts of payment of emphyteutical rent occur: P. Klein, Form 272, (V/VI cent. A. D.); 314 (V/VI cent. A. D.); 47 (VI cent. A. D.); 316 (VI cent. A. D.).

[58] Lond V 1716[5-6] (570 A. D.); see Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLI (1920), 314.

[59] Lond V 1720 (549 A. D.), see Lewald, *ibid.*, p. 315. They must be distinguished from the *dationes in solutum*, i. e., from agreements by which the debtor permits the creditor to retain the pledged property instead of the

It may further be mentioned that in the papyri of that time both *pacta de ingrediendo* [60] and *pacta de non alienando* [61] occur.

6. In the field of *obligations*, Justinian's legislation finds its expression in the formation of the responsibility of several correal debtors. Nov. 99 [62] provides that the claimed ἀλληλέγγυος is responsible at first only for a part, but he becomes responsible for the whole when renouncing the division of the responsibility according to the *epistula divi* Hadriani. This Novel is alluded to, in Hamb 23_1 with the words: *ἀμφοτέρων ἀλληναδόχων καὶ ἀλληλομανδατόρων κατὰ τῶν δύο ῥέων προμιττέντων δίκαιον.*[63] A proper additional note must be made in the document, should this Novel not be applied.[64]

A contract drawn in Constantinople (Cat. Masp. 61.126) between a banker and two persons illustrates in what way Justinian's codification affects the loan.[65, 66] The document contains, first, the indication that the loan has to be used *εἰς ἰδίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίας χρείας*; further, that

claim (c. 13 C. 8, 13 (14). Such agreements occur: Cat. Masp. 67.167[20]; see Lewald, *ibid.*, XXXIII (1912), 624; Lond III 1007[22-23], p. 262 (588 A. D.); see Rabel, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXVIII (1907), 318; de Francisci, *Aegyptus*, I (1920), 304_4; Lewald, *loc. cit.*, p. 624. As concerns Cat. Masp. 67.116 (598 A. D.), cf. P. Meyer, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* (1915), p. 1004.

[60] Oxy 125[18-19] (560 A. D.); Cair. Masp. 67.162[25-29] (568 A. D.); Oxy 1892[26] (581 A. D.); as concerns such *pacta* see c. 3 C. 8, 13 (14) (205 A. D.); see also Dernburg, *Pfandrecht*, II, 321 ff.; Mitteis, *Reichsrecht*, p. 431; Schwarz, *Hypothek*, p. 132_2; Mitteis, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXVII (1906), 346; my article in *Mél. Cornil*, II, 505. As concerns a *pactum de ingrediendo* of the pre-Antonine epoch in Giss 96[12] (160 A. D.), see Wenger, *Vierteljahreschr. für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, XII, 239.

[61] Cair. Masp. 67.309[32] ff. (see SB 5285); see also Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLI (1920), 315; cf. fr. 7 § 2 D 20, 5 and Bas. XXV, 7, 7 (Heimbach, III, 85): *καλῶς ὁ δανειστὴς συμφωνεῖ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ χρεωστῇ πωλεῖν τὸ ἐνέχυρον*; see Ebrard, *Form. hypoth.*, pp. 93 ff.; Costa, *Storia*^{2}, pp. 285 ff.

[62] As concerns the interpretation of the Novel: Brassloff, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XXV (1906), 301; Collinet, *Etudes hist.*, I, 124 ff.; Partsch, *Aeg. Bürgschaftsrecht*, p. 564, note 1; Samter, *Philologus*, LXXV (1919), 424 ff.; Cuq, *Mél. Cornil*, I, 157 ff.

[63] Cf. Lond III 994[7], p. 259 (517 A. D.): *ἀλληλ]έγγυοι ὄντες καὶ ἀλληλανάδοχοι*; the same concerns Lond III 1319[3], p. 271, (544/5 A. D.); Lond V 1661[19] (553 A. D.); Cair. Masp. II 170[15] (564 A. D.); or *κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀλληλεγγύη δίκαιον*, Cat. Masp. 67.126[48] (541 A. D.).

[64] Amh II 151[10] (610-40 A. D.): *ἀδιαιρέτως ἀλληλέγγυοι* (cf. also Grenf II 87[12] [602 A. D.] *ἀδιαιρέτως ἐσχηκέναι*); see Brassloff, *loc. cit.*, p. 302; Cuq, *Manuel*^{2}, p. 657, note 2; otherwise Mitteis, *Grundz.*, pp. 114 ff.

[65] See P. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 1005.

[66] Nov. 136 c. 6, see Pringsheim, *Kauf*, pp. 164-166.

the διμοραῖοι τόκοι have to be paid,[67] finally, as it seems, the provision appears that the banker retains the right either to deliver a total receipt after the complete payment of the whole debt or a partial receipt after the payment of a part of the debt, and to enter a new agreement with one of the two debtors.[68]

A fine illustration of the application of Justinian is provisions concerning the *iustum pretium* [69] is offered by Lond I 113 p. 199 (VI cent. A. D.).[70] In this papyrus, a contract of purchase is contested, first, because the seller was at the time of the agreement a minor,[71] second, because he was deceived, since the sold property had a greater value than the price paid.[72] The first objection is invalidated by the seller with the allegation that the alleged minor concluding the contract expressly claimed to be of age,[73] and to the second objection, he asserted it was impossible to speak of deception, since it was customary ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλείων]ος ἢ ὀλίγῳ ἐλάττωνος ἀγορράζειν ἢ πωλεῖν.[74]

The decision made in this case runs as follows: The buyer shall pay

[67] C. 26, § 2, C. 4, 32; Nov. 136, 1, 4; otherwise the prescriptions concerning the rate of interest are neglected in Egypt, cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 1005; A. Segrè, *Atene e Roma*, V (1924), 134.

[68] Iust. Ed. IX, 3, and the remarks of the editor ad p. 25. An another loan given by a banker occurs in Oxy 1970 (554 A. D.).

[69] As concerns *iustum pretium*: Preisigke, *Arch. f. Pap.*, III, 423[133-134]: ἀξίας δικαίας τιμῆς [τῆς] διαπραθείσης σοι[.....] δούλης; see also *Stud. Pal.*, XX, 144[1-2] (V/VI cent. A. D.): ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι καὶ πεπληρῶσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τῆς τελείας καὶ ἀξίας τιμῆς οἴνου; see also PSJ 66[9-10] (V(?) cent. A. D.); Giss 122[4] (VI cent. A. D.); Cat. Masp. 67.169bis [55-58] (569 A. D.); Mon. 11[40] (586 A. D.).

[70] See Preisigke, *Ber. liste*, p. 234.

[71] (V. 11-13); this objection alone would suffice to demand a *restitutio in integrum* (fr 1 § 1 D 4, 4).

[72] In the classical law it was only possible to demand *restitutio in integrum* when *dolus* occurred (c. 4 C 4, 44; c. 8 C eod; c. 10 C eod; c. 1 C Th 3, 1) see Solazzi, *BIDR*, XXXI (1921), 77; on any case the use of the word περιεγράφη in v. 19.39 indicates that even here the objection of *dolus* is made.

[73] In this case the minor would forfeit his right to demand *restitutio in integrum*, c. 2, § 3, C 2, 42 (43). The buyer remarks in the subsequent sentences (v. 21-24): even admitting the objection of minority, the minor had deprived himself of it because, after coming of age, he remained silent in regard to this contract, evidently approving it. But this objection is not right; see Wenger, *Ein christl. Zeugnis*, p. 473$_2$.

[74] The words agree nearly almost literally with fr 2, § 3, D. 19. 2; cf. also Cat. Masp. 67.163[27]: καὶ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐμοὶ περὶ τ[ού]του ἔτι ἀμφιβάλλειν πρὸς σὲ περὶ πλείονος ἢ ἐλάσσονος τιμῆς ὡς το[ύ]του πεπραμένου σοι παρ' ἐμοῦ.

the actual price,[75] i. e., the difference between the paid price and the actual price represented by the property. This decision conforms to Justinian's provisions about *laesio enormis.*[76]

It is remarkable to observe the change which was accomplished in the purchase of slaves under the influence of Justinian's codification. In Cat. 61. 120[25] we read: ὰς ὑμῖν πέπρακα καλῇ καὶ πιστῇ αἱρέσει δίχα κρυπτοῦ πάθους καὶ ἱερᾶς νόσου καὶ σινουσίας καὶ ἐπαφῆς ἀδράστως, ὑπουργούσας καὶ ἀῤῥαδιουργήτως.[77] In this and in the purchase of slaves in *Arch.*, III, 419[30-31], the seller has to assume the responsibility for all damages and hidden illnesses and, moreover, for fugitivity. This extended responsibility, in comparison with the Egyptian documents, where one finds only guarantees in case of epilepsy and ἐπαφή, occurs now and then already before the *Constitutio Antoniniana,*[78] but it disappears in later times in order to reappear in this epoch.

It must be certainly attributed to the influence of Justinian's codification when the stipulation[79] appears sometimes in its classical formulation,[80] although it becomes a mere formality in consequence of the increased importance of the deed of stipulation. In the documents concerning the stipulation, the presence of the parties concluding it is substantiated by the words: κατὰ πρόσωπον,[81, 82] in order to

[75] V. 31-33 ff.

[76] C. 2, C 4, 44, "quod deest iusto pretio recipias"; see also cc. 8 and 12 C eod. As concerns *laesio enormis*, see Brassloff, *Z. f. vgl. Rw.*, XXVII (1912), pp. 261 ff.; L. Landucci, *Atti Ist. Veneto*, LXXV (1915-1916), 11, 1189-1255; against Landucci, see L. Andrich, *Riv. it. sc. giur.*, LXXIII (1919), 3 ff.; Albertario, *BIDR*, XXXI (1921), 1 ff.; Solazzi, *ibid.*, pp. 51 ff.; Costa, *Storia*[2], p. 394, note 2; see also my *Privatrecht zur Zeit Diokletians*, p. 257.

[77] As concerns this document, see P. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 1003, who thinks, that ἀῤῥαδιουργήτως corresponds perhaps to *furtis noxaque solutum esse.*

[78] See Hamb 63 (125/6 A. D.).

[79] As concerns the importance of the stipulation in the law of Justinian, see Riccobono, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, LXIII (1921), 262, and the literature grouped by Costa, *Storia*[2], pp. 349 ff. and P. Meyer, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLVII (1927), 515.

[80] Cat. Masp. 67.032[83] (551 A. D.); Cat. Masp. 314 III[45] (epoch of Justinus II); Cat. Masp. 158[30-31] (568 A. D.); Mon 4[46] ff. (581 A. D.); Lond 1731[137] ff. (585 A. D.); Cat. Masp. 120verso 1-2, *Arch. f. Pap.*, III, 421[87].

[81] C. 14, C 8, 37, see Cat. Masp. 126[29] (541 A. D.); Lond 1723[21] (577 A. D.); Mon 4[46] (581 A. D.); Lond 1730[25] (585 A. D.); 1731[27] (585 A. D.); Mon 10[19] (586 A. D.); 11[68] (586 A. D.); Lond 1734[18] (late VI$_2$ A. D.).

[82] As concerns Mon 14 (594 A. D.), where the principle *nemo alieno nomine repromittere potest* is applied, see Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1915), pp. 435 ff. Noteworthy is the *stipulatio poenae*, which appears quite often: in a *contract*

prevent the objection that the parties mentioned in it were not present in the place indicated in the instrument.

In the *receptum nautarum* a change of the formulary hitherto used takes place in consequence of Justinian's legislation. According to Justinian's rule the responsibility of the *nauta* occurs until the "vis maior" even without the clause "salvum fore." Justinian's formulary makes no more mention of "salvum fore" and retains only the reservation about the *θεοῦ βία* (*vis maior*).[83]

Justinian has united the *receptum nautarum* with the *constitutum debiti alieni*.[84] They differed from each other in that the latter could only be concluded by a banker. The fusion of both finds its expression in Byzantine practice in the fact that now the banker is able to conclude *constituta* (*ἀντιφωνήσεις*) [85] debiti alieni.[86]

A peculiar light upon the application of Justinian's law of bail is thrown by Oxy 136 (583 A. D.), where a bail renounces all privileges, especially the new provision (*νεαρὰ διάταξις*) issued on the matter of bails and *constituentes* (v. 38-39). Evidently No. 4 with *beneficium excussionis* is meant. One sees how it is rejected in practise. Though the admissibility of the renunciation is not expressed in the Novel, it was probably admissible in practice as the bail generally could give up his privileges.[87]

of partnership: Cat. Masp. 158[28] (568 A. D.); 159[37] ff. (588 A. D.); Lond 1795[8] ff. (VI cent. A. D.); see fr 54, § 1, D 19, 2. In an agreement concerning *collecting taxes*: Lond 1660[42] (553 A. D.): *λόγω προστίμου ἐξ ἐπηρωτήσεως καὶ παραβάσεως*. Concerning the formulary see (Cat. Masp. III 299[55]: *ἐκ συμφ[ών]ου καὶ ἐπερωτήσεως λόγω προστίμου καὶ ποινῆς*; see in respect of the *πρόστιμον ἐξ ἐπηρωτήσεως*: Zachariae, *loc. cit.*, p. 298, note 995; schol. 5 ad Bas. XI, 1, 7 (Heinb., I, 564) *ἀπὸ ψιλοῦ συμφώνου ποινὴ οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖται εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐπερώτησις γένηται*; Hecnb., 1, 9 schol. *ψιλά: ἅπερ εἰσὶ τὰ χωρὶς ἐπερωτήσεως καὶ προστίμου γενόμενα*; finally in a lease: Lond 1698 (mid. VI cent. A. D.); see fr. 54, § 1, D 19, 2.

[83] Oxy 144[12] (580 A. D.); see Mitteis, *Grundz.*, p. 260; Arangio Ruiz, *Lineamenti*, pp. 78 ff.

[84] C. 2, C 4, 18.

[85] PSJ, 76[3-10-18] (574-578 A. D.); Lond IV 1436[125] (718-719 A. D.); Lond IV 1452[21] (Arab. epoch); Oxy 136[38-39] (583 A. D.). As concerns the designation of *constitutum* as *ἀναδοχή*, see Collinet, *Etudes*, I, 278; Cuq, *Manuel*[2], p. 515, note 2, with reference to Cat. Masp. 67.005[18] (548 A. D.); as concerns *ἀλληλανάδοχοι* in Lond III 994[6], p. 259 (517 A. D.); Lond III 1319, p. 271 (544/5 A. D.); Cat. Masp. 67.170[15] (564 A. D.); Hamb 23[6-12] (569 A. D.), see Samter, *Philologus*, LXXV (1919), 435, note 36.

[86] PSJ 76[3-10-18] (574-578 A. D.); see Steinwenter, *Urkundenwesen*, p. 57.

[87] See Mitteis, *Hermes*, XXXIV (1899), 106. As concerns the form of bail,

In connection with bail the intercession may be mentioned. According to the Justinian's provision (c. 23 § 2 C IV, 29) the prohibition of intercession by a woman should only be valid "nisi instrumento publice confecto et a tribus testibus subsignato accipiant homines a muliere pro aliis confessionem." The *intercessio* contained in *Stud. Pal.*, XX, 139 (551 A. D.), seems to correspond to these requirements.[88]

Furthermore, two documents may be quoted, where in one a mandatary takes a loan on behalf of the mandator,[89] while in the other a mandate to accept it is given.[90] It is characteristic for both cases that the possibility of obligating the mandator by the loan towards the creditor is not at all taken into consideration. Since, in Justinian's legislation, direct representation is recognized in loans,[91] one probably would not be mistaken in regarding these cases as so-called *intercessiones tacitae.*

Lond 1707 (566 A. D.) shows to what degree Justinian's law had influenced the formulation of the compromise. In this document, the parties solemnly promise under oath to present themselves before the court and to submit to its arbitration. The parties follow in this way the provisions contained in c. 4 § 2 C II, 55 (56), but then abolished by Justinian himself, according to which an action should be taken on the basis of arbitration in case such an oath had been entered into by the parties and a written autograph instrument or one executed by a public notary drawn up about it.[92] A comparison with a pre-Justinian compromise in Lond III 992 p. 253 = M. Chr. 365, which was also made under oath and which establishes a conventional fine in case of the nonfulfilment of the arbitration, is instructive in this respect.[93]

see Strassb 40_{12} (569 A. D.); Ross V, 34 (600 A. D.); PSJ 694 (VI_3 A. D.); Princ II 87 (612 A. D.).

[88] See Wenger, *Krit. Vischr.*, XX (1927), 35; on the other hand, the bail of the women in Lond 1711^{7711} (566-573 A. D.) does not correspond to these prescriptions; this kind of bail is subject to c. 23, 3 C 4, 29.

[89] Mon 10^{8} (568 A. D.); see Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

[90] Cat. Masp. 124^{7}; otherwise Lewald, *loc. cit.*, pp. 622-623; see also P. Meyer, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* (1915), p. 1006.

[91] See Wenger, *Stellv.*, pp. 160 ff.

[92] Cf. Weizsäcker, *Röm. Schiedsrichteramt*, p. 59; Matthias, *D. röm. Schiedsgericht*, p. 122; see also Berger, *Strafklauseln*, p. 214.

[93] The customary penal stipulations return: SB 4672 (Arab. epoch); see further the compromises grouped in my article, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLVI (1926), 82, note 2. The compromise, P Princeton 55 (481 A. D.) = SB 7033, cf. Ensslin, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXV (1926), 422 ff. may be added.

Διαλύσεις correspond also to the provisions of Justinian's legislation.[94] All their extant are taken upon oath.[95] In the respective documents it is explicitly confirmed that the reasons for which they could be contested do not exist; they are made either by deception or by threatening the depositor (c. 41 C 2, 4 schol 2 ad Bas XI, 2, 58) or per subreptionem [96] by presenting fraudulent documents (c. 42 C 2, 4). They are followed by a statement of renunciation of all further claims on the basis of the settlement [97] (fr. 1 D 2, 15), which assumes in some documents the characteristic formulation: *μηδένα λόγον ἔχειν · . . μή[τε περὶ οἱουδήπ]οτε πράγματος τὸ σύνολον μικροῦ ἢ [μεγάλου ἐγγράφου ἢ ἀγ]ράφου ἀκρίτου ἢ κεκριμένου νοηθέντ]ος ἢ μὴ νοηθέντος εἰς] νοῦν [ἐ]λ[θο]ντος ἢ μὴ ἐλθ[όντος γυμνασθ]έντος ἢ μὴ γυμνασθέντος σιωπη[θέντος ἀχθέντος ἢ]μὴ ἀχθέν[τ]ο[ς]*. In this case the clause is concerned which the Byzantine jurists explain in connection with the *stipulatio Aquiliana* and which, as they report, was usually inserted into the διαλύσεις settlements.[100] They also promise not to raise these

[95] Lond 1717 (560-573 A. D.); Cat. Masp. 67.156 (570 A. D.); Mon 1 (574 A. D.); Mon 7 (583 A. D.); Mon 14 (594 A. D.); Lond I 113 I, p. 199 (VI cent. A. D.); SB 5763 (643 A. D.) is not completely published (see Druffel, *Papyrusstudien*, p. 70). In SB 6000[21-33], VI cent. A. D. (cf. also Druffel, *loc. cit.*, p. 28), there is only mention of the contents of the *ὁμολογεῖαι διαλύσεων διαλυτικαὶ καὶ ὁμολογεῖαι καὶ διαλύσεις*, Par 20 (600 A. D.) concerns a partial agreement; see Kreller, *loc. cit.*, p. 85; see also Berger, *Strafklauseln*, p. 184, note 2; Lond 1008[4], p. 265 (561 A. D.) is cut off.

[96] Mon 1 ff.; Mon 7[63] ff.; Mon 14[93]; Lond 1717[31] ff.; Lond I 113 I[48]; Cat. Masp. 67.156[32] ff.

[97] Mon. 1[29] ff.: *δίχα παντὸς δόλου καὶ φόβου τινὸς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ συναρπαγῆς*; Mon. 14[60] o.; Lond 1717[5] ff.. See also SB 5763[51] and Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1915), p. 432, cf. also Wegener, *FEA*, XXIII, 217; IV, 1; see Wenger, *Il diritto dei papiri nell' età di Giustiniano*, pp. 15 ff.

[98] Mon 1[55]; see Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 30; Mon 7[35-40]; see Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 86; Mon 14[40-45, 50-55], see Wenger, *loc. cit.*, p. 152; Lond V 1717[7-13]; Lond I 113 I[41-37].

[99] Mon 1[35] s., also Lond 1717[19-24]; Cair. Masp. II 67.154[19-28]. See also P Princ 55[60-65] (481 A. D.).

[100] Schol. ad Bas XI, 1, 35 (Heimb I, 621) esp. schol. ad Bas XI, 2, 4 (Heimb I, 670), see Lewald, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLI (1920), 315-316. As concerns *stip. Aquil.* in Byzantine law, see Zachariae, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, VI (1884), 10; Partsch, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1915), pp. 432 ff.; La Pira, *Atti d. IV Congr. intern.*, p. 479. It is remarkable that the settlement in SB 5763[3] (647 A. D.) is indicated: *τὴν παροῦσαν Ἀκυλιανὴν καὶ περιεκτικὴν [καὶ] διαλυτικὴν ἀμεριμνεία πάσης ἑτέρας ἀσφαλείας δύναμιν ἔχουσαν κτλ.*

claims further, and a conventional fine is added [102] but, in spite of the default of the fine, the concluded settlement should remain valid.[102]

If Lond III 1044, p. 254 = M. Chr. 367 (VI cent. A. D.) falls in the time of Justinian, it would provide an example of the application of Justinian's dispositions concerning the *donatio inter vivos*. The document is drawn in the presence of five witnesses but, since it is not registered,[103] as one must assume, it did not amount to 500 solidi: the woman who makes the gift reserves for herself life long *usus*. As stated in the document, property and possession should be immediately transferred by the donation, which fully corresponds to the post-classical practice of *constitutum possessorium* and the law of Honorius and Arcadius [104] repeated in Justinian's codification.[105, 106]

7. Finally, the execution of the notarial documents—s. s. *συμβόλαια ἀγοραῖα, instrumenta publica confecta*—takes place according to Justinian's provisions.[107] We find the signature of the witnesses, the *ἀπέλυσα* of the parties, and the "complete" of the notary.[108]

[101] Mon. 1^{47} ff.; Mon 7^{69} ff.; Mon. 14^{4} ff.; Lond 1717^{35} ff.; Lond I 113 I^{58} ff. As concerns the confirmation by *πρόστιμον* c. C Th 2, 9) see Partsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 433, also Berger, *loc. cit.*, p. 200.

[102] Lond I 113 I^{61} ff.; Mon 1^{30-31}; Mon 7^{12}; Mon 14^{91} ff.; Lond 1717^{41} ff.; also SB 5764^{91} ff.; cf. c. 17, C 2, 4 (293 A. D.), "manente transactionis placito," and Bas XI, 2, 34 (Heimb I, 702): *πρὸς τῷ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ προστίμου καταβολὴν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐρρῶσθαι τὴν διάλυσιν*, see Berger, *loc. cit.*, p. 200.

[103] M. Chr 367, introduction, p. 400; as concerns the *insinuatio*, see Steinwenter, *Urkundenwesen*, pp. 86 ff.

[104] C. 9, C Th 8, 12 = c. 28, C J 8, 53.

[105] See Brunner, *Zur Rechtsgeschichte d. Urkunde*, p. 117.

[106] Nov. 49, c. 3; 73 c. 7; 117 c. 2; 142 c. 2.

[107] C. 17, C 4, 21 (528 A. D.); Nov. 44, 1 (536 A. D.); Nov. 73 (538 A. D.).

[108] See P. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, p. 113. As concerns the records in Oxy 1928 (V/VI cent. A. D.), and Cair. Masp. III 67, 151, p. 87, which, according to Nov. 44, c. 2, are valid only in Constantinople, s. Meyer, *Zts. d. Savigny St.*, XLVI (1920), 325.

LITERARY REMINISCENCES IN PSELLUS'S *CHRONOGRAPHIA*

By Barbara P. McCarthy

The literary reminiscences with which the eleventh century savant Michael Psellus scatters the pages of his *Chronographia* alternately charm and tantalize the reader as he finds that he can or cannot quite place them in their original context. And since few, if any of us, are so well versed in the classics from Homer to Gregory of Nazianzus as were Psellus and his friends, there are undoubtedly many quotations or permutations which escape us completely. The only scholar who has devoted much attention to the style of Psellus is Emile Renauld in his *Étude de la Langue et du Style de Michel Psellos*,[1] but neither in that large volume nor in his edition and translation of the *Chronographia*[2] has he attempted to identify any considerable number of the quotations and allusions.

When reminiscences are remarked in his footnotes to the *Chronographia*, the suggestions are not always happy. For example, a passage in which Psellus says that, when Russian ships invaded the Propontis, *νέφος ἀθρόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀρθὲν ἀχλύος τὴν βασιλίδα πληροῖ*[3] has surely only a very remote connection with those Homeric passages in which a warrior falls, *κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλύς*.

In a passage in which Psellus speaks of his close friendship with John Xiphilinus and John Mauropous and characteristically remarks upon his superiority to both he writes: *ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄρα ὥσπερ ὁ λόγος ἐγεγόνει πρεσβύτερος, καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἵν' οὕτως εἴποιμι, κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον προὔλαβε, καὶ πρώτως ἐκείνων ἐφεστήκειν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις*.[4] The natural interpretation of *κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον προὔλαβε* is 'was likewise superior' and if this is correct there is here no allusion to the proverbial expression *ὅμοιος τῷ ὁμοίῳ* based on *Odyssey*, ρ, 218. Psellus tells us that as a schoolboy he knew the *Iliad* by heart,[5] and the *Chronographia* contains, as we should expect, many reminiscences of Homer—note especially the

[1] E. Renauld, *Étude de la Langue et du Style de Michel Psellos* (Paris, 1920).

[2] Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1926-28). This edition filled a real need in making Psellus' fascinating history available to non-Hellenists, but the reviewers commented sadly on the inaccuracy of the translation and the inadequacy of the commentary. See especially H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, II (1926), 550-567; IV (1929), 716-728.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI, 90 (ed. Renauld, II, 8).

[4] Ibid., VI, 192 (ed. Renauld, II, 66).

[5] 'Funeral Oration for his Mother,' ed. K. N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi* (Venice and Paris, 1872-94), V, 14.

Homeric vocabulary in the frequent similes drawn from the sea—but these two passages are not to be included among them.

One of Renauld's identifications of a literary allusion calls for more extended treatment. The passage in question deals with the sorrow of Constantine Monomachus at the death of his mistress Scleraena:

> All that the emperor did upon her death, the lamentations which he uttered and the actions which he performed and the tears which he wept like a child, overcome by his grief, it would be superfluous for me to insert into the fabric of my history. For to describe minutely each deed or word is not the function of an historian, but of a detractor if the things detailed be bad, or of an encomiast if they offer occasion for encomia. And if I have sometimes myself employed material such as I advise historians to avoid, this need not occasion surprise. For the historical style need not be perfectly polished, but may sometimes allow excursions and digressions.[6]

According to Renauld, "Psellos s'inspire ici visiblement des idées de Lucien, *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda*," but a rereading of Lucian's essay reveals little or nothing that is parallel either in word or substance to the passage from Psellus. In the section which Renauld must have in mind (9-11) Lucian protests against the tendency of his contemporaries to insert long and tasteless eulogies into their histories, draws a distinction between the purpose of eulogy, to gratify its subject even if that necessitates falsehood, and of history, to confine itself to the truth, and finally admits eulogy into history if it is used with extreme moderation and with a view to the reactions not of the subjects of the praise but of the most discerning literary critics. It is true that Psellus, like Lucian, draws, both here and elsewhere,[7] a distinction between historian and encomiast, but in this particular case it is added as an afterthought or corollary to the distinction between historian and detractor. I think there can be no doubt that Constantine's uncontrolled displays of emotion, which we are happily spared, would have moved an honest witness to condemnation rather than to praise.

The source of Psellus' remarks is to be found not in Lucian but in Plutarch's essay *De Malignitate Herodoti* where, in listing indications of malignity in an historian, he writes:

> Secondly, when there is some evil that does not immediately concern the history and the writer seizes on this and inserts it into the events when there is no need, simply for the sake of expanding his narrative and in order to introduce someone's misfortune or a strange and unworthy action, it is clear that he takes pleasure in malicious talk.—For the excursions and digressions

[6] Psellus, *Chronographia*, VI, 70 (ed. Renauld, I, 150 f.).

[7] E. g., *ibid.*, VI, 161 (ed. Renauld, II, 50); VI, 173 (ed. Renauld, II, 56); VII, 23 (ed. Renauld, II, 149).

of history are devoted for the most part to myths and antiquities, but also to encomia. And he who makes detraction and blame the subjects of a digression seems to incur the tragic curse as "collecting the misfortunes of mankind." [8]

That Psellus had this passage in mind is further indicated by an almost certain reference to it in an earlier chapter of the same book. In an interesting if rather confused digression he states that he had hesitated for a long time to write the history of the period because of a decent reluctance to chronicle the many faults and weaknesses of Constantine, who had been his benefactor. He owed so much to him that he would have preferred to treat of him only in eulogies in which he could be eclectic in his use of material. In this connection he writes: "If I had decided to eulogize his life and then had omitted occasions for praise and obviously collected subjects for unfavorable record, I should be most malignant like the son of Lyxes who selected the worst actions of the Greeks for his history." [9] The use of the word malignant (*κακοήθης*) of Herodotus immediately suggests Plutarch's essay. And the two points, omission of occasions for praise and collection of subjects for unfavorable record, are in reverse order Plutarch's second and third indications of malignity: the inclusion of irrelevant evil and the omission of relevant good. Between these two Plutarch introduced the dictum that digressions may properly be devoted to eulogy but not to detraction. The reference to eulogy at this point in his source seems to have led Psellus into some confusion of expression so that his words, if strictly interpreted, would attribute to Herodotus the intention of writing not history but eulogy.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that in a passage which Renauld quotes in his introduction to the *Chronographia* Lucian is listed by Psellus among the Graces whom he enjoyed but did not imitate, while Plutarch is one of the Muses whom he followed.[10]

That Muse whom Psellus most admired and delighted to imitate was Plato. In this same life of Constantine Monomachus we find two interesting Platonic reminiscences which have not been remarked by any editor, but which are worthy of notice since they illustrate well the ultra neosophistic allusiveness of the author's style.

At a moment when the capital seemed in imminent danger during the revolt of Leo Tornicius, Psellus tells us that Constantine's sister Helen begged him to flee and to take refuge in a church, but the emperor *ταυρηδὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέψας· "ἀπαγέτω τις αὐτήν," ἔφησεν.*[11]

[8] Plutarch, 'De Herodoti Malignitate', 855C.
[9] Psellus, *Chronographia*, VI, 24 (ed. Renauld, I, 129).
[10] *Ibid.*, ed. Renauld, Introduction, I, xxxiv.
[11] *Ibid.*, VI, 116 (ed. Renauld, II, 25).

Here we have obviously a contaminatio of two passages from the *Phaedo*: 117B where Socrates asks the executioner a question *ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, and 60A where he suggests the departure of the weeping Xanthippe with the words *ἀπαγέτω τις ταύτην οἴκαδε*. Socrates' bull-like glance was undoubtedly kind as well as keen, and his dismissal of his wife may have been more gentle and understanding than the bare words suggest. When, however, Psellus transfers the expressions to Constantine, there can be no doubt that they convey a feeling of anger against an annoying sister whom he always disliked and even at whose death he refused to mourn.[12]

This active outburst of annoyance on Constantine's part was unusual, for in the other Platonic passage which I have in mind Psellus tells us that the emperor had schooled himself to the exercise of self-control over a naturally quick temper—*τοσοῦτον τῆς θυμοειδοῦς ἐκράτει κινήσεως, ὡς δοκεῖν ἐξαίρετον τῶν ἄλλων λαχεῖν τὴν πραότητα· ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν ὥσπερ τις ἡνίοχος τὸν θυμικὸν ἵππον ἀνακρουόμενος*.[13] The term *θυμοειδής* which Psellus uses here is borrowed from Plato who applies it to the spirited part of the soul (e. g. *Republic*, 440E). And the reference to a charioteer reigning in his spirited horse is surely a free allusion to the myth in the *Phaedrus* (246A-C) in which the soul is compared to a charioteer driving two horses.[14] This is a passage to which we know Psellus had given especial attention and which is twice expounded in his published works.[15]

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[12] *Ibid.*, VI, 184 (ed. Renauld, II, 61).

[13] *Ibid.*, VI, 164 (ed. Renauld, II, 52).

[14] Renauld does not recognize the allusion, for he translates 'comme fait un cocher à un cheval fougueux.'

[15] In a letter published by K. N. Sathas, *op. cit.*, V, 441-443; and in a short exegetical essay published by E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora* (Milan, 1936), pp. 437-440.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CRUSADERS' STATES IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY *

By JOHN L. LA MONTE

In 1878, when Bishop William Stubbs gave a lecture on "The Mediaeval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia" he remarked in his opening paragraph "I plead guilty to the charge brought against me of choosing subjects which are of no importance to any human being." [1] While no doubt the same charge may be brought against me today I do not share the eminent bishop's sense of guilt, and I offer no apology for presenting a paper on the subject of the significance of the crusaders' states in medieval history. For the civilization of these states founded in the East as a result of the crusades was, I believe, more highly developed than that of the western states at the same period; only in Sicily and Spain did Europe produce an equally advanced society and culture.

The purity of their feudal institutions, their complex ecclesiastical organization with Latin and heretical sees overlapping each other, the high development of commerce and trade, the extensive privileges of the bourgeoisie and the active municipal life of their cities, all contribute to make the kingdoms of the crusaders almost ideal places in which to study the various aspects of medieval life and civilization. In the kingdom of Jerusalem it is possible to study institutions as under a microscope. In that limited field, what are mere generalities in Europe as a whole can be made specific cases, and on that narrow stage can be watched, with full perception of detail, movements which are less clear cut when viewed in the larger arena of western Europe. And the whole thing can be studied through a limited body of materials with which students can easily become familiar. If the Balkan Peninsula can be termed the laboratory of history for the modern period, the states of the crusaders can equally well be so termed for the institutions and civilization of the Middle Ages.

The true importance of these states has not always been recognized. Indeed, the historiography of the crusades shows a long conflict between two points of view as to what the crusades really were. One group of historians considers them to be military expeditions sent out from Europe to recapture the Holy Places from the infidels and is interested in them essentially as aspects of western European history. The other considers them as medieval colonial ventures and centers its

* A paper presented before the Mediaeval Academy of America, April, 1939.

[1] Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the study of Mediaeval and Modern History* (Oxford, 1886), p. 157.

interest in the study of the civilization which was produced by the admixture of oriental and occidental cultures. To the first group the crusaders' states, in themselves, as opposed to the expeditions, are of slight significance and are usually passed over hurriedly as ephemeral and unimportant. The point of view of this group may be best illustreated by a statement by Professor Oliver J. Thatcher, who did considerable work on the crusades but dismissed the crusaders' states in his text-book with the remark: "The history of the petty crusader states (they are sometimes called Latin states) is quite unimportant. It is difficult for us to realize how insignificant they were.... Nothing could be more wearisome than a detailed account of their history." [2]

To the other group of historians, however, the center of interest in the crusades lies, not in the military expeditions, but in the civilization of the states founded in the East as a result of the crusades. This group has been gaining adherents with the increased emphasis on the economic aspects of history, and the attention given the institutions of the crusaders' states in the recent text books of Carl Stephenson or J. W. Thompson reflects the influence of this point of view.

This difference between the two schools of thought in regard to the crusades is not merely a development of modern historiography. It goes back to the crusades themselves, and the differences of opinion among historians only reflect the antagonism which existed between the Europeans, who came East on the crusades with their hearts full of the holy zeal for the destruction of the pagans, and the Franks, who had settled down to live in the crusaders' states and who found the Saracens not bad neighbors and easier to trade with than to fight.

There also exists among historians today considerable divergence of opinion as to the value of the crusades and as to their affect upon Europe. The older concept was to attribute to the crusades all the beneficial developments which affected Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The crusades were given credit for the development of the communes, for the intellectual revival, for the decline of feudalism, for the growth of national monarchies and of nationalism itself and for a myriad of other trends which affected medieval Europe. Then came the reaction, and the crusades were stripped of almost all significance. They were then depicted as important chiefly as a grand bloodletting, whereby Europe purged herself of a great number of obnoxious and troublesome individuals who were much better off dead in Syria than alive in Europe. They were seen as merely one phase of the Twelfth Century Renaissance, and the utmost that was conceded

[2] O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, *Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York, Scribners' 1920), p. 294. Professor Thatcher had previously published an article on "The Latin Sources of the First Crusade," *Annual Reports of the American Historical Association*, I (1900), and in the preface to his text-book he pointed out with pride the special work he had done in crusading history.

to them was that they acted as catalytic agents in hurrying along a series of movements which were already well under way and which were inevitable whether there had been any crusades or not. It was argued with much truth that soldiers who are engaged in killing as many of the enemy as possible are not likely agents for the transmission of the culture of those enemies, that the crusaders went, saw, conquered or were conquered, and returned with no concept of the culture of their enemies. A few vices they might have picked up, but nothing of value, and the cultural superiority of the Moslems was ignored by the Christian warriors who despised the depraved and idolatrous pagans. Nor did the merchants bring back very much beyond the wares in which they dealt. They too hurried back and forth carrying spices, silks and precious stuffs, but bringing along very little of a less tangible nature.

While this view is substantially correct, it is, in my opinion, too extreme. And I shall try to demonstrate that the beneficial results of the crusades on Europe were not the results of the crusades, considered as military expeditions, but were due to the crusaders' states and that, almost in spite of the western crusaders, the Latin colonists in the East absorbed and transmitted to Europe much that was valuable of the culture of the Moslem East.

The crusaders' states were the medieval equivalent of all the colonial empires of the present time; they were the America and Australia, the Asia and Africa of the Middle Ages. They were the field par excellence for colonial expansion. But they were more: they were the living proof of the power of Christendom, the supreme effort of the age of faith, the creation of the Church oecumenical and militant to which all men belonged and they were the favored children of the medieval papacy. While individual peoples might seek their expansion in other fields, as in Spain, eastern Germany, northern Africa or Ireland, the crusaders' kingdoms were the center for the expansion of all Europe, they were the colonies of Christendom. As the orthodox Jew today looks to Zion and longs for the establishment of the Jewish national home in the hills and valleys of Palestine, so did the medieval Christian desire the establishment of the Latin Catholic control over the Holy Places of the birthplace of Christianity.

> Wherever the Lord's feet have trodden, the place is held by the faithful to to be holy and consecrated, and a precious relic, [said Jacques de Vitry,]. No wonder, therefore, that this Promised Land, flowing with milk and honey, and sweeter than all fragrant perfumes, should have attracted and drawn to itself not only religious clerks, but also laymen, both knights and civilians, to leave their parents and their own patrimonies and dwell therein.[8]

[8] Jacques de Vitry, *History of Jerusalem* (trans. Aubrey Stewart, London, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, XI, 1896), p. 46.

The Holy Land was, however, attractive to other colonists of whom de Vitry did not hold so high an opinion.

> Some men of blood and children of death when caught in their own country in their wickedness and condemned to lose a limb or to be hanged, by entreaty or bribery could generally succeed in getting a sentence to perpetual exile in the Holy Land without hope of return.[4]

That Jerusalem received many of the worst elements of European society cannot be denied. For the crusades and pilgrimages to Palestine were used as frequently as punishments in expiation of crimes committed as they were as pious works of virtue. Criminals were regularly sentenced to banishment to Jerusalem, as in the case of Hugh III of Le Puiset, and men convicted of crime were often permitted to commute a sentence of death, mutilation, or imprisonment to one of perpetual banishment to Syria. Also, the privileges of the crusaders attracted criminals, who took advantage of the immunity from prosecution which was granted crusaders to escape richly deserved punishments at home. But these criminals were by no means the only colonists who settled in the East, and if there were a goodly number of ticket-of-leave and remittance men in the Syrian colonies there were also many honest merchants and adventurers in search of wealth, as well as a good number of really pious pilgrims who delighted to dwell in the Holy Land.

In any case, all were absorbed into the general population of the country, and it is no more just to consider them all as criminals than it is to think of them all as religious zealots. Parts of America and Australia were founded as prison colonies, but the present inhabitants of those regions are none the less good citizens, despite the rather questionable antecedents of some of their progenitors. Further, in Syria the original settlers were the pious crusaders, and it would be a sad thought if we were to believe de Vitry that the tone of the colony had been completely changed by the influx of less desirable elements later. As between the saints and the sinners the average was probably the ordinary citizen.

The colonization of Syria was not the work of any one nation. "There was no nation so remote, no people so retired as not to contribute its portion. . . . The Welshmen left his hunting, the Scot his fellowship with lice, the Dane his drinking party, the Norwegian his raw fish. Lands were deserted of their husbandmen, houses of their inhabitants, even whole cities migrated," says William of Malmesbury.[5] At first the great majority of the crusaders were French, and they

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[5] William of Malmesbury, trans. J. A. Giles (London, 1847), Bk. IV, ch. 2, p. 364. J. W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1928), p. 388 cites a guide book to Palestine for visitors from Iceland.

fixed upon the crusader states the French language, French customs and to large extent French institutions. The feudalism which was established in the kingdom of Jerusalem was probably the purest feudalism ever found anywhere. When the warriors of the first crusade captured Jerusalem and set up their state the only type of government with which they were at all familiar was the feudal state and this they transferred to their new dominions. They brought to the East the feudalism of the eleventh century, the feudalism which had reached its full development but which had not yet been corrupted by the rise of national monarchies or representative assemblies. It was the feudalism not of Normandy or Germany, France or Champagne, but of Europe, for it was based on the principles which were common to the institutions of the crusaders and they represented every province of the West. Basically it was French feudalism using French in the modern sense, for the majority of the crusaders came from one or another of the provinces of France; but the men who established it were drawn from Flanders, Champagne, Chartres, Poitou, Lorraine, Toulouse, Picardy, Anjou and Normandy as well as France proper and they forged for themselves and their kingdom a system of laws based on the common usages of their various natal states. But from the beginning there were Italian, German, English and other peoples, and as the years passed the Italian element in the eastern states gradually replaced the French as the dominant strain, so that if Jerusalem in 1100 most closely resembled northern France, Cyprus in 1400 was certainly most like Apulia or Liguria. The Le Puisets, St. Gilles, Chatillons, Briennes, Cortenays, Villehardouins and Dampierres gave way before the Zaccaria, the Contarini, the Acciaiuoli and the Giustiniani. In Cyprus the French Lusignans, de Bries and Montforts were scarcely distinguishable from the Italian Embriaci, Montferrats and Cornaros.

This internationalism of the crusaders' states is one of their most striking characteristics. Within the generation of the first crusade itself had begun the process whereby men of every nation of the West were fused into the new citizenship of the eastern state, and the statement of Fulcher of Chartres written twenty years after the first crusade is familiar to all:

> For we who were Occidentals now have been made Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank is now a Galilaean or an inhabitant of Palestine. One who was a citizen of Rheims or of Chartres now has been made a citizen of Tyre or of Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already they have become unknown to many of us, or, at least, are unmentioned. Some already possess here homes and servants which they have received through inheritance. Some have taken wives not merely of their own people, but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens who have received the grace of baptism. Some have with them father-in-law, or daughter-in-law, or

son-in-law, or step-son, or step-father. There are here too grandchildren and great-grandchildren. . . . The one and the other use mutually the speech and the idioms of different languages. Different languages, now made common, become known to both races, and faith unites those whose forefathers were strangers. . . . Those who were strangers are now natives, and he who was a sojourner now has become a resident.[6]

Of course the bonds which linked these Syrian houses with their original homeland were seldom entirely forgotten, and as late as ca. 1258 Bertrand de Gibelet, of the Genoese house of Embriaco, whose ancestors had long since ceased to pay to the commune of Genoa the rents which they owed for the city of Gibelet, refused to serve against the Genoese in the army of his suzerain Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli.[7] On the whole, however, the Syrian Franks considered themselves citizens of their own state, and while they were quick enough to solicit help from the European monarchs in time of need, resented uncalled-for interference in their local affairs. Though the barons of Syria welcomed the assistance of Richard Coeur de Lion they refused to be influenced by his sponsoring the cause of Guy de Lusignan, and although they gladly placed themselves under the orders of St. Louis while he was in Palestine they rejected vigorously the attempts of Frederick II to establish his control over them. When Hugh de Brienne claimed the regency of Cyprus in 1264 and cited the laws of France, he was met with the answer that not the law of France but that of *Outremer* prevailed in the High Court of Nicosia, and the decision was given to his rival Hugh of Antioch who plead according to the customs of the kingdom of Jerusalem.[8]

In fact there was always considerable antagonism between the Syrian Franks and the crusaders who came out fresh from the West. Their points of view were too different for them to cooperate well. To the western crusader the crusade was the Holy War and the Moslems were the pagan dogs who must be slaughtered for the glory of God. Ambroise, who came out on the third crusade and who well represents the western crusader point of view constantly refers to the Saracens as pagan dogs, "The race God's interdict hath cursed, may He the curse maintain."[9] and he revels in the description of the slaughter of the pagans.

[6] Translation by A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade* (Princeton, 1921), pp. 280-81.

[7] *Les Gestes des Chiprois* (ed. G. Raynaud, Geneva, 1887), par. 272, p. 151.

[8] *Assises de Jerusalem* (ed. Beugnot, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois*, Paris, 1843), II, 406. And see my *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy Monographs, 1932), p. 101.

[9] Ambroise, *History of the Holy War*, lines 5232-33. The translation is from M. J. Hubert and J. L. LaMonte, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart by Ambroise* (New York: *Records of Civilization*, 1942), p. 218.

And now you might have seen anew
The rout of this inhuman crew
Seen sword blows which upon them beat
And lopped off hands, and heads, and feet,
Split eyes and mouths with many a wound
Seen corpses strewn upon the ground
Like logs, making our soldiers tread
And stumble o'er the piles of dead. . . .
Never did our ancestors see
Such slaughter and such butchery.[10]

This rather sadistic pleasure in the slaughter of the Moslems is paralleled in the oft-quoted passage of Raymond of Agiles about the massacre after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099.

But now that our men had possession of the walls and towers, wonderful sights were to be seen. Some of our men (and this was the more merciful) cut off the heads of their enemies; others shot them with arrows, so that they fell from the towers; others tortured them longer by casting them into the flames. Piles of heads, hands and feet were to be seen in the streets of the city. It was necessary to pick one's way over the bodies of men and horses. But these were small matters compared with what happened at the Temple of Solomon, a place where religious services are ordinarily chanted. What happened there? If I tell the truth, it will exceed your powers of belief. So let it suffice to say this much, at least, that in the Temple and porch of Solomon, men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins. Indeed, it was a just and splendid judgement of God that this place should be filled with the blood of the unbelievers, since it had suffered so long from their blasphemies. The city was filled with corpses and blood.[11]

To men such as these any compromise with the Saracens was a betrayal of the faith. God's will was done when the Saracens were slaughtered and God was pleased with every Moslem soul that was sent to join Mohammed in Hell. How different was the point of view of the Syrian Franks who were living with their Moslem neighbors on terms of mutual respect. Let us compare two accounts of the same incident, the slaughter of the Moslem hostages by Richard after the fall of Acre. Ambroise says:

Now Richard, king of England, who
Ere this so many pagans slew
No further would his mind concern
With them, and so, to overturn
The Turks pride and iniquity
And to venge Christianity
Two thousand seven hundred, all
In chains were led outside the wall
Where they were slaughtered every one,

[10] *Ibid.*, lines 10491-98, 10504-05; p. 388.
[11] Translation by A. C. Krey, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

> And thus on them was vengeance done
> For blows, and bolts of arbalest.
> For this be the Creator blessed.[12]

In marked contrast to this is the sober account given by the Continuator of William of Tyre who states only that:

> He [Richard] commanded that the Saracens whom he had captured should be brought forth. And as they were brought out, he had them taken between the hosts of the Saracens and the Christians, and they were so close that the Saracens could easily see them. The king commanded that their heads should be cut off, and they laid hands upon them and killed them, there with the Saracens looking on.[13]

Throughout the writings of the Syrian Franks there appears a distinct recognition of the virtues of the Saracens and, although there occasionally occur the conventional slurs which were considered necessary in describing the enemy, there is none of the bitter hatred found in the western writers. In his account of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin the Continuator of William of Tyre says, "The Saracens did not do any harm or damage, nor massacre the Christians who were in the city."[14] In all the history of Philip de Novare there does not appear any slander of the Saracens. Philip mentions wars with them, but he reserves his denunciations for the followers of Frederick II, and I cannot detect in his writing any trace of religious prejudice against the Moslems.

The most familiar example of this point of view among the Syrian Franks is the oft-quoted passage from William of Tyre anent the wars in Egypt.

> Boundless greed has forced us violently out of the most calm tranquility into a troubled and anxious position. The treasures of Egypt and all its boundless wealth were at our service; our kingdom was secure on that side; we had no one to fear from the South. No danger threatened those who wished to come to us by sea; our men could without fear and under good conditions enter Egypt for trade and commerce. The Egyptians in turn brought us foreign riches and wares unknown to our people. Their coming always yielded us advantage and honor. In addition the immeasurable tribute which they paid yearly was a source of strength and increase both to the royal and to private treasuries. But now all has turned out to our loss, the most fine gold is changed, my harp also is turned to mourning. Wherever I turn danger threatens us on all sides. We can no longer cross the sea in safety, every neighboring land about us belongs to the enemy and the kingdoms which surround ours are preparing for our destruction.[15]

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[12] Ambroise, translated by Hubert, lines 5531-5542; p. 228.

[13] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, II, 178. The translation is my own.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[15] William of Tyre, Book XX, chap. 10, quoted in C. H. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p. 270.

William, it must be remembered, was a Christian archbishop, but he was also Syrian-born, and the Syrian predominated over the ecclesiastic in his regret that hostilities had broken out with the Moslem powers.

Of course there were an infinite number of wars between Franks and Saracens in Syria. But they were not religious wars, they were the same kind of wars which were prevalent in Europe at the time, feudal wars, border quarrels, attempts to wrest land and power from ones neighbors. The history of the kingdom of Jerusalem is full of cases where Franks allied with Moslems against other Moslems or against other Franks. Jerusalem and Damascus allied against the common menace of Nureddin, and it was only the senseless second crusade which caused the knights of Jerusalem to turn against their Damascene friends. That they did so only half heartedly is one of the reasons for the dismal failure of the crusade. When Amaury interfered in Egypt, it was first as the ally of one of the factions in the Egyptian court. His projected conquest of the country was far more a strictly imperialistic venture than any religious war and the distribution of lands in Egypt, which was made before the expedition set out, shows that the main purpose of the campaign was the acquisition of the wealth and the resources of Egypt much more than it was the desire to bring the country under the influence of the Christian Church. The Holy War remained in the background of the ideas of leaders on both sides, but if Zenghi, Nureddin and Saladin all planned a Holy War for the extermination of the Trinitarians as a climax to their careers, all of them deferred it until they had consolidated their hold upon neighboring Moslem states, while the kings of Jerusalem were on the whole far more concerned with asserting their power over their own unruly baronage than they were in fighting against the enemies of the faith. If desirable lands belonged to a person of the opposite faith the Holy War might well be invoked by either side, but to both Christian and Moslem princes in Syria, the Holy War rather justified aggression than necessitated it. In the thirteenth century the wars against the Moslems play a distinctly secondary role in the annals of the crusaders' states to the civil wars within their own kingdoms; the war of the barons against Frederick II or the struggle between the adherents of Charles of Anjou and those of Hugh de Lusignan loom considerably larger than the conflicts with the Saracens, until the conquests of the Mamelukes assumed such importance that they could not be kept out of first place. And even in the midst of the Mameluke conquest the internecine wars continued, the civil war in Tripoli in 1288 taking place while Kelaoun was already threatening the city.

The wars which ravaged the cities of the crusaders' states in the thirteenth century were largely commercial wars. It was not the

struggle with the Saracens but the commercial warfare between the Venetians and the Genoese which most affected the life of the Syrian Franks. In the fighting in Acre in 1257-1258 more than 20,000 men were estimated to have been killed, as large a number as was included in the whole Christian army at Hattin![16] In fact, commerce rather than religion explains most of the policies and characteristics of the crusaders' states. Commerce was their very life blood; for the benefit of commerce they tried when possible to keep on good terms with their neighbors, for the facilitation of commerce they used a coinage patterned after the Saracen and occasionally even bearing Arabic inscriptions. The crusaders' kingdoms were always poor in lands, and the real basis for their prosperity lay in the trade in oriental wares which passed through their cities. The importation of spices, silks and articles of Eastern manufacture and their transshipment on to Europe brought wealth both to the merchants who handled the trade and to the lords whose ports and markets provided them with valuable incomes. Commerce brought as many colonists to Syria as did the religious motive of the crusade, and the merchant settled in the Syrian city along with the exiled or escaped criminal and the poor European noble who came to the East to capture, marry or otherwise acquire a fief which he could not hope to obtain at home. This appeal had been present from the very first, and Pope Urban II, in his speech at Clermont, had stressed the material gains to be had in the conquest of the East. If the pilgrims and the crusaders came to Syria in the spirit of the modern Zionist, the traders and many of the colonists came in the spirit of the 'forty-niners to California or the English to the diamond fields of the Transvaal.

For Syria was the veritable Golconda. The wealth of the East was proverbial, and the magnificence of the eastern cities was truly awe-inspiring to the eyes of the westerners. Everyone is familiar with Villehardouin's description of Constantinople, but the cities of the Syrian coast were no less magnificent to western observers. Ludolph von Suchem, who visited the East in the middle of the fourteenth century, has left us descriptions of some of crusaders' towns. Acre he saw only after it had fallen to the Egyptians and after its great heyday was passed but the relics of its former glory were still upon it.

'The streets within the city were exceeding neat, all the walls of the houses being of the same height and all alike being built of hewn stone, wondrously adorned with glass windows and paintings, while all the palaces and houses in the city were not built merely to meet the needs of those who dwelt therein but to minister to human luxury and pleasure, each one as far as possible excelling all others in its glazing, painting, pavilions and the other ornaments

[16] *Rothelin Eracles* (R. H. C. Occ. II), p. 635. Röhricht estimates 20,000 at Hattin (*Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* [Innsbruck, 1898], p. 428).

with which it was furnished within and beautified without.' After describing the nobles who lived in Acre before its fall who 'walked about the streets in royal state, with golden coronets on their heads, each of them like a king with his knights, his followers, his mercenaries, and his retainers, his clothing and his war-horse wondrously bedecked with gold and silver,' von Suchem speaks of the former merchant population. 'There also dwelt in Acre the richest merchants under heaven, who were gathered together therein out of all nations; there were Pisans, Genoese and Lombards, by whose accursed quarrels the city was lost, for they also bore themselves like nobles. There dwelt therein also exceeding rich merchants of other nations, for from sunrise to sunset all parts of the world brought merchandise thither, and everything that can be found in the world that is wondrous or strange used to be brought thither because of the nobles and princes who dwelt there.'[17]

Acre had fallen, however, and von Suchem remarks, "When I think of its present state, I had liefer weep than say anything."[18] The glory and wealth which had once been hers had been transferred with her population across the water to Famagusta, the Cypriot city which became the refuge of the citizens of Acre and the heir to her vanished glory.

Of Famagusta von Suchem says:

This is the richest of all the cities in Cyprus, and its citizens are exceeding wealthy. Once one of the citizens of Famagusta was betrothing his daughter, and the French knights who were sailing with us reckoned that the jewels she wore on her head were better than all the jewels of the King of France. There was a merchant of this city who sold a royal orb to the Soldan for sixty thousand florins. It contained only four precious stones—to wit, a carbuncle, a pearl, a sapphire, and an emerald, and yet he afterwards went and begged to be allowed to buy that orb back again for a hundred thousand florins, but was refused. Moreover, the Constable of Jerusalem had four pearls which his wife wore as a brooch, which whenever and wherever he pleased he could pawn for three thousand florins. In a warehouse in this city there is more aloes-wood than five carts can carry; I say nothing about spices, for they are as common there as bread is here, and are just as commonly mixed and sold. Neither dare I say anything more about precious stones, cloth of gold, and other kinds of wealth, because in those parts there is an unheardof and incredible store of them. In this city dwell numberless exceeding rich courtesans, some of them possessing more than a hundred thousand florins, about whose riches I dare say no more.[19]

Although the good von Suchem felt that the less said about the courtesans the better, he frankly admired the luxury of the Eastern Franks. Not so, many of the western writers, particularly the churchmen, who flayed them for their luxury and profligacy. To the western crusaders the eastern Franks must have seemed a bit effeminate with

[17] Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land* (trans. Stewart, *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, XII), pp. 50-53.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 50. [19] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

their perfumes, curled hair, painted faces and luxurious ways of life. Jacques de Vitry, that impassioned orator who became bishop of Acre in 1217 and later cardinal and patriarch of Jerusalem, had little good to say concerning his parishioners. Himself a fanatical crusader, as evidenced by his activities in the Albigensian crusade and the crusade against Damietta, de Vitry blamed the failure of Christianity in the East on the degeneracy of the Syrian Franks and established the theory on that point which is still accepted by certain writers on the crusades.[20]

It was an evil and perverse generation, [says de Vitry], wicked and degenerate sons, corrupt men who proceeded from the aforesaid pilgrims, religious men, acceptable to God and full of grace, even as lees from wine, dregs from olives, tares from wheat, and rust from silver; they succeeded to their fathers' property but not to their good morals; they squandered the worldly wealth which their fathers had won by the shedding of their own blood, fighting manfully against the infidels for the honor of God. Their children, who are called Pullani, were brought up in luxury, soft and effiminate, more used to baths than battles, addicted to unclean and riotous living, clad like women in soft robes, and ornamented even as the polished corners of the Temple; how slow and slothful, how timid and cowardly they proved themselves against the enemies of Christ is doubted by no one who knows how greatly they are despised by the Saracens. . . . They make treaties with the Saracens, and are glad to be at peace with Christ's enemies; they are quick to quarrel with one another, and skirmish and levy civil war against one another; they often call upon the enemies of the faith to help them against Christians.[21]

De Vitry goes on to censure them for their deceit and irreligion and especially for their habit of sequestering their wives in the oriental manner.

But the more strictly the Pullani lock up their wives, the more do they, by a thousand arts and endless contrivances, struggle and try to find their way out. They are wondrously and beyond belief learned in witchcraft and wickednesses innumerable, which they are taught by the Syrian women. Now the pilgrims who come, with very great toil and at ruinous expense, from far away, out of devotion and to help them, offering themselves and all that they have to the Lord, are not only treated with ingratitude by these Pullani, but they make themselves offensive to them in diverse ways; for they would rather indulge their sloth and gratify their carnal desires than fight the Saracens when the truce is broken or run out. When by their outrageous charges for lodging, their trafficking and money changing, and many other kinds of trading, they have cheated and plundered pilgrims, and so have gained great wealth, they then pour contempt upon those warriors and exiles for Christ's sake, insulting them and calling them the idiots, as though they were

[20] As, for example, René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades* (3 vols., Paris, 1934-36), II, 691. How anyone can claim that the generation which produced Raymond III of Tripoli, Balian and Baldwin d'Ibelin, and William of Tyre was degenerate is a point which I cannot understand.

[21] Jacques de Vitry, Trans. A. Stewart (*P. P. T. S.*), pp. 64-65.

fools and halfwitted, and reproaching those who are about to fight on their own behalf. . . . They indeed pass their days in all good things, but in a moment they shall go down to the depths of Hell. . . . As for those men from the noble cities of Genoa, Pisa and Venice and from other parts of Italy who dwell in Syria . . . they would be very terrible to the Saracens if they would cease from their jealousy and avarice and would not continually fight and quarrel one with another. But since they more often join battle against one another than against the treacherous infidels, and have more to do with trade and merchandise than with warring for Christ, they whose bold and warlike fathers were greatly dreaded by the infidels now cause them to be of good cheer and fear nought.[22]

Farther on in his narrative, after calling the Franks "criminal and pestilent men, wicked and impioŭs, sacreligious, thieves and robbers, homicides, parracides, perjurers, adulterers, and traitors, corsairs—that is pirates,—whoremongers, drunkards, minstrels, dice-players, mimes and actors, apostate monks, nuns that are common harlots," de Vitry returns to his specific charge of the passage previously quoted. They "used to let lodgings to pilgrims at immoderate rents, and cheated innocent strangers in every way they could, worming money out of them for debts which they never incurred."[23] Notice how familiar are his general charges,—they were only the stock in trade of every evangelist and were no more severe than the opinions of any preacher on his flock when they were remiss in paying tithes. But de Vitry has two real grievances: the Syrian Franks prefer business to fighting and they overcharge for lodgings! It is on "this accursed race of innkeepers" who overcharge, pile on extras and give bad exchange that the bishop pours forth his invective. His wrath is easily understandable to all who have had occasion to deal with the descendants of these same Syrian innkeepers—or their cousins in France or Italy. Who, in leaving an Egyptian hotel and meeting for the first time rows of hitherto unsuspected servants with palms outstretched, has not longed for the vitriolic tongue and the facility of expression of de Vitry?

Concerning de Vitry's charge that the native Franks insulted those who came to help them, there is probably considerable truth in his statement. But why? Because the westerners, wholly unfamiliar with the methods of eastern warfare, tried to override the wiser judgment of the eastern Franks and advocated suicidal campaigns. Or because they came into the country which was at peace and stirred up war and trouble which the inhabitants did not desire. The history of the years just before Hattin show this conflict. The native barons, Raymond of Tripoli and the Ibelins, had little use for the newer arrivals: for Guy de Lusignan, Renaud de Chatillon and their coterie. Had the

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67. [23] *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

sound advice of Raymond been followed the tragedy of Hattin could have been averted, but the impetuousness of the more recently arrived westerners resulted in the final debacle. During the third crusade the native barons argued against Richard's pious but foolhardy desire to attack Jerusalem, and Richard was wise enough to follow their advice against the demands of his western followers. During the fifth crusade, the eastern leaders did not favor the advance from Damietta up the Nile but were forced into it by the pressure exerted by Pelagius and such men as Jacques de Vitry.

A passage from the *Gestes des Chiprois* gives perhaps the best example of this feeling on the part of the native Franks.

> [In 1288] there took the Cross and came to Acre many of the lesser people of Italy, and these people were at Acre; the truce which the king had made with the sultan was being well kept by both parties, and the poor Saracen villains entered into Acre and carried with them goods to sell as they were accustomed to do. Now it happened one day by the work of that enemy in Hell, who gladly accomplishes evil deeds among good men, that these crusaders, who had come to do good and to lend their arms to the aid of the city of Acre, caused its destruction. For they went one day through the land of Acre and put to the sword all the poor villains who were carrying goods to Acre to sell, both grain and other things. And these were Saracens of the vicinity of Acre, and also they killed many Syrians who wore beards and were of the Greek faith, whom because of their beards they took to be Saracens. This was most illy done and it was because of this that Acre was taken by the Saracens.[24]

The crusaders' states produced no Jacques de Vitry to denounce their opponents and to expose their own viewpoint at the expense of their antagonists. But had such a preacher existed might he not have characterized the western crusaders as bigoted, intolerant, meddlers who were always stirring up trouble, treaty breakers, murderers and despoilers, crude in manners and habits, uncouth and barbarous, rash and impetuous, men of little wisdom and poor judgment, arrogant and offensive? Might he not have blamed them for their preoccupation with fighting and their neglect of the arts of peace? He might even have questioned the habits of those who were more accustomed to battles than baths. Probably the warlike and rough western crusaders were offended by the effeminacy and luxury of the Syrian Franks who seemed indifferent to religion and interested only in personal comfort and gain. Or perhaps it could be better phrased that the Syrians offended the western crusaders in that they were tolerant in an age of intolerance, that they sought the amenities of life at a time when the West, led by such men as St. Bernard, made a virtue of crudeness, that they were refined in generation which boasted of its coarseness.

[24] *Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. Raynaud, par. 480, pp. 238-39. My translation is rather free.

These Syrian Franks were condemned by their own contemporaries because they affected the customs of the Saracens and adopted their mode of life to the environment in which they lived. That they lived in a certain degree of peace, amity and mutual respect with their Moslem neighbors has been proved beyond doubt both from Arabic and Latin sources, and the intercourse between Moslem and Frank in Syria has been studied in the works of Munro, Duncalf and Hitti.

The intellectual achievements of the Latins in the East do not seem to have been as great as might be expected. But we know of learned clergy and laymen who knew Arabic and I am inclined to feel that a great deal more Arabic culture was absorbed by the Syrian Franks than we are accustomed to credit. Until recent scholarship threw light on the Dark Ages we were inclined to assume that European culture was negligible in the centuries after the fall of Rome, and I fully believe that if the crusaders' states are studied by orientalists searching for evidences of intellectual activity they will be found to be much more highly cultured than we think them to have been. They employed Arabic physicians, did they not likewise employ Arabic teachers? Where did such a man as William of Tyre learn the Arabic that enabled him to write a history of the Moslem states? Who taught Renaud of Sidon Arabic? There are ample evidences to show that the Syrian Franks were well acquainted with the literature both of the West and the East. They quoted the European *chansons de geste* and they developed their own epic cycle, recently studied by Anouar Hatem.[25] They transmitted the stories of Arabic and Indian literature to the West where they reappeared, strangely altered, in the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Decameron*, and they also left their western impression on the Oriental *Arabian Nights*.

Certainly the crusader states show the fusion of Oriental and Occidental in the fields of the fine arts and architecture. While the Syrian Franks employed the familiar forms of western Romanesque and Gothic in ecclesiastical building they adapted to them Byzantine and Saracen decorations; and the influence of the military architecture of the crusaders on that of western Europe was certainly great, even though the reverse influence has recently been proclaimed in a brilliant but rather juvenile treatise by a great soldier. As to their importance in sculpture and the lesser arts, the fusion of the Romanesque with the Oriental which is found in the carvings of Jerusalem moved Strzygowski to maintain that the crusaders' states were the predecessors and the inspiration of the art of the Italian Renaissance.[26]

[25] Hatem, *Les Poèmes Epiques de Croisades* (Paris, 1932).

[26] Strzygowski, "The Tombs of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 499-509.

That they absorbed much of the oriental environment, much of the oriental culture, cannot be questioned. The point which I would like to make here is that, although the soldiers returning from the crusades may have brought back to Europe very little from the Moslem East, a great deal nevertheless did filter into Europe through the media of the crusaders' states. Many of the beneficial effects of the crusades on Europe came not through the crusades themselves but rather through the orientalized, tolerant Franks of Syria in the intervals of peace between crusades. If the art forms of Jerusalem may be considered the inspiration of Renaissance art, the tolerance and worldliness of the crusaders' states can be equally well considered the source of the secularization of society and the emphasis on the worldly aspects of life which characterized the age of the despots as distinguished from the age of faith. Although their political institutions were those of the eleventh century in the West, their intellectual and economic civilization had progressed beyond that of their contemporary European neighbors. They had learned from the East and from mingling with men of a different race and religion a breadth of view and a tolerance which Europe was not to learn for many years. In politics reactionaries, in the amenities of civilization the crusader states were far in advance of their times.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE

By A. A. Vasiliev

Many years ago, in the summer of 1889 to be exact, when I was a student at the University of St. Petersburg in Russia, on my way from the Caucasus to Constantinople I visited Trebizond, a second-rate maritime city in Turkey. At that time I did not know that Trebizond was to become, long after, a special subject of mine. But from my very youth—it is hard to say why—the lure of Trebizond has been strong to my imagination, and I have learned that I am not the only one to fall under its charm. To Fallmerayer, a German historian and philologist who over a century ago wrote the first scholarly history of the Empire of Trebizond, Trebizond "with its soft and melodious name" was "a country of dreams from his early youth." And in sober fact the panorama of Trebizond, set among eternally verdant mountains, seen from shipboard is almost unforgettable.

In the fourteenth century Trebizond had its own chronicler, Michael Panaretos, whose palace *Chronicle*, a drab but reliable narrative, has revealed many facts otherwise unknown and enabled us for the first time to bring order into the history of the Empire of Trebizond. Panaretos' contemporary also, Andreas Libadenos, although born in Constantinople, held ecclesiastical office in Trebizond, and has left an interesting description of the city and of some events connected with its history. In the fifteenth century two Spanish travellers, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo and Pero Tafur, visited Trebizond, and they have given us an extremely important picture of the city and the general situation of the petty Empire. Trebizond inspired writers even during the fatal period when it was nearing final collapse in the fifteenth century, when Bessarion of Nicaea and John (Joannes) Eugenikos wrote their famous *Encomia* of Trebizond.

In this study I do not intend to deal with the sources for the Empire of Trebizond, but I wish to survey what has been written on the subject beginning with the seventeenth century, when in 1600 Athanasius made the first attempt, as far as I know, at a history of Trebizond. In this respect the long process of the development of our knowledge of the Empire may be divided into two unequal periods, minor and major, before and after the discovery by Fallmerayer of Michael Panaretos' Trapezuntine Chronicle as late as the 'twenties of the nineteenth century. Before that time the history of the Empire was veiled in obscurity; after it a bright light pierced the darkness. For the first

time we were enabled to write a new history of the Empire of Trebizond; it is undoubtedly still incomplete, with many gaps to be filled in, but if we compare our material of today, based on epigraphical and archaeological evidence, with that available before Fallmerayer's discovery, we conclude that we have a solid foundation on which to work.

Panaretos' significance for the history of the Empire of Trebizond always suggests to me Mommsen's words concerning the famous Greek historian Polybius. "His books," wrote Mommsen, "are in Roman history like the sun; at the point where they begin, the mist which still envelops the Samnite and Pyrrhic wars is raised; and at the point where they end, a new, and if possible, still more vexatious twilight begins."[1] Of course Panaretos is no Polybius; Panaretos was a drab, dry, but valuable chronicler, Polybius a first rate historian. But with due reservations we may say that Panaretos' chronicle is also "like the sun" in Trapezuntine history, or perhaps better, like the dawn of a sunny day.

In my study of works on the Empire of Trebizond I do not intend to list or discuss all historical works of general character in which the Empire is mentioned; this task would be both impossible and useless. I shall concentrate my chief attention on special studies on the history of the Empire. It will also, I believe, be of value to note many references to Trebizond in purely literary works without historical pretension in which Trebizond has quite lost historical reality and has become a fairy tale country, a land beyond time and space. But, although G. Finlay wrote that "the grandeur of the Empire of Trebizond exists only in romance,"[2] and much later W. Miller said that "the medieval Empire of Trebizond is one of the curiosities of history,"[3] this Empire was a vivid, real, and complicated political organism. True, politically the Empire was weak and loose. But the causes of its political weakness were very interesting. I am far from idealizing the history of the Empire.[4] But I must stress the fact that

[1] Mommsen, *History of Rome*, III, 468.

[2] G. Finlay, *A History of Greece*, ed. Tozer, IV. *Mediaeval Greece and the Empire of Trebizond* (Oxford, 1877), 308.

[3] W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 7.

[4] Many historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been accused of excessive idealization of the history of the Byzantine Empire. See M. V. Levchenko, *A History of Byzantium* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), p. 6: Diehl and other bourgeois byzantinists have excessively idealized the historical role of Byzantium. . . . The idealization of Byzantium by bourgeois historians is shown by the fact that they omit to mention the reverse of the medal—Byzantium as a stronghold of despotism, the church, a perfect mechanism for the exploitation of the working masses (in Russian). The author of this book, Levchenko, is a Marxist.

the declining Empire was not a dead body, was not a mummy preserved in a casket. Internally there was a long and stubborn struggle between the ruling class and the masses of people trampled down by abuse and taxation. Externally the economic and cultural significance of the Empire, not only for its own sake but also as an essential factor in the history of the economic and cultural relations between East and West in the Middle Ages, contributes to its history a fascinating interest and unusual freshness. The Empire had also very great importance in the history of Christianity in general and in its struggle against Islam in particular, a struggle intensified late in the Middle Ages when Islam received new strength from the Ottoman Turks.

I shall begin my survey with the year 1600. In this year Athanasius, surnamed Δαιμονοκαταλύτης, metropolitan of Trebizond, compiled a description of the famous monastery of Soumela (Sumela), near and south of Trebizond. The monastery's original foundation, in the shape of a small sanctuary, according to legend goes back to the end of the fourth century or at least to the epoch of Justinian; and this "conspicuous landmark of Trapezuntine history"[5] was so indissolubly connected with the political and religious history of Trebizond that Athanasius' description may be regarded as the first, and of course very rudimentary, attempt at a history of the Empire of Trebizond. During the existence of the Empire the monastery of Soumela was the largest in the region and "at one time it boasted a prosperity and importance as great as, if not greater than, that of some of the mighty foundations of Mount Athos."[6] As far as I know, Athanasius' *Description of the Monastery of Soumela* has not been published.[7] But it was used by the archimandrite of the monastery, Parthenios Metaxopoulos, who in 1775 at Leipzig published in Greek a brief history of the monastery and of the Empire of Trebizond, of which we shall speak later in detail. From the references to Athanasius' compilation given in Metaxopoulos' book we conclude that Athanasius covered the history of Trebizond from the earlier Christian time, at least from the fourth century A. D., down to the later years of the Empire, probably to its fall in 1461.

In 1897 A. Papadopoulos—Kerameus published his important col-

[5] W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[6] D. T. Rice, *Notes on some Religious Buildings in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond, Byzantion*, V (1929), 73. G. Millet and D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond* (London, 1936), pp. 144-150 (The Monastery of Sumela). *A special study on the Monastery of Soumela* Ἐ. Θ. Κυριακίδης, Ἱστορία τῆς παρὰ τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα . . . μονῆς . . . τῆς Σουμελᾶ. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1898.

[7] See Σπ. Λάμπρος. Θεωνᾶς ἄγνωστος χρονογράφος τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος. Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, I (1904), 200-201.

lection of sources on the history of the Empire of Trebizond.[8] As the third document, he printed a homily by Joseph, metropolitan of Trebizond, who lived in the fourteenth century, on the subject of St. Eugenios, the special champion of Trebizond. In this homily Joseph writes that under the Emperor Basil the Macedonian (867-886) the Archbishop in Trebizond was Athanasius ὁ Δαιμονοκαταλύτης.[9] This statement would indicate that Athanasius lived seven hundred years earlier than 1600, when he supposedly compiled his historical sketch. Papadopoulos—Kerameus states in his preface that his texts reveal a blunder accepted by later writers, *i. e.*, that Athanasius lived in 1600; in reality, says Papadopoulos-Kerameus, he lived in the ninth century under Basil I the Macedonian.[10] But this conclusion can not be sustained. Metaxopoulos' book to which I have referred quotes from Athanasius Daimonokatalytes' compilation on events of the thirteenth century;[11] so that it is impossible to ascribe Athanasius to the ninth century. In a recent book in Modern Greek on the Church of Trebizond published in 1933 by the Metropolitan of Trebizond, Chrysanthos, we find two persons named Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Δαιμονοκαταλύτης, of whom one was Metropolitan of Trebizond under the Emperor Basil the Macedonian (867-886) and the other lived in the year 1600.[12] We may be sure that our Athanasius Daimonokatalytes lived in 1600 and was the author of a description of the monastery of Soumela which contained the first brief and rudimentary sketch of the history of the Empire of Trebizond. The sketch was never published and of course has now no historical value whatever.

The French King Henry IV (1589-1610) in 1603 appointed Jean de Gontaut Biron, Baron de Salignac, ambassador to Turkey at the court of the Sultan Ahmad (Ahmed) I (1603-1617). The Baron left France in July 1604 for Constantinople, where he stayed till his death in 1610. Julien Bordier, of Perigord in France, his esquire (écuyer) accompanied him to Constantinople, visited the Christian Orient and the Crimea, and wrote an account of his travels. After the ambassador's death in 1610, Bordier returned to Perigord; later he set out again to the Levant and finished his writing at Aleppo in 1626. Thereafter we lose sight of him.

[8] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes historiae imperii Trapezuntini*, I, St. Petersburg (1897).

[9] *Idem*, p. 53.

[10] *Idem*, pp. xiv-xv.

[11] Μεταξόπουλος, p. 60, note. The complete title of this book will be given later.

[12] Χρυσάνθου Μητροπολίτου Τραπεζοῦντος, Ἡ ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος. Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, IV-V (Athens, 1933), 152 and 787. A separate edition of this book is dated Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1936. The author of this book is now archbishop of Athens.

The first part of his relation, which was published some time ago, is foreign to our purposes; it stops with the arrival of the travellers at Constantinople.[13] He earnestly desired at that time to visit Trebizond. He wrote, "During all my winter walks I always had the wish in my soul, in the approaching spring to go to Trebizond."[14]

In 1935 the Metropolitan of Trebizond, Chrysanthos, published for the first time, as he says, the fifth book of Bordier's relation, containing descriptions of Bithynia, Amastris, Sinope, Trebizond, Cappadocia, Galatia, Georgia or Iberia, Mingrelia (Mangrelie) or Colchis, and Erzerum.[15] Chapters 5 and 6 are devoted to Trebizond: the former tells of Bordier's sojourn in Trebizond and gives a very interesting description of the city, entitled "*On the imperial and free city of Trebizond*" (De l'Imperialle et france cité de Trebizonde).[16] In this chapter Bordier gives a very brief survey of the history of the Empire of Trebizond filled with all sorts of blunders. We read:

For many centuries the Trapezuntines had maintained themselves in their principality till the arrival in this place of Isaac Comnenus, who was one of the descendants of the Comneni, usurpers of the Empire of Constantinople, who took refuge at Trebizond in order to avoid the mutiny and indignation of the Constantinopolitans who had killed his father for his iniquity. Isaac Comnenus was welcomed and well received by the Trapezuntines, because he took issue from the race of the Emperors, and either they needed a prince to govern their State or Principality, or for some other reason. They received him, agreeing to proclaim him emperor and bestow upon him the imperial title in order not to diminish that of his ancestors; since the emperors of Trebizond possessed that title, till the capture of that city by Muhammed (Mahomet) II, which took place in the year of Our Lord 1457, four years after the capture of Constantinople which put an end to that Empire with its Emperors. The Emperor at that time was named Calojan. He was brought, along with some Christian princes as prisoners, to Constantinople, where Muhammed, who would not tolerate such companions, had them killed iniquitously in order to reign more safely.[17]

Bordier's brief sketch contains several factual errors. The name

[13] Julien Bordier, *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut Biron, Baron de Salignac.* 1605-1610. *Voyage à Constantinople. Séjour en Turquie. Relation inédite précédée de la vie du baron de Salignac par le comte Théodore de Gontaut Biron.* Paris, 1888 (*Archives historiques de la Gascogne*, fasc. 16-e). For Salignac and Bordier's biographies, see pp. iii-iv; 97, 101, 151.

[14] J. Bordier, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[15] Chrysanthos, Μητροπολίτης Τραπεζοῦντος, *Relation d'un voyage en Orient par Julien Bordier, écuyer de Jean Gontaut, Baron de Salignac, ambassadeur à Constantinople* (1604-1612). Livre V-e, Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, VI (1935), 86-158. The text was published after *MS. B. N., Fonds ancien St. Germain français 18076.*

[16] *Ibid.*, ch. 5, pp. 117-129; ch. 6, pp. 129-135.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

of the Comnenus who escaped to Trebizond and founded the Empire was not Isaac Comnenus but Alexius (with his brother David). The father whose assassination is mentioned was Manuel, who perished in Constantinople in the catastrophe of the dynastic revolution of 1185. In the eyes of Bordier the Comneni were usurpers of the Constantinopolitan throne, but this to a certain extent may be said of any new dynasty which successfully overthrows a previous one. The Turks conquered the Empire of Trebizond, not in 1457, but in 1461. The last Emperor, who was brought to Constantinople and killed there in 1463, was David, not Calojan or John IV, his predecessor, who was called "Kalojoannes" because of his handsome appearance.

In 1616 an English book by Thomas Gainsford appeared. The title of this rare book is as follows: *The Historie of Trebizond, in foure bookes.* By Tho. Gainsforde Esquier. At London, 1616, pp. 360. This compilation of 360 pages containing four books in one volume is quoted as a work dealing with the history of Trebizond in U. Chevalier, *Topobibliographie* (Montbeliard, 1894-1903), p. 3153, and is also mentioned in some encyclopedias under "Trebizond," for instance in *the Catholic Encyclopaedia*, XV, 28-29 (article compiled by S. Vailhé) and in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo—Americana*, LXIV (Bilbao-Madrid-Barcelona), 10 (under "Trabizon"). I doubt if these authors ever saw the book; if they had they probably would not have mentioned it in a bibliography on the history of Trebizond. Its title is entirely misleading. It is a mere collection of fantastic stories which supposedly refer to the Near East, and it has no historical significance whatever. I will give some examples. On pp. 86-87 we read: "After *Samarchanus* (most mighty Duke) sonne of *Rhecus* sonne of *Demorgus*, the ancient Inhabiter of the Caves of *Sarmatia*, had reduced his people to a civilitie by his discipline and with the example of valour countenanced their courage; hee attempted the Empire of *Terbizonda*, and preferred for prevailing, so relied on their obedience and loialties, that *Colchides*, *Pontus*, *Iberia*, and *Capadocia* were also subjected, with which renowned." On pp. 307-308: "The Prince setteth forward toward *Trebizonda*, but understanding the Court was kept in *Samarchanda*, a rich and populous Cittie, hee studied how to make his entrance." P. 333: "Heere a wonderfull clamour seemed to threaten heaven with the noise, by which the *Trebyzondians* had warning of their enemies ill meaning toward them." P. 339: "No sooner was the *Trebizondian* Armie dissolved, but *Trezoboro* sollemly proclaimed the Prince of peace, as well to cellebrate their late quietnesse."

To sum up, Gainsford's book is a collection of imaginary stories which made their appearance during the Crusades and included among

their subjects the mysterious, unknown, and far off city of Trebizond, which was located, according to a French writer of the thirteenth century, Joinville, somewhere in "profound Greece" (*la parfonde Grece*).[18] Gainsford's book deserves no place in bibliographies on the history of Trebizond.

In 1631 a book came out in Venice written in Modern Greek supposedly by the Metropolitan of Monembasia, Dorotheos; the lengthy title runs as follows: "An Historical Book from the creation of the world to the capture of Constantinople and thereafter. Gathered from various reliable stories and rendered into the spoken language by the Holiest Metropolitan of Monembasia, Dorotheos. . . ."[19] The book was probably compiled in 1630 and for two entire centuries (seventeenth and eighteenth) was exceedingly popular among Greeks. From the year 1631 when its first edition appeared to the year 1818 not less than seventeen editions were printed.[20] For our purpose it is immaterial whether the author was named Hierotheos (Ἱερόθεος) for Dorotheos or whether he was another Greek writer, Manuel Malaxos (Μανουὴλ Μαλαξός). Sp. Lampros calls the author of Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monembasia (Ψευδοδωρόθεος Μονεμβασίας).[21] Later apparently he changed his opinion and was inclined to attribute the book to Dorotheos of Monembasia. But his exact position is not clear, for the specific study on this writer which he planned to publish was prevented by his death.[22] In his book Dorotheos used Byzantine world chronicles and some other material, for example the rhymed

[18] Joinville, *Histoire de Saint-Louis*, ed. N. Wailly (Paris, 1882), ch. CXVI, p. 591.

[19] Βιβλίον ἱστορικὸν περιέχον ἐν συνόψει διαφόρους καὶ ἐξόχους ἱστορίας, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου μέχρι τῆς ἁλώσεως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Συλλεχθὲν μὲν ἐκ διαφόρων ἀκριβῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν γλῶσσαν μεταγλωττισθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Μονεμβασίας κυρίου Δωρυθέου . . . Ἐνετίησιν, 1631. For latest information on Dorotheos of Monembasia see Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, XVI (1922), pp. 137-190: Δωροθέου Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν (from unpublished papers of the late Sp. Lampros). The introductory explanatory section is signed by the initials K. I. Δ. (pp. 137-142). See also K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2d ed. Munich, 1897), p. 401. Th. Preger, *Die Chronik vom Jahre* 1570 ("Dorotheos" von Monembasia und Manuel Malaxos), *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XI (1902), 4-15 (addition to Krumbacher's book).

[20] On various editions of this book see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, I (Paris, 1894), 290-299, 352-353; II (Paris, 1894), 327-334, 390-391, 437. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, I (Paris, 1918), 303-305, 373; II (Paris, 1928), 11, 256, 355, 450.

[21] See for example, Σπ. Λάμπρος, Περὶ τῆς παιδείας ἐν Ἰωαννίνοις ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας. Νέος Ἑλληνομήμων, XIII (1916), 309.

[22] Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, XVI (1922), 137-138.

chronicle of Morea, perhaps in its prose paraphrase.[23] No thorough study of his sources has yet been made. This book may be mentioned here because it contains a very brief narrative of the fall of Trebizond. The name of the last emperor, David, is mentioned several times. After delivering the keys of the city to the Sultan he was brought to Constantinople. According to Dorotheos, David was a rude and cowardly man unworthy of his name.[24]

A very brief and quite rudimentary sketch of the history of the Empire of Trebizond is given in an Italian book printed in Venice in 1663. This book in folio, containing 218 pages, with a lengthy introduction whose pages are unnumbered, was compiled by Lorenzo Miniati and is devoted to the glorification of the Comneni family. The title runs as follows: *Miniati* Lorenzo. Le glorie cadute dell'antichissima ed augustissima Famiglia Comnena. In Venetia, 1663, in fol. According to the author, the family originally bore the name of Silvia, then Giulia, later Flavia, and finally Comnena, and in its origin went back to the line of Aeneas of Troy, King of the Latins (p. 10). On pp. 61-65 is a list with very brief summaries of the reigns of the emperors of Trebizond. They were *Capitani famosi* and for their deeds were generally called *i Gran Comneni*. On p. 72 we have a letter from David Comnenus, the last Trapezuntine emperor, to his second wife Helene Cantacuzene. The text of the letter is printed in Italian; it begins *Amantissima mia Consorte* and is signed *Vostro amantissimo Davide*. On pp. 77-81 is a *Lament* (*Pianto*) by Helene Cantacuzene, Empress of Trebizond. Then follows a poem (*ottave*) by Girolamo Garopoli, the *archiprete* of Corigliano: "David Comnenus, the last Emperor of Trebizond, exhorts his sons to die for the Faith" (pp. 81-82). On pp. 83-84 is a poem written by Fr. Franciscus Macedo Lusitanus, "Imperatrix stragem Trapezuntici Imperatoris et Imperii lamentatur." On pp. 84-87 we read, "Davidis Comneni ultimi Trapezuntij Imperatoris 'De fortuna triumphus' Carmen Lo. Francisci Raymundi academici incauti." Obviously the book has no historical value whatsoever; but it may be interesting to note that one of the earliest examples of interest in Trapezuntine history springs from Miniati's desire to glorify the Comneni line

[23] A fragment from his book on the history of the Peloponnesus in the fifteenth century was published in Ch. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 237-239. See Krumbacher, op. cit., p. 401. Preger, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 15.

[24] Dorotheos of Monembasia, Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν . . . (Venice, 1631), pp. 553-554 (I used the edition of 1631). Fallmerayer also used the book in this edition. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. 263, 277, 279.

and to link it with the mythical origins of the Italian state. Karl Hopf mentions Miniati's *Glorie cadute* but dismisses his conclusions as nonsense (*unsinnig*).[25]

About 1665 Nickodemos, a Greek monk from Phasis in Colchis, compiled a history of the monastery of Soumela (Sumela) and a religious service in memory of the holy Fathers probably belonging to it. The compilation is, as far as I am aware, still unpublished,[26] like the above-mentioned history of Soumela written by Athanasius Daimonokatalytes in 1600. But Nikodemos' compilation was used and referred to by Metaxopoulos, who in 1775 published at Leipzig in Greek his brief history of the monastery of Soumela already mentioned above. From his references we learn that the compilation not only deals with the monastery of Soumela but is connected with the political and religious history of the Empire of Trebizond as well.[27] Knowing Nikodemos' compilation from Metaxopoulos' references, Karl Hopf calls it an apocryphal work and names the author Nicolaos Kolchios in error for Nikodemos.[28]

In his numerous and various works the famous Du Cange failed to undertake a history of the Empire of Trebizond; indeed in his time printed sources on the subject were so scarce, fragmentary, and disconnected that such a task would have been impossible, as he well understood. But in his work *Familiae Byzantinae*, which came out in 1680, he briefly treated of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond. According to Du Cange, Alexius Comnenus, surnamed the Great, under the title of *dux* governed Colchis, *i. e.*, the Trapezuntine province, under Constantinopolitan emperors, *i. e.*, under the Angeli before 1204; when Constantinople was captured in 1204 by the Franks, Alexius decided to proclaim himself supreme ruler of the duchy. Du Cange pointed out that it is erroneous to ascribe the title of emperor to Alexius, because, as many state, this title was first usurped by his grandson John. Du Cange bases his conclusion on a passage from the learned French encyclopedist of the thirteenth century, Vincent of Beauvais (died in 1264), who in his *Speculum Historiale* mentions that about 1240 the lord (*dominus*) of Trebizond used to

[25] K. Hopf, *Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit. Allgemeine Encyclopädie* . . . von Ersh und Gruber, LXXXV (Leipzig, 1867), 210, n. 24.

[26] See, Σπ. Λάμπρος, *Θεωνᾶς ἄγνωστος χρονογράφος τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος*. Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, I (1904), p. 200: *συγγράψας περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς Ἱστορικὸν καὶ Ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων*. Lampros knows Nikodemos from Metaxopoulos' references.

[27] Metaxopoulos in his references calls Nikodemos' compilation *Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος* (p. 56), *Ἱστορία Σουμελᾶ* (p. 57), or simply *Νικόδημος*.

[28] K. Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 24.

give the Sultan of Iconium "200 lances" or a specified number of soldiers; since Vincent of Beauvais called the ruler of Trebizond not emperor but dominus, Du Cange came to the conclusion that in the thirteenth century the rulers of Trebizond did not bear the title of emperor.[29] Then in the second section of the genealogy of the Comeni family Du Cange gave the genealogical table of a certain number of Trapezuntine princes and emperors.[30] For two hundred and fifty-eight years of the Empire of Trebizond, according to Du Cange, there were no more than twelve rulers: among them he could name only nine. We know now that there were no less than twenty emperors of Trebizond, all identified by name.[31] In another place Du Cange mentions the marriage of the Byzantine Emperor John V Palaeologus (1341-1391) to the Trapezuntine Princess Eudocia, daughter of the Emperor Alexius III (1349-1390).[32] He also writes, "Phrantzes reports that David was killed by a blow of the fist inflicted upon him by the Sultan himself."[33] Realizing the poverty of the material at his disposal, Du Cange wrote in conclusion that impenetrable obscurity covers the destinies of the Trapezuntine Comneni.[34]

In 1701 a French botanist, P. Tournefort, was sent by the French King Louis XIV on a scientific mission to the Near East, and visited Trebizond.[35] He arrived in Trebizond on May 23 and left the city on June 3. In spite of the shortness of his visit Tournefort, who was

[29] Du Cange, *Familiae Byzantinae* (Parisiis, 1680), p. 192. Du Cange's point of view has since been contradicted. See Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. 69-81. A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 30-32.

[30] *Idem*, pp. 191-195. In the Venetian edition of Du Cange's work (Venetiis, 1729), pp. 158-161; see W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 130.

[31] See Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

[32] Du Cange, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

[33] Du Cange, *op. cit.*, p. 195: Tradit Phranzes Davidem ab ipso Sultano pugno interfectum esse. Here is an interesting blunder. In Phrantzes' *History* (ed. Bonn, 414) we read: *κἀκεῖνον πνιγμῷ ἐτελείωσε, i. e.,* (the Sultan ordered) him to be strangled; in the Bonn edition the Latin translation is correct: suffocari jussit. But an earlier Latin translator of Phrantzes' *History* gave a wrong translation: he killed him with the fist. It is very strange that Du Cange gave his statement not from the original Greek but from a Latin translation. This error has already been clarified in Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, new edition by Saint Martin and Brosset, XXI (Paris, 1836), 375-376. Evidently the translator confused two Greek words: *ὁ πνιγμός*—strangulation, and *ἡ πυγμή*—a fist.

[34] See Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. XIV.

[35] Fallmerayer erroneously says that Tournefort was in Trebizond in the summer of the year 1700. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), p. 292.

interested not only in botany but also in history and in the customs and manners of the countries he visited, devoted some attention to the history of Trebizond both in ancient times and in the Middle Ages.[36] He wrote that the city of Trebizond was celebrated in history only by the retreat of the Comneni who, after the capture of Constantinople by the French and Venetians, set up there the seat of their Empire.[37] He knew that in the twelfth century Constantine Gabras established himself there as an independent governor or, according to Tournefort, as a petty tyrant (*en petit Tyran*). In 1204 Alexius Comnenus, surnamed the Great, took possession of Trebizond with the title of duke (*Dux*), and it was only the third ruler, his own son, John Comnenus, whom the Greeks called emperor of Trebizond as if they wished to show that it was the Comnenus who was their true emperor; Michael Palaeologus, who had his residence in Constantinople, had abandoned the Greek rite to follow that of Rome. It is certain that Vincent of Beauvais calls Alexius Comnenus merely *seigneur* of Trebizond.[38] Tournefort remarks, "However it may be, the *sovereignty* of this city, if one does not wish to use the word *empire*, commenced in 1204 under Alexius Comnenus and ended in 1461, when Muhammed II dethroned David Comnenus."[39] Tournefort blunders in saying that "this unfortunate prince" married Irene, daughter of the Emperor John Cantacuzene.[40] Of course David Comnenus, who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century, could not have married the daughter of John Cantacuzene, who lived in the fourteenth century (1341-1354).[41] Tournefort, following Du Cange's statement, refers to the Byzantine historian Phrantzes as his authority for saying that David Comnenus died from a blow of the fist dealt him by the Sultan.[42] In addition to this brief survey of the political history of the Empire of Trebizond, Tournefort gives a fine description of the city and its walls and publishes the text of four

[36] Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant fait par ordre du Roy*, vol. II (Paris, 1717). I also used another edition of this book printed in Amsterdam, 1718. I give in parentheses the pages of the latter edition.

[37] II, 224 (99).

[38] II, 232-233 (101-102). The opinion now prevails that Alexis Comnenus already bore the imperial title. See A. Vasiliev, "Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), pp. 30-37. Also Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 69. In his statement about Michael Palaeologus Tournefort had in view the Union of Lyons in the year 1274.

[39] II, 233 (102).

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] David's second wife was Helene Cantacuzene, who belonged to the same famous family. This explains Tournefort's mistake.

[42] II, 233 (102). We have noted above that this statement of Du Cange is incorrect.

Greek inscriptions; especially interesting is the first, which coutains the name of Justinian the Great.[43] Then we have a description of the port of Trebizond and of a visit to Saint Sophia and to the large monastery of Saint John, twenty-five miles southeast of the city.[44] Even today the few pages dedicated by Tournefort to Trebizond may be read with interest and profit.

We have already emphasized the fact that in the seventeenth century Athanasius Daimonokatalytes and Nikodemos of Phasis compiled histories of the Empire of Trebizond based specifically upon a history of the monastery of Soumela (Sumela), which was closely connected with the political and religious history of Trebizond. But these two compilations remain unpublished. They were, however, employed by Metaxopoulos, whose compilation was published in 1775. This book is extremely rare. According to E. Legrand,[45] four copies only are known: (1) in the private library of the late French professor Emile Legrand; this copy now belongs to Professor H. Pernot in Paris;[46] (2) in the British Museum, 870, h. 3; (3) in the Library of the *Ecole évangélique in Smyrna*, Θρησκ. Τκ. 206; (4) in the National Library of Athens, Theol. 3859. The book is written in Greek and was published in Leipzig in 1775. Its author was a monk from Trebizond, *hieromonachus* Parthenios Metaxopoulos, archimandrite of the monastery of Soumela (Sumela). The book contains a variety of articles connected with the religious history of Trebizond and its neighborhood; Its title is very lengthy; with some omissions it runs as follows: *Ἡ θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ ἀκολουθία τῶν ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων Πατέρων ἡμῶν Βαρνάβα καὶ Σωφρονίου τῶν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Χριστοφόρου, τῶν ἐν Μελᾷ ὄρει ἀσκησάντων . . . ἡ Ἱερὰ ἱστορία τῆς βασιλικῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Σουμελᾶ . . . Ἐμμελεῖ δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ συνδρομῇ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Μονῆς Παρθενίου Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Τραπεζουντίου τοῦ Μεταξοπούλου, παρ' οὗ συντεθεῖσα καὶ ἡ ἐν Συνόψει Ἱστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς περιφήμου Τραπεζοῦντος· Ἐν Λειψίᾳ τῆς Σαξονίας, ἐν ἔτει αψοε'*—1775. A brief sketch of the history of the city and Empire of Trebizond is to be found on pp. 55-68, fourteen pages altogether. The title of this sketch follows: *Ἱστορικὸν τῆς πολέως Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ τῶν Βασιλέων αὐτῆς, παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἱερομονάχοις Παρθενίου Τραπεζουντίου τοῦ Μεταξοπούλου, καὶ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου*

[43] II, 233-235 (102-103). See A. Vasiliev, "Zur Geschichte von Trapezunt unter Justinian dem Grossen," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929-1930), 385-386.

[44] II, 235-238 (103-104).

[45] Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle.* Oeuvre posthume complétée et publiée par Mgr L. Petit et H. Pernot, II (Paris, 1928), 207-208.

[46] During my work in Paris in 1934, Professor H. Pernot was kind enough to lend me this book. I acknowledge here my sincere gratitude to him.

ἐκ τῆς Βασιλικῆς Μονῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Σουμελᾶ. I do not know why the compilation was published in Germany.

On pp. 53-56 Metaxopoulos gives some brief information on the pagan and Christian past of Trebizond before 1204. Among other things, he tells of the arrival from Athens in the reign of Theodosius the Great of two monks, Barnabas and Sophronios, and their founding of the monastery of Soumela (Sumela). The foundation of the monastery of Zaboulon, now Bazelon, is also mentioned. In his notes he refers to some Byzantine sources, such as George Syncellus, Zosimus, John Malalas, Symeon Metaphrastes, and to the compilations of Athanasios Daimonokatalytes and Nikodemos of Colchis, several times mentioned above. On pp. 59-68 Metaxopoulos treats of the history of the Empire of Trebizond. Generally speaking, his information is not exact and sometimes not free from legend. In 1204, after the death of the Emperor of Trebizond Nicephorus Palaeologus,[47] Andronicus' descendant (ὁ Ἔκγονος) Alexius the Great came from Constantinople and occupied the imperial throne of Trebizond and reigned thirty-five years.[48] With his own hands he killed a monstrous and terrible dragon outside the city. The names and dates of the succeeding emperors are mostly incorrect; for example, in the thirteenth century he gives the names of the emperors Nicolaos and Hadrian, who never existed. Michael Palaeologus, who in 1261 took Constantinople from the Latins, was Latino-minded (Λατινοφρονήσαντος).[49] Therefore the inhabitants of Constantinople sent the imperial title and insignia to John of Trebizond. After several years of dispute between John of Trebizond and Michael Palaeologus John married Michael's daughter Eudokia.[50] About 1340 Alexius for his victories over the Persians was proclaimed Βασιλεὺς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ πάσης Ἀνατολῆς, Ἰβήρων καὶ Περατείας.[51] Naturally Metaxopoulos violently attacks the Council of Florence and calls it "the all-abominable Council anathematized by the Holy and Oecumenical Councils, a Pseudo-Council (Ψευδοσύλλογος)." The capture of Trebizond by the Turks is described on pp. 66-67. Metaxopoulos ends his brief sketch with the following words: "And this as it had briefly been collected by

[47] Nicephorus Palaeologus, of course, was not an emperor but the last governor of Trebizond mentioned in the twelfth century.

[48] In reality Alexius I reigned eighteen years (1204-1222).

[49] Here Metaxopoulos has in view Michael's negotiations with Rome and the conclusion of the Union of Lyons in 1274.

[50] This is historical fact. The Emperor of Trebizond was John II (1280-1297).

[51] The year 1340 is wrong. But Alexius II (1297-1330) was probably the first Trapezuntine sovereign who bore this title.

various writers, here and there, was written according to our ability" (p. 68). On pp. 45-52 Metaxopoulos gives "an exact copy of the Imperial *chrysobull* of Alexius, in Christ God Faithful Emperor and Autocrat of all the East, the Iberians and the Transmarine Province." Unfortunately at this moment the text of the copy printed by Metaxopoulos is not available; but I believe that it reproduces the very well known chrysobull issued by Alexius III (1349-1390) in favor of the Venetians in March, 1364.[52]

Of course Metaxopoulos' sketch has no historical value whatever, but it shows how desperately poor was the information on Trebizond in the eighteenth century and how rudimentary was Metaxopoulos' capacity to handle the subject. He evidently even failed to know Du Cange's work, *Familiae Byzantinae*. K. Hopf, who was familiar with Metaxopoulos' book, calls it "a cheat pure and simple" (*reiner Schwindel*).[53]

In 1789 Hénin published in French a brief historical and genealogical survey on the origin of the imperial house of the Comneni.[54] The author tells us that he received most of his information on the Comneni family from the Greek prince, Demetrius Comnenus, one of its last scions. The prince lived in the eighteenth century in France where after having proved his direct lineage from the last Trapezuntine emperor, David, he obtained from the French King letters patent; he died in Paris in 1811.[55] Hénin's book is nothing but a fantastic tale. The first branch of the Comneni family, he believes, goes back to Teucer I, King of Troad, 2500 B. C. (p. 6). The second branch is connected with the Roman family of Flavia which in 469 A. D. adopted the surname of Comanus or Comaine and later Comnenus (p. 29). Besides Demetrius Comnenus, Hénin mentions among his sources the great Greek historian John Lascaris who lived in 1460 and

[52] If this is so, mention of this copy might have been made in D. Zakythinos' fine monograph, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène empereur de Trébizonde en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris, 1932).

[53] K. Hopf, *Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit. Allgemeine Encyclopädie* . . . von Ersch und Gruber, LXXXV (Leipzig, 1867), 210, n. 24. On some sources of Metaxopoulos' see S. Lampros, Θεωνᾶς ἄγνωστος χρονογράφος τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος. Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, I (1904), 200-201. T. Εὐαγγελίδης [Ἱστορία τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς (756 π. χ.-1897). Ἐν Ὀδησσῷ, 1898], mentions Metaxopoulos' compilation in his preface (p. 8).

[54] Hénin, *Coup d'oeil historique et généalogique sur l'origine de la maison impériale de Comnène* (Venice, 1789).

[55] *Op. cit.*, pp. 87; 103-107. Letters patent, pp. 107-114. Two personal letters connected with this question on pp. 43-44. See Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. xv.

wrote a history of the imperial house of the Comneni (pp. 35-36).[56] Hénin says that Leo Allatius who lived in the fourteenth century[57] and who wrote a history of Greece agrees entirely with John Lascaris. Alexius Comnenus III was the first emperor of Trebizond and died in 1203. Alexius Comnenus IV was the second emperor of Trebizond in 1255. Hénin's book is quite meaningless and it is not surprising that K. Hopf calls is nonsense.[58]

Before Fallmerayer's discoveries and works only one serious book was devoted specifically to the history of the Empire of Trebizond. This was written in Latin by a Scandinavian historian, P. W. Afzelius, and published in 1824 at Upsala as a University of Upsala dissertation.[59] Obviously at Afzelius' time the material available for the history of that Empire was not only desperately scanty but badly scattered. The author himself fully realized this. The Empire of Trebizond was known to many people as hardly more than a name. Some writers were discouraged from attempting its history by the penury of the sources, others thought the subject itself unimportant and unworthy of discussion. But Afzelius felt it would be valuable to put together the scanty information derived from various sources and in a simple narrative to present it to the reader. It was not a vain task, he felt, to tell the story of Trebizond, which, starting with a small beginning, flourished as an empire for two hundred and fifty-eight years, finally surviving by nine years the capture of Constantinople, continuing the life of the Byzantine Empire till the year 1462,[60] when after a long siege Trebizond was forced to surrender to the Turks, and its last emperor with his seven sons, unwilling to abjure the Christian faith, met a violent death.[61] The little that concerns Trapezuntine matters is mostly contained in the writings of Byzantine authors, especially Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus Gregoras, George Pachymeres, and Laonikos Chalcocondyles. Their accounts would be sometimes obscure without the help of a great scholar Carolus du Fresne (Du Cange). Afzelius' task was to search for *disjecta membra* in various places to make a connected whole. No one should be sur-

[56] On this humanist Ἰάνος (Ἰωάννης) Λάσκαρις see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, I (Paris, 1885), CXXXI-CLXII; II (Paris, 1885), 322-334. More recently B. A. Μυστακίδης, Λασκάρεις (1400-1869), Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, V (1928), 141-145. There is no mention of his history of the Comneni family.

[57] Allatius lived in the seventeenth century.

[58] K. Hopf, *op. cit.*, I, 210, n. 24.

[59] P. W. Afzelius, *De Imperio Trapezuntino. Dissertatio* (Upsala, 1824), pp. 82.

[60] In reality the Empire of Trebizond fell in 1461.

[61] Afzelius, *op. cit.*, 1-2.

prised, he says, that the things we have engaged to narrate are but particles from, and quasi-additions to, the period of Byzantine history, which itself is not yet sufficiently explained or known.[62] After a general discussion on Byzantine history, which is irrelevant to our purpose, Afzelius briefly outlines the capture of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204, the history of Theodore Lascaris at Nicaea, and the Despotate of Epinus.[63] Afzelius correctly states that the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius Comnenus, was a grandson of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus I, but following Du Cange he states that in 1204 Alexius Comnenus ruled Trebizond with the title of *dux*. It is unknown why Alexius Comnenus was surnamed the Great. The rest of his life and activities are veiled in obscurity.[64] In Afzelius' period the names of Alexius' son and successor, and the son's successor, were unknown. Following Du Cange's presentation, Afzelius says that the Union of Lyons concluded by the emperor Michael Palaeologus in 1274 aroused so much hatred towards him on the part of the Greek Orthodox population of the Empire that they transferred the imperial title from him to the ruler of Trebizond, John II (1280-1297), who thereafter was called emperor.[65] After negotiations between the two courts in 1282 John II married Eudokia, Michael Palaeologus' third daughter. "Owing to this association with the Byzantine court, the Empire of Trebizond grew in fame. It is probable that henceforth the court of the Lazes began to imitate the Byzantine court."[66] Then Afzelius mentions hostilities between Trebizond and the Genoese and the restitution of their commercial relations.[67] According to Afzelius, Trebizond fell in 1462; he knew that several scholars believed that this event occurred in 1461; but he did not agree with them.[68]

Afzelius was a very serious and conscientious historian. He did a very good piece of work on the basis of the material available at his time. He was very familiar with Byzantine historians and with Du Cange's *Familiae Byzantinae*, which he often closely followed but from which he sometimes dissented; he referred to Tournefort's *Travel in the Levant*, which we have discussed above, and to the first edition of Lebeau's work, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, continued by H. Ameilhon (Paris, 1757-1817). Afzelius was perfectly right in sharply criticizing Miniati's fanciful book mentioned above on the origin and glorification of the Comneni family.[69] Afzelius' disadvantage was

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.
[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10. On pp. 20-28 Afzelius gives a brief survey of the history of Trebizond before 1204.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

that he wrote a few years before the brilliant discoveries and illuminating work of Fallmerayer, whose *History of the Empire of Trebizond* came out in 1827. In 1854 A. Kunik remarked that Afzelius' book had no significance whatever.[70] Kunik not only knew Fallmerayer's works but also the second enlarged and revised edition of Lebeau's voluminous work and even the first edition of G. Finlay's *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires.* After the publication of so many important books with much new material, Kunik was correct. But for his own period Afzelius wrote a very good and reliable book; it must be regarded as an accurate summary of what had been done for the history of the Empire of Trebizond before Fallmerayer's *History of the Empire of Trebizond.* Fallmerayer was evidently unacquainted with Afzelius' dissertation, because he mentions it neither in his preface nor in the book itself. He should of course have known it. In any case, Afzelius' book must be listed and adequately appreciated in a study that traces the gradual development of our knowledge of the Empire of Trebizond. With Afzelius' book the preparatory or minor period of the study of the history of the Empire of Trebizond comes to its close.

A new page in the history of the Empire of Trebizond was turned by Fallmerayer, who in 1827 published the definitive book on this subject. J. Ph. Fallmerayer was born in Tirol (Austria) in 1790. He was a lieutenant who fought against Napoleon in 1814-1815, an untiring traveller in Europe and especially in the Near East, for a while a professor at the University of Munich, and a politician who in connection with the revolutionary movement of 1848 was forced to take refuge in Switzerland. Fallmerayer became a real pioneer in investigating and creating the history of Trebizond. He died in Munich in 1861, seventy-one years of age. He himself characterized his life by writing the following lines under his portrait in a Munich tavern where he sometimes enjoyed a little relaxation.

> Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
> Fortunam ex aliis.[71]

[70] A. Kunik, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Uchenyja Zapiski* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, first and third sections, II (1854), 706, n. 1 (in Russian).

[71] On Fallmerayer's biography see Thomas, *Gesammelte Werke von Fallmerayer*, I (Leipzig, 1861). Steub, *Fallmerayer, Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, VI (1877), 558-566. Höfler, "Erinnerungen an Fallmerayer. Ein Licht und Schattenbild," *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXVI (1888), 395-416. Mitterrutzner, *Fragmente aus dem Leben des Fragmentisten* (Brixen, 1887). A. Vasiliev, "The Slavs in Greece," *Viz. Vremennik*, V (1898), 35-41 (pag. of an offprint). The last study in Russian. Ernst Malaen, *Fallmerayer's Schriften und Tagebücher*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1913).

Trebizond drew Fallmerayer from his youth. He wrote, "Trebizond and the eternally green Colchis—it was the country of my dreams from my earliest years; I felt I must breathe its air." [72] Later after he had worked for several years on the Empire of Trebizond, he for the first time visited the city. At last was spread before him, to use his own words, this "long-desired city of the Comneni with its soft and melodious name." [73] In another passage, describing his wanderings in the monasteries in the vicinity of Trebizond, he exclaimed, "No country in the world is better suited to be a place for pilgrimage than this enchanted wilderness.[74]

In 1824 Fallmerayer received a gold medal from the Academy of Sciences of Copenhagen for his work on the subject of a contest announced by the Academy. The subject was "The Empire of Trebizond." [75] A. Kunik observes in this connection, "The glorious history of the Trapezuntine state owes the beginning of its being to Denmark." [76] During his work at the famous Library of St. Mark at Venice (*Bibliotheca Marciana*) among the manuscripts of the rich collection that Cardinal Bessarion bestowed upon the city of Venice in the fifteenth century, Fallmerayer was fortunate enough to discover the palace *Chronicle* of Trebizond written by Michael Panaretos, who lived at Trebizond at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Owing to this drab but truthful chronicle it has become possible to a certain extent to restore the chronological sequence of the most important events in the history of the Empire of Trebizond. The *Chronicle* covers the period from 1204 to 1426 and gives several names of emperors of Trebizond formerly unknown. It is almost certain that Panaretos' chronicle ends with the year 1382, and that several necrological additions that follow down to the year 1426, when the last emperor of Trebizond, David, married Maria of Theodoro in the Crimea, were inserted in the manuscript by an unknown later writer.

From Panaretos' data, which he used in manuscript form, and some other documents Fallmerayer published in 1827 his outstanding work, *A History of the Empire of Trebizond,* whose significance in spite of

[72] Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xxi-xxii. Mitterrutzner, *op. cit.*, 25.

[73] Fallmerayer, *Fragmente aus dem Orient* (2. Aufiage, durchgesehen und eingeleitet von Dr. Thomas, Stuttgart, 1877), p. 26.

[74] *Original Fragmente . . .* I, p. 55. The full title will be given below.

[75] An interesting coincidence may be noted here. The same year (1824) in which the Academy of Copenhagen awarded a gold medal to Fallmerayer for his work on "The Empire of Trebizond," the Scandinavian historian Afzelius published his own dissertation on the same subject. On Afzelius see above.

[76] A. Kunik, "Why does Byzantium still remain an Enigma in World History?" *Uchenyja Zapiski* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, first and third sections, II (1854), 438 (in Russian).

the many years which separate us from its date of publication is not lost even today.[77] In his introduction (pp. 1-43) Fallmerayer sketches the history of Trebizond from earliest times through the Byzantine period down to the year 1185, when the revolution broke out in Constantinople that overthrew the Comneni, who in the person of two infant brothers were taken to Colchis; the relations between Trebizond and Thamar, the Queen of Georgia, are adequately considered. Then Fallmerayer with all the details which were then available to him gives a very interesting and reliable picture of the history of the Empire of Trebizond down to the year of its final fall, which he dates in 1462.[78] Besides political history he devotes considerable attention to the internal situation of the Empire, to its capital and provinces, its customs and manners, commerce, literary activities, and finally to the Trapezuntine Church. Even now we are amazed at his vast knowledge of various sources, Greek, Latin, and Oriental; his style is picturesque and sometimes impulsive. Fallmerayer has a perhaps justifiably high opinion of his own scholarly achievements. He writes: "Before me—I may indeed say so—the Empire of Trebizond was an empty word, something dark and shapeless that under my hand has been moulded into form." Then he proceeds: "Has not the universal significance of the Byzantine State and the eternal indelible idea that forms its foundation come to the understanding of Western peoples through *my* care ('durch *meine* Sorge') as a constitutive element of the human race and an essential part of world economy?"[79] In another passage we read: "Therefore the author may claim the merit of having written, without predecessor, without direction, without guiding star, the first critical and documented history of the Trapezuntine Empire, and thereby of having fixed the true moment at which the famous nation of the Hellenes disappeared from the rank of peoples and sank into the darkness of a very long night."[80]

In 1842 Fallmerayer published the first part of his *Original Fragments, Chronicles, Inscriptions and other Materials for the history of the Empire of Trebizond.*[81] This publication of various Greek

[77] Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. xx + 356. See favorable reviews by Hase, Silvestre-de-Sacy, Niebuhr, and others mentioned by Thomas in *Gesammelte Werke von Fallmerayer*, I, xxii-xxiii.

[78] The real year of the fall of Trebizond is 1461.

[79] Fallmerayer, *Original—Fragmente*, I, p. 3. For the complete title of this publication see below.

[80] Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. xv: *In das Dunkel einer vierthalbhundertjährigen Nacht.*

[81] Fallmerayer, "Original—Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und andere Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt." Erste Abtheilung,

documents with a German translation and valuable commentary was very important in Fallmerayer's time. There is a synoptic account of the miracles of St. Eugenios, the special protector of Trebizond, which was attributed by Fallmerayer to the treasurer Lazaros; a fragment from the reign of Alexius III (1349-1390), attributed also to Lazaros; a chrysobull of the same emperor and his wife Theodora Comnena given in 1375.[82] Another chrysobull of the same emperor to the monastery of Soumela (Sumela), granted in 1365; seven inscriptions, some of which had been published, but not very correctly, by Tournefort. His notes to the published texts (pp. 107-159) have not lost their interest even in our own day. Of course since Fallmerayer's time many new discoveries in the history, topography, and ethnography of Trebizond have been made, so that in several respects his edition may be considered out of date.[83] It has now been shown that the treasurer Lazaros, to whom Fallmerayer attributed two texts as noted above, never existed, and Lazaros as a hagiographer and the title of the document given by Fallmerayer are his own invention.[84]

In 1846 Fallmerayer published the second part of his *Original Fragments.* This part contains the Greek text of the Trapezuntine Chronicle of Michael Panaretos (Μιχαὴλ ὁ Παναρέτος) mentioned above, its German translation, and a very valuable commentary.[85] Of course in 1846 the *Chronicle* of Panaretos was no longer an unpublished text as it had been in 1827 when Fallmerayer published his *History of the Empire of Trebizond.* In 1832 a German philologist and historian, G. L. Fr. Tafel, printed Panaretos' text, but without translation or commentary,[86] and from Tafel's edition Saint-Martin and Brosset, in various volumes of their new edition of Lebeau's

Abhandlungen der hist. Classe der K. Bay. Akad. der Wiss., III, 2 (Munich, 1842), 1-159.

[82] The exact date is September, 1374.

[83] See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes historiae Imperii Trapezuntini,* I (St. Petresburg, 1897), p. i, n. 1 (in Russian).

[84] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, pp. ix-x. Lazaros' name occurs in Fallmerayer's *Original-Fragmente,* I, 14, 17, 71, 85. From Fallmerayer the name of "a hagiographer Lazaros, the author of the miracles of St. Eugenios" passed into the first edition of *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* (Brussels, 1895), p. 41. But his name disappeared in the second edition of this work (Brussels, 1909), after the Bollandists had become acquainted with the publication of Papadopoulos Kerameus.

[85] Fallmerayer, "Original-Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und andere Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt." Zweite Abtheilung, Abhandlungen der hist. Classe der K. Bay. Akad. der Wiss., IV, 1 (Munich, 1846), pp. 1-108.

[86] G. L. Fr. Tafel published the *Chronicle* as an appendix to his book *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula* (Frankfurt a/M., 1832), pp. 362-370.

Histoire du Bas-Empire, largely employed this chronicle and gave it a French rendering.[87] After Fallmerayer's edition the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos was republished twice more. In 1905 a Russian orientalist, A. Khakhanov, published the Greek text and a Russian translation with an introduction, notes, and two appendices, containing a list of the Trapezuntine emperors and information on the matrimonial unions between Georgia and Byzantium.[88] Khakhanov's publication was sharply criticized by reviewers.[89] Finally in 1907 a Greek scholar, Sp. Lampros, issued a new edition of the *Chronicle* of Panaretos.[90] Altogether this Trapezuntine Palace *Chronicle* was published four times.

In connection with this chronicle Fallmerayer writes: "According to an unpublished *Encomium* on Trebizond, written by Bessarion, there was in the imperial palace a frescoed hall, on whose walls were to be seen all the Great Comneni with their families in chronological order and with a brief account of the most outstanding events of their rule. This dynastic gallery with its inscriptions might have easily served Panaretos as a background for his brief pre-chronicle (*Vor-Chronik*). He needed only to copy it." [91]

In spite of the many years that separate us from Fallmerayer's works and in spite of many new discoveries that have since been made in the field of the history of Trebizond, which have led us to modify and correct a number of Fallmerayer's statements and conclusions, we cannot work on the history of Trebizond today without using Fallmerayer's publications and his fruitful efforts to present that mysterious and obscure Empire in its real historical light and cultural significance.

The year 1847 is very important in the history of the development of our better knowledge of the Empire of Trebizond. In this year F. de Pfaffenhoffen published his memoir on the silver coins of Tre-

[87] Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, ed. Saint-Martin and Brosset (Paris, 1824-1836), XV, 255; XVII, 254, 470; XVIII, 280; XIX, 86; XX, 482-509.

[88] *The Trapezuntine Chronicle of Michael Panaretos.* Greek text with translation, preface, and commentaries, published by A. Khakhanov. *Trudy po vostokovedeniju* published by the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, vol. XXIII (Moscow, 1905), Greek text, pp. 1-18; Russian translation and notes, pp. 19-44.

[89] See for example Eugene Pridik's severe review in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, September, 1906, pp. 181-185 (in Russian).

[90] Τὸ τραπεζουντιακὸν χρονικὸν τοῦ πρωτοσεβαστοῦ καὶ πρωτονοταρίου Μιχαὴλ Παναρέτου, ed. by Σπ. Λάμπρος, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, IV (1907), 257-295; the text pp. 266-294.

[91] This *Encomium* was published for the first time in 1916 by Sp. Lampros, Βησσαρίωνος Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, XIII (1916), 145-204; the passage quoted, p. 189 (= p. 47 of its separate edition, Athens, 1916).

bizond,[92] in other words, he introduced quite a new source, namely numismatic material, into the history of the Empire. Long before Pfaffenhoffen's *Essay* came out, coins had been known with the image of Saint Eugenios on their reverse, and they had been attributed to Byzantine emperors. The first to assign them their right place was Baron N. D. Marchant. In 1827 he proposed to attribute these coins to Trebizond.[93] But his opinion met opposition, and the best authority on Byzantine coins at that time, F. de Saulcy, continued to regard these as Byzantine coins; but since he knew well that Saint Eugenios was not among those saints particularly venerated in Constantinople, he conjectured that the coins might have been minted in the Byzantine city of Cherson in the Crimea, although there was no evidence whatever that Saint Eugenios was specifically venerated in Cherson. After Fallmerayer's work Saint Eugenios proved to be the patron saint of Trebizond; Panaretos' chronicle furnished several new names of Trapezuntine emperors which were stamped on the coins. Doubts were dispersed, and Pfaffenhoffen's study opened quite a new page in the history of the Empire of Trebizond.[94] In his study he gave a vividly written brief sketch of the history of that Empire based on Panaretos, the Spanish traveller Clavijo, some Genoese and Venetian authors, and especially of course on Fallmerayer's works.[95]

In 1851 in the Greek periodical Πανδώρα was printed a letter from Trebizond signed N. φίλε.[96] In this letter written in Modern Greek the anonymous author writes, "When I left in order to visit Ionia and Byzantium, I did not know that the sight of the places where our fathers had flourished would urge me to visit also other monuments of their glory and misfortune." When he was at Trebizond, it occurred to him to write about this city, because, "as far as I recall, no one but Fallmerayer has specifically worked on that city." He gives in his letter a brief survey of the history of Trebizond from ancient times down to the fall of the Empire in 1461. He mentions the

[92] F. de Pfaffenhoffen, *Essai sur les aspres comnénats, ou blancs d'argent, de Trébizonde.* Ἄσπρα λεγόμενα Κομνηνᾶτα (Paris, 1847).

[93] N. D. Marchant, *Mélanges de numismatique et d'histoire* (Metz, 1818-1829), XXIIIe lettre. I used a new edition of this study. *Lettres de Baron Marchant sur la numismatique et l'histoire.* Nouvelle édition (Paris, 1851), XXIIIe lettre, pp. 320-334.

[94] On numismatic disputes before the publication of Pfaffenhoffen's book see Pfaffenhoffen, *Essai sur les aspres comnénats*, pp. 7-14. O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt, Numizmatičesky Sbornik*, I (Moscow, 1911), p. 113.

[95] Pfaffenhoffen, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-70.

[96] N. Ἡ Τραπεζοῦς. Πανδώρα. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν ἐκδιδόμενον δὶς τοῦ μηνός, I (ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1850-1851), pp. 352-355.

economic competition of Genoese and Venetians, narrates the episode of Megollo Lercari,[97] and gives other facts. During his stay at Trebizond he visited churches there that also reminded him of the glorious past. It is obvious that this letter has no historical value whatever; but it shows that just before 1850 some Greeks were interested in their past, were acquainted with Fallmerayer's name at least, and tried to gather some information on the fallen Empire.

In 1851 in England among his other historical works which dealt mostly with mediaeval and modern Greece, George Finlay published his *History of Greece from its conquest by the Crusaders to its conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebizond* 1204-1461 (Edinburgh-London). Later Finlay entirely recast the section on Medieval Greece and Trebizond. The revised edition of all his historical works was published in seven volumes in 1877 at Oxford after the author's death by the Rev. H. F. Tozer. In the latter edition, which I am using in this study, the *History of the Empire of Trebizond* is to be found in volume IV, pp. 305-427.[98] In his book Finlay largely used Fallmerayer's work. He writes: "The history of Trebizond was almost unknown until Professor Fallmerayer discovered the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos among the books of Cardinal Bessarion, preserved at Venice. From this chronicle, with the aid of some unpublished MSS., and a careful review of all the published sources of information, he wrote a history of Trebizond, which displays great critical acuteness."[99] A philhellenist by conviction, Finlay took part in the war of Greece against the Turks, and finally decided to make the soil of liberated Hellas his permanent home. He died at Athens in January, 1875.

In the preface to the first five volumes of the projected revised edition, written in 1855, we read: "The conquest of Constantinople in 1204 caused the foundation of a new Greek state in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, called the Empire of Trebizond. Its existence is a curious episode in Greek history, though the government was characterised by peculiarities which indicated the influence of Asiatic rather than of European manners. It bore a strong

[97] On Lercari see, for instance, W. Miller, *Trebizond* (London, 1926), pp. 35-38.

[98] Finlay died at Athens on January 26, 1875. The date 1876 given in the revised Oxford edition of his history is, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, an unaccountable mistake. Tozer's seven volume revised edition is entitled *A History of Greece from its conquest by the Romans to the present time B. C. 146 to A. D. 1864*. The inexact date of Finlay's death (January 26, 1876) is given in vol. I, p. xlix.

[99] Finlay, IV, 307, n. 1.

resemblance to the Iberian and Armenian monarchies. During two centuries and a half, it maintained a considerable degree of influence, based, however, rather on its commercial position and resources than on its political strength or its Greek civilization. Its existence exerted little influence on the fate or fortunes of Greece, and its conquest, in the year 1461, excited little sympathy." [100]

In his history of the Empire of Trebizond Finlay not only deals with its political affairs but also lays stress on its trade relations, its internal structure, and social and economic problems. In this respect he continues Fallmerayer's work. But we must remember that he did not thoroughly investigate or finally solve its social and economic problems. Indeed even today we have not sufficient material to do so. Most of Finlay's account of Trebizond's internal history was based upon general considerations and on analogies with recent historical events, often those of his own time.

The opening lines of his *History of the Empire of Trebizond* are not devoid of interest: "The Empire of Trebizond was the creation of accident. No necessity in the condition of the people called it into existence. The popular resources had undergone no development that demanded change; no increase had taken place in the wealth or knowledge of the inhabitants; nor did any sudden augmentation of national power impel them to assume an independent position and claim for their capital the rank of an imperial city. . . . The grandeur of the empire of Trebizond exists only in romance. Its government owed its permanence to its being nothing more than a continuation of a long-established order of civil polity, and to its making no attempt to effect any social revolution." [101]

I ask the reader's indulgence for a very long passage which concludes Finlay's *History of Trebizond*. By its light we understand why the very well-known British historian, E. A. Freeman, describes Finlay as "the solitary thinker, studying, musing, and recording the events of two thousand years in order to solve the problems which he saw at his own door." [102] The passage is imbued with deep pessimism as to the history of the Empire of Trebizond and is interesting because it ranks Finlay in the long line of historians who believe that history must teach and help us in better understanding of the political events and social problems of our own day. He wrote:

[100] Finlay, I, p. xix.

[101] Finlay, IV, 307-308. In the edition of 1851 of Finlay's *History of Greece and of the Empire of Trebizond* (Edinburgh and London) this passage is to be found on pp. 353-354. If I am not mistaken, the end of the passage quoted above is omitted in the edition of 1851.

[102] E. A. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, III (London, 1855), p. 243.

In concluding the history of this Greek state, we inquire in vain for any benefit that it conferred on the human race. It seems a mere eddy in the torrent of events that connects the past with the future. The tumultuous agitation of the stream did not purify a single drop of the waters of life. Yet the population enjoyed great advantages over most of the contemporary nations. The native race of Lazes was one of the handsomest, strongest, and bravest in the East. The Greek colonists, who dwelt in the maritime cities until they were children of the soil, have always ranked high in intellectual endowments. The country is one of the most fertile, beautiful, and salubrious on the face of the earth. The empire enjoyed a regular civil administration, and an admirable system of law. The religion was Christianity, and the priests boasted of the purity of their orthodoxy. But the results of all these advantages were small indeed. The brave Lazes were little better than serfs of a proud aristocracy. The Greeks were slaves of a corrupt court. The splendid language and rich literature which were their best inheritance were neglected. The scientific fabric of Roman administration and law was converted into an instrument of oppression. The population was degraded and despised alike by Italian merchants and Turkish warriors. Christianity itself was perverted into an ecclesiastical institution. The church, subject to that of Constantinople, had not even the merit of being national. Its mummery alone was popular. St. Eugenios, who seems to have been a creation of Colchian paganism as much as of Greek superstition, was the prominent figure in the Christianity of Trebizond. The greatest social defect that pervaded the population was the intense selfishness which is evident in every page of its history. For nine generations no Greek was found who manifested a love of liberty or a spirit of patriotism. The condition of society which produced the vicious education so disgracefully in its effects, must have arisen from a total want of those parochial and local institutions that bind the different classes of men together by ties of duty and benevolence, as well as of interest. No practical acquaintance with the duties of the individual citizen, in his every-day relations to the public, can ever be gained, unless he be trained to practise them by constant discipline. It is, doubtless, far more difficult to educate good rulers than good subjects; but even the latter is not an easy task. No laws can alone produce the feeling of self-respect; and where the sense of shame is wanting, the very best laws are useless. The education that produces susceptibility of conscience is more valuable than the highest cultivation of legislative, legal, and political talents. The most important, and in general the most neglected, part of national education, in all countries, has been the primary relations of the individual to the commonwealth. The endless divisions and intense egoism that arose out of the Hellenic system of autonomy, where every village was a sovereign state, disgusted the higher classes with the firmest basis of liberty and social prosperity. Despotism was considered the only protection against anarchy, and perhaps in the existing state of society it alone afforded the means of securing some degree of impartiality in the administration of justice. But despotism has ever been the great devourer of the wealth of the people. The despotism of the Athenian democrats devoured the wealth of the Free Greek cities and islands of the Aegean. The despots of the Roman empire annihilated the accumulated riches of all the countries from the Euphrates to the ocean. The empires of Byzantium and of Trebizond were mild modifications of Roman tyranny, on which weakness had imposed a respect for order and law that contended with the original instincts of the imperial government. But in the empire of Trebizond, from the earliest period

of its existence, the power of the Roman administration and the Roman law was weak, and it became constantly weaker, until at last both the government and the people were in danger of falling into a state of anarchy.[103]

This quotation is from the edition of 1877. In the edition of 1851 the following sentences replace the one beginning "But in the empire of Trebizond:" "Yet, with all the imperfections of its society, and all the faults of its government, it is probable that the two centuries and a half during which the empire of Trebizond existed, contributed to effect a beneficial change in the condition of the mass of the population over the East. That change, however, was developed in the general condition of mankind, and must be traced in a more enlarged view of society than falls within the scope of the History of Trebizond." [104] Finlay apparently became even more pessimistic about the Empire of Trebizond in later years than he was in 1851.

This lengthy passage is interesting because it emphasizes how Finlay, after having expressed his broad but negative estimate of the Empire of Trebizond, passes rather unexpectedly to general ideas of despotism, tyranny, and democracy, ideas which take him far from the Empire.

Finlay's *History of the Empire of Trebizond* is undoubtedly the best book on the subject written in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is a worthy counterpart to Fallmerayer's book, the greatest achievement in the field in the first half of the nineteenth century. But the point should be stressed that Fallmerayer not only wrote an excellent book; he laid the foundation for the scholarly history of Trebizond, and it was upon this foundation that Finlay erected his valuable work.

In 1865 a detailed résumé in French of Finlay's *History of the Empire of Trebizond* was printed in the *Revue Britannique*. The article, of seventy-six pages, appeared in three volumes of the *Revue* and was not signed.[105] At the end of the article the anonymous compiler gave in a French rendering the concluding passage of Finlay's book which we have given above in its original English.[106] This translation of the 1851 edition, as we have noted above, differs from the conclusion of the edition of 1877 revised by Tozer. In his

[103] Finlay, IV, 425-427. Cf. the preface, also of a general aspect, in Fallmerayer's *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. iii-xii.

[104] Finlay, *The History of Greece and of the Empire of Trebizond 1204-1461* (Edinburgh and London, 1851), pp. 496-498.

[105] Anoymous, "L'Empire de Trébizonde," *Revue Britannique, Revue Internationale*, II (April, 1865), 281-308; III (May), 27-56; June, pp. 345-365.

[106] *Revue Britannique*, III (June, 1865), 363-365.

first edition Finlay was slightly more optimistic, though vague, than he was in Tozer's revised edition. Immediately after the appearance of this article in the *Revue Britannique* it was republished under the title Ἡ αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος in 1865-1866 in Modern Greek in a very little known Greek review, *Chrysallis* (Χρυσαλλίς).[107] Neither the translator's name nor the volume of the *Revue Britannique* was given. At the end of the translation the following note was inserted: "We have taken this article from an abridged translation in the *Revue Britannique* of a remarkable work by Mr. Finlay entitled *La Grèce ou Trébizonde au moyen âge.*" [108]

In 1854 a remarkable study came out written in Russian by A. Kunik, *The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond.* Although this study does not give a history of the Empire of Trebizond but deals only with the fact of its foundation, it is so important for our better understanding of the character of the Empire in general that I believe it cannot be omitted from this study.[109] Kunik corrected several errors connected with the foundation of the Empire in the works of his predecessors, Fallmerayer, Pfaffenhoffen, Finlay, and Medovikov (in Russian in 1849), and for the first time with striking acuteness and interesting evidence showed the extremely important role that Georgia and the Georgian Queen Thamar played in the foundation of the Empire. For the opening pages of the history of the Empire of Trebizond Kunik's illuminating study must always be regarded as a sound basis for further investigations. But this study, written in Russian, has unfortunately remained unknown to European scholars. In his comparatively recent monograph (1926) *Trebizond. The last Greek Empire.* W. Miller fails even to mention Kunik's study in his ample bibliography.

In 1870 a Greek book was published in Constantinople written by S. Ioannides (Σ. Ἰωαννίδης), *History and Statistics of Trebizond.*[110] The Greek author deals not only with the epoch of the Empire of

[107] The complete title of the review follows: Χρυσαλλὶς σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν ἐκδιδόμενον δὶς τοῦ μηνὸς ὑπὸ Θ. Νικολαΐδου Φιλαδελφέως καὶ Ντέκα Δ. Πασχαλίδου, III (1865), 697-703; IV (1866), 3-7, 36-42, 65-69, 73-77, 117-119, 127-130, 164-166, 247-251, 280-285. The first volume of Χρυσαλλὶς came out in 1863; this review had only four volumes (1863-1866). Since I was unable to get this review in Paris or in the United States of America I asked the renowned Greek Byzantologist Phaedon Coucoulès (Φαίδων Κουκουλές), Professor of the University of Athens, to give me the needed information. I tender here my warm thanks to him for his help.

[108] Χρυσαλλίς, IV (1866), 285.

[109] A. Kunik, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Uchenyja Zapiski* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, first and third sections, II (1854), 705-733.

[110] Σ. Ἰωαννίδης, Ἱστορία καὶ στατιστικὴ Τραπεζοῦντος (Constantinople, 1870).

Trebizond but also with the history and general conditions of the city under the Turkish regime down to his own time. The section of Joannides' book devoted to Mediaeval Trebizond is based on Fallmerayer's and Finlay's works; often he simply retells Fallmerayer's narrative; sometimes he changes it, not always successfully or accurately.[111] We must not forget that Ioannides' book was written and published in Turkey, where any unbiased study of the Christian Mediaeval Empire was impossible. As far as the Empire of Trebizond is concerned, Ioannides' book has no value; but it contains interesting data on Trebizond under the Sultans.

In 1877, as we have noted above, the Rev. H. F. Tozer published the seven volume revised edition of G. Finlay's *History of Greece*, in which the section on the history of the Empire of Trebizond had been particularly recast.

In the same year, 1877, a History of Trebizond was printed in Turkey written in Turkish by a certain Shakir Shefqet (in the year 1294 of the hegira).[112] I have not seen this book. But I have some idea of it through a Greek report published in 1916 in a Trapezuntine Greek review Οἱ Κομνηνοί founded by Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond, during the last Great War in 1916, when Russian troops occupied Trebizond.[113] The author of the report was a Greek, Ἰσραὴλ Σ. Βασιλειάδης. According to him, Shakir Shefqet was chiefly interested in the Turkish period, which he highly eulogized. The pre-Turkish epoch, that of the Empire of Trebizond, is treated very briefly and superficially, with many egregious blunders.[114]

In 1886 W. Fischer published in German a brief but very skillfully written survey of the history of Trebizond entitled *Trebizond and its Significance in History.*[115]. The Empire of Trebizond occupies only sixteen pages (pp. 23-39) of the whole thirty-nine. Following Finlay's theory, which is now rejected by the majority of historians, Fischer holds the opinion that Alexius and David left Constantinople for Georgia not in 1185 but just before 1204. Fischer writes, "So much the more is it surprising that this Empire which at its very

[111] See for example A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), p. 10 and n. 6.

[112] I am unable to find the name of Shakir Shefqet—in Turkish transliteration Sākir Šefqet—in F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927).

[113] Twenty-nine numbers of the review Οἱ Κομνηνοί were published from May 29 (Old Style), 1916 to May 28, 1927. See W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 134.

[114] Οἱ Κομνηνοί, 1916, no. 8 (115-116); no. 10 (165-167); no. 11 (184-187).

[115] W. Fischer, *Trapezunt und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte, Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Geschichtee,* III (Stuttgart, 1886), 13-39.

birth, one may say, already contained the germ of death, lived for two and a half centuries." [116] "With the fall of Trebizond the last bulwark of Greek culture in Asia Minor crumbled." [117] Trebizond is known to occupy an exceptional place in mediaeval literature; no other city, even including Constantinople, has provoked so much enthusiastic praise from representatives of various nations as Trebizond. Three Greeks, Michael Psellus in the eleventh century,[118] Bessarion of Nicaea, born at Trebizond, and his contemporary John Eugenikos in the fifteenth; in the fourteenth century an Italian, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti; [119] at the beginning of the fifteenth century a Spaniard, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo; at the end of the fourteenth century a German, a Bavarian soldier, Johannes Schiltberger, all paid tribute to Trebizond. Fischer finely remarks, "It would be a fruitful task to describe, from all these encomia, a picture of Trebizond and its neighborhood." [120] Although Fischer's survey is not an original study based on the author's independent investigation, it may be recommended to any reader interested in grasping from a brief sketch the history and significance of Trebizond.

In 1898 in Odessa (Russia) a book came out in Modern Greek by T. E. Evangelides entitled *A History of Trebizond from most ancient times to our own day* (756 B. C.-1897 A. D.).[121] Out of 279 pages 137 are devoted to the history of the Empire of Trebizond (pp. 46-183). In the introduction which has special Greek pagination, there is a useful survey of preceding literature on the subject, especially in Modern Greek; Afzelius' dissertation *De Imperio Trapezuntino* (1824) and Kunik's basic study on the foundation of the Empire (1854) are not listed. The author makes an amazing error on the foundation of the Empire. He says that the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius Comnenus, was "a son of Manuel Comnenus who reigned in Constantinople from 1143 to 1180 and grandson of Andronicus I (1183)"

[116] Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

[117] Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

[118] Fischer means here the passage praising the beauties of Trebizond inserted by Michael Psellus in his funeral oration in memory of the Patriarch John Xiphilinos, born at Trebizond. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, IV (Paris, 1874), pp. 424-425.

[119] In this statement Fischer is not exact. Pegolotti writes neither panegyric nor description of Trebizond. He gives only some business information on Trebizond, especially on coins and measures. See Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936), pp. 29, 31-32.

[120] Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 14. To Spanish travellers who visited Trebizond in the fifteenth century we may add Pero Tafur.

[121] T. Εὐαγγελίδου Ἱστορία τῆς Τραπζοῦντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς (756 π. χ.-1897). Ἐν Ὀδησσῷ, 1898, pp. 279.

and regards the queen of Georgia, Thamar, as "a daughter of this Andronicus and sister of Manuel, father of Alexius and David." [122] This is a total confusion. The Byzantine emperor Andronicus I (1182-1185) was indeed the grandfather of the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius; but Manuel, Andronicus' son and Alexius' father, never was a Byzantine emperor; a prince of the Comneni family, he perished in the catastrophe of 1185. Thamar, of course, was neither Andronicus' daughter nor Manuel's sister.[123] Evangelides correctly dates the fall of Trebizond in the year 1461.[124] Generally speaking, in spite of some blunders, this book is conscientiously documented [125] and may be used by Greeks with greater benefit than another Greek book published in 1870 by S. Ioannides in Constantinople. I am not aware whether Evangelides' book, printed as it was in Odessa (Russia), has become well known among readers in Greece proper or in Turkey.

From 1898 when Evangelides' book appeared a break exists in interest in the Empire of Trebizond until the time of the Great War. The capture of Trebizond by Russian troops in 1916 [126] reawakened this interest and in 1916 two attempts appeared to satisfy public curiosity, one in English, the other in Russian. We must not forget that both publications were written in a situation that made scholarly impartiality impossible, under the occupation of Trebizond by the Russians.

The author of a very brief English article of a popular nature entitled *Trebizond, a lost empire* is John T. Bramhall.[127] It is chiefly based on Finlay's book, mentioning also the names of Fallmerayer and Edwin Pears (*Destruction of the Greek Empire*). "If the empire of Trebizond," Bramhall writes, "was the creation of accident, as Dr. Finlay would have it, its history was, by another curious accident, made known to the world by the chance discovery by Professor Fallmerayer, the distinguished traveler and archeologist, of the Chronicle of Michael Panaretos in the remains of the library of Cardinal Bessarion at Venice. For prior to this discovery the history of this medieval empire was buried in the dust and ruins of the Dark Ages." [128] To show "how came the soldier and Bavarian liberal,

[122] Εὐαγγελίδης, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

[123] See A. Vasiliev, *loc. cit.*, p. 7. Prince Cyril Toumanoff, "On the relationship between the founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamer," *Speculum*, XV (1940), 299-312.

[124] Εὐαγγελίδης, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[125] The author gives some information on Trapezuntine coins and seals as well (pp. 181-183).

[126] The Russians took Trebizond in 1916 and evacuated it in 1918.

[127] John T. Bramhall, "Trebizond, a lost empire," *Open Court*, XXX (Chicago, 1916), 329-334.

[128] Bramhall, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

Fallmerayer, to be interested in Venetian manuscripts," Bramhall gives a brief sketch of Fallmerayer's life.[129] "But the record that throws the strongest light upon the history of the lost empire of Trebizond is not the *Eugenikos* of Bessarion[130] nor the Chronicle of Panaretos, but a later discovered work of one Critobulus, who styles himself The Islander."[131] Following Finlay's opinion, Bramhall thinks that "when the Latin invaders were on the point of capturing Constantinople two young Greek princes, grandsons of the unspeakable tyrant Andronicus Comnenus, escaped to Trebizond—one of them, Alexis, being acclaimed emperor, took the high-sounding title of 'Grand Comnenus and Emperor of the Faithful Romans.'"[132] After describing the fall of Trebizond Bramhall elegiacally concludes, "And so ended the empire of Trebizond, famous for its wealth and the luxury that wealth engenders, and for the beauty of its women, whose princesses were sought as brides by the Byzantine emperors, by western nobles, and by Mahommedan (sic) sultans."[133] Bramhall erroneously calls Cardinal Bessarion patriarch of Constantinople.[134]

That Bramhall's article was compiled under the influence of the Russian occupation of Trebizond in 1916 is evident from its concluding passage. "The strategic advantages of Trebizond to the Russians cannot be great, although the moral advantage of the capture of this important commercial city which has been in the hands of the Turks for nearly five centuries, must be a notable one. . . . It may be that the fate of the Turkish empire, both in Europe and Asia, was sealed when the Russian army took the outposts of Erzerum and Trebizond, as indicated by Germany's peasant scholar, Fallmerayer, nearly a hundred years ago."[135]

I have dwelt at rather more length upon this article than its historical value merits for two reasons: first it is an interesting example of how external events sometimes unexpectedly arouse interest in almost unknown historical questions even at so great a distance from the scene as across the ocean in America is from Trebizond, and secondly the American review *Open Court* (Chicago) where the article appeared is neither well known nor accessible in Europe.

[129] Bramhall, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330.

[130] Bramhall makes here an amusing blunder. *Eugenikos* was not the title of Bessarion's writing, but the name of the author of an *Encomium* of Trebizond, Bessarion's contemporary.

[131] As we know, Critobulus or Kritoboulos, an historian of the fifteenth century, gives a very fine summary of Trapezuntine history down to the fall of Trebizond. In the title of his *History* Critobulus is called ὁ νησιώτης—The Islander.

[132] Here the title of the Trapezuntine emperors is given in a distorted form.

[133] Bramhall, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[135] *Ibid.*, p. 334.

The same military circumstances brought forth a booklet of fifty-four pages, *Trebizond: its sanctuaries and antiquities,* written in Russian by P. V. Bezobrazov and published in the same year, 1916.[136] The late author was a very fine scholar in Byzantine history and his contribution, though not an original study, represents with some omissions a reliable summary of what we knew about the history of the Trapezuntine Empire in 1916. The opening lines of Bezobrazov's pamphlet explain its origin." The eyes of all Europe are turned to Trebizond, which has been taken by our valiant troops. It was once an important commercial point linking East with West, Persia and India with Constantinople and through the latter with Paris. This city was the capital of the whole Empire and a cultural center, whence civilization spread all over the regions of the Caucasian peoples. For a long time Trebizond served as a bulwark against Turkish invasions. Perhaps it will regain its former significance, and its stronghold will become for Armenians a safeguard from Moslem violence. In any case Trebizond is for us of exceptional interest, and it is proper for us to become familiar with its history and its antiquities." The pamphlet contains eight chapters. The first (pp. 1-17) deals with the history of Trebizond, beginning with ancient times but concentrating chief attention on the Empire. Sharing Kunik's opinion that the two infants, Alexius and David, were taken away from Constantinople in 1185, Bezobrazov erroneously attributes to Fallmerayer the theory later advocated by Finlay that Alexius and David left Constantinople not in 1185 but shortly before 1204 (p. 4). In this section Bezobrazov used proof sheets of the third volume of Dmitrievski's *Typica,* which came out in 1917, and gave in a Russian translation the remarkable religious service in commemoration of the Trapezuntine patron Saint Eugenios (pp. 10-11). Bezobrazov places the fall of the Empire of Trebizond in the year 1462. The second chapter explains its commercial significance (pp. 17-21), and the third tells of the travellers who visited Trebizond from the beginning of the fifteenth century down to the year 1900 (pp. 21-24). To the list, of course, should be added the Spanish traveller, Pero Tafur, who visited Trebizond in 1438 and gave an interesting description of the city and his own meeting with the Emperor.[137] In the fourth chapter Bezobrazov describes the churches of St. Eugenios and of the "golden-

[136] P. V. Bezobrazov, *Trebizond: its sanctuaries and antiquities* (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 54.

[137] See A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur. A Spanish Traveler of the fifteenth century and his visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy," *Byzantion,* VII (1932), 75-122. Ch. Diehl, "Un voyageur espagnol à Constantinople," *Mélanges Glotz,* I (Paris, 1932), 319-327.

headed" Virgin (pp. 24-29) and in the fifth the famous Trapezuntine church of St. Sophia (pp. 29-44). The sixth chapter deals with the monastery of Soumela (Sumela), some thirty miles from the city (pp. 45-48). In the seventh chapter Bezobrazov discusses the types of Trapezuntine churches on the basis of the studies of the French historian and archaeologist G. Millet (pp. 48-52).[138] In the eighth brief last chapter the author gives some information on Trapezuntine coins,[139] seals, and manuscripts (pp. 52-54). The conclusion of this very interesting pamphlet is as follows. "At Trebizond no monuments have come down to us from the earlier Byzantine epoch equal in significance to St. Sophia of Tzargrad (Constantinople) or some Palestinian churches. Nevertheless the architecture of the time of the Great Comneni and the remains that have survived from the Trapezuntine Empire are very important and significant from an artistic standpoint. They present the last link in the history of Byzantine art, which has not yet been adequately studied. In the region which has been lately conquered, undoubtedly, measures will be taken for the preservation of Christian shrines; from the churches that have been turned to mosques, the crescent will be taken away, and archaeologists after removing the plaster in all probability will discover wall paintings hidden for centuries under Turkish lime" (p. 54). Bezobrazov's hopes were not destined to be realized. The Russian troops evacuated Trebizond in 1918 and the Turks reoccupied the city. "In spite of agitation in Western Europe on behalf of Pontic Hellenism, it has remained in their hands. In January, 1923, the new Turkish governor expelled the remnants of the Greek population, and Trebizond has ceased to be the eastern march of Hellenism."[140]

Bezobrazov's pamphlet is no doubt the best popular piece of writing on the destinies of Trebizond; but being compiled in Russian and published during the Great War, it has remained entirely unknown in Western Europe and America.

A book in Modern Greek by G. K. Skalieres (Σκαλιέρης) entitled *The Empire of Trebizond* was published probably in 1921.[141] The book was published at Athens and is undated; but its introduction is signed by the author "At Athens, March 31, 1921."[142] The title of

[138] See G. Millet and D. T. Rice, *Byzantine painting at Trebizond* (London, 1936), pp. 182, with many excellent plates.

[139] I am surprised not to find among Bezobrazov's sources the fundamental work of O. Retowski, "Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt," *Numizmatichesky Sbornik*, I (Moscow, 1911), 113-302 (in German).

[140] See W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 117.

[141] Γ. Κ. Σκαλιέρης, Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος (1204-1461). Ἐν Ἀθήναις, s. d.; pagination is puzzling, pp. α'-ϛ', 13-110 (pages 1-12 are lacking.)

[142] In *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXIV (1924), 209, Skalieres' book is listed as

the book is absolutely misleading. Out of 110 pages only four pages in the Appendix (pp. 82-85) are devoted to the history of the Empire of Trebizond, and they are based exclusively on Fallmerayer's work; so that as far as the history of the Trapezuntine Empire is concerned, Skalieres' book has no value whatever. Indeed, he had no historical aim. His book, dedicated to the August and Christ-Loving King of the Hellenes Constantine XII and to the Most Pious Queen Sofia, is a political and patriotic pamphlet, inspired by hope for the liberation of Greek regions from the Turks. Most of the book deals with the chorography and geography of Armenia and Pontos, their ethnography, statistics, educational system, natural resources, and Greek settlements in the Caucasus and South Russia. All this information refers to the Turkish period. As I have noted above, the history of the Empire of Trebizond is treated on four pages only in the Appendix, which also deals with other subjects (pp. 79-100). In the Bibliography the name of Finlay is not mentioned. To the book is attached a useful map of Pontos.

Ten years had passed since Bramhall's and Bezobrazov's popular surveys had appeared. The Great War was over; Trebizond was again in the hands of the Turks. In 1926 an English scholar, whose name is very familiar to all those interested in later Byzantine history and the Latins in the Levant, William Miller, published a short but very fine and scholarly history of the Empire of Trebizond entitled *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926).[143] He succeeded in writing a book that satisfies both the scholar and the general reader. It consists of six chapters without introduction or preface; the latter is included in the opening passage of Chapter I, which runs as follows:

> The mediaeval Empire of Trebizond is one the curiosities of history. It was born at the time of the Latin, and survived by eight years the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. At its death it was the last independent Greek state governed by Greeks, who were themselves descended from one of the great Imperial families of Byzantium. During the two and a half centuries of its existence it attained to a high degree of civilization; its princesses were sought in marriage for their beauty; its ports were frequented for their commerce. But its history presents considerable difficulties. The original authorities are mainly confined to a bald palace chronicle, occasional accounts in the later Byzantine historians, a few ecclesiastical charters and treatises, some valuable notebooks of travel, two or three poems, a few inscriptions, scanty refer-

being published in 1921. By oversight some historians attributed its publication to 1926. See A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 3.

[143] The text of the history of Trebizond itself occupies 117 pages of a book of small size (pp. 7-124). Then follow (pp. 125-140) a list of emperors, a very good bibliography both of original authorities and documents and of modern works, and an index.

ences by Genoese historians, and some valuable Genoese documents. But when Fallmerayer, nearly a century ago, first rescued the Empire of Trebizond from oblivion, and even when Finlay's second edition was published half a century later, many of these sources had not been published. Of the two modern Greek histories, one is over fifty, the other nearly thirty, years old.[144]

Professor Krumbacher, almost a generation ago, wrote that the 'time had come for a new history of the Empire of Trebizond.'[145] The present book is an attempt to undertake such a task, as the result of an examination of all the available materials in various languages. At a time when the victorious Turks have once again destroyed the Hellenism of Pontos, it seems appropriate to recall the subjugation of its mediaeval progenitor" (pp. 7-8). Then follows a very brief history of Trebizond before the year 1204 (pp. 8-13). The second chapter is entitled *The Foundation of the Empire* (1204-1222) (pp. 14-19). Miller says that of the history of the two children, Alexius and David, between 1185 and the Latin conquest we know nothing (p. 14); in other words, he entirely ignores the question whether the two brothers were taken from Constantinople to the east just after the revolution of 1185 or just before the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. On this point Kunik's penetrating study on the foundation of the Empire, which Miller evidently failed to know, would have been of great value to him. The third chapter (pp. 20-42) is entitled *The Prosperity of the Empire* (1222-1330). During this period the Emperor John II (1280-1297) changed his title to that of "Emperor and Autocrat of all the East, the Iberians, and the Transmarine Provinces." The fourth chapter (pp. 43-70), "The Civil Wars and the Religious Foundations (1330-1390)," draws a very sad picture of internal strife and altercations aggravated by some external complications. During this period the first conflict took place between the Trapezuntines and the Osmanli Turks, their future conquerors (p. 66). Chapters V (pp. 71-96), "The Decline of the Empire" (1390-1458), and VI (pp. 97-124), "The Fall of the Empire" (1458-1461), deal with the speedy political decline and the tragic moment of the fall of the Empire. The last chapter gives some information on Trebizond during the war of 1914-1918, and on post-

[144] Miller does not identify these two Greek historians. He means of course Ioannides, whose book was published in Constantinople in 1870, and Evangelides, whose book came out in Odessa (Russia) in 1898.

[145] Miller does not give a reference to this statement of Krumbacher. It is to be found in Krumbacher's *Review* of Papadopoulos-Kerameus' "Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, VI (1897), 632: "When the other texts that Papadopoulos-Kerameus has piled up in his Trapezuntine bookcase have been published, then also the time will probably come to rewrite the history and geography of the Empire of Trebizond."

war Trebizond; "the fame of this strange Empire lingered on in Western fiction" (pp. 117-119). It also deals with the scanty literary output of the Empire and with the city of Trebizond in the fifteenth century (pp. 119-124). With a feeling of some melancholy we read the concluding words of Miller's book. "If the Empire of Trebizond did not produce the great soldiers and statesmen of Byzantium or even of Nicaea, if men of character were rare among its twenty-one sovereigns, it kept alive the torch of Hellenism in that far-off region of the Euxine for over two and a half centuries. Civil tumult, the curse of Greek communities in all ages, sapped its strength; the powerful landed and official artistocracy overshadowed the divided reigning house, and too often the heir's hand was against his father. But today, when the ancient Metropolitan Church has been destroyed by the new Mohammed and its pastor is an exile at Athens, men may look back with regret to the Empire of Trebizond" (pp. 123-124).

Miller's brief history of "The Last Greek Empire" is for the time being the best book on the subject, since, as I have pointed out above, it successfully contrives to interest both the scholar and the general reader.

In 1929 appeared the posthumous work of the eminent Russian byzantinist, F. Uspensky, who died in February, 1928, *Outlines of the History of the Empire of Trebizond* (Leningrad, 1929, pp. 162), with eleven pictures of various monuments in Trebizond appended to the end of the book. The publication of this book is closely connected with the events of the war of 1914-1918. When in April 1916 the Russian army occupied Trebizond and the vast adjoining region, Uspensky was entrusted with the registration and preservation of Trapezuntine archaeological monuments. He spent two summers at the head of an expedition at Trebizond, those of 1916 and 1917. The sudden evacuation of the region by Russian troops in 1918 broke off his work and prevented him from concluding his archaeological study of Trebizond. Beginning with the year 1916 and up to the publication of the book under consideration in 1929, Uspensky printed a number of preparatory studies, such as reports of his work at Trebizond, various sketches of the history of Trebizond, and a description and publication of Trapezuntine documents.[146] The book itself consists of a preface (pp. 1-3), whose essential points I have just summarized, ten chapters, three appendices and an index. In the first chapter (pp. 4-26) Uspensky deals with the topography of the city, and describes its plan and church monuments. The second chapter (pp. 26-43) treats of the question of the younger line of the Comneni

[146] See Uspensky, *Outlines of the History of the Empire of Trebizond*, p. 3, n. 1.

and the foundation of the empire at Trebizond by Alexius Comnenus. In the third chapter (pp. 43-59) Uspensky presents the reign of the second Trapezuntine emperor, Andronicus Gidon, and describes the dangerous position of the Empire between the Seljuq Turks and Mongols. The fourth chapter (pp. 60-71) tells the story of the emperors Manuel I and John II (1238-1280), and the fifth chapter (pp. 72-81) describes the critical period in the history of Trebizond, *i. e.* the close of the thirteenth and outset of the fourteenth century. In the sixth chapter (pp. 81-90) Uspensky turns to the internal conditions of the Empire; he discusses its administration and its military districts and emphasizes the increasing power of some semi-dependent princes, especially in the region of Chaldia. Interrupting for a while the history of the Empire, Uspensky in the seventh chapter (pp. 90-99) deals with the topography and significance of the very important frontier fortress and maritime harbor Limnia. The eight chapter (pp. 99-113) is devoted to the very complicated and obscure question of the struggle in Trebizond between the Constantinopolitan and local parties and is entitled "Liquidation of the Parties Hostile to Constantinople." The ninth chapter, "The Emperors Alexius III (1349-1390) and Manuel III (1390-1417)." "Frontiers of the Empire at the close of the fourteenth century" (pp. 114-126), describes the important period of the gradual decline of the Trapezuntine Empire that led to the final catastrophe of the Hellenic world, and the tenth and last chapter, "The Last Great Comneni and the Fall of the Empire" (pp. 126-140), tells the tragic story of the conquest of the pitiful remnants of the Empire of Trebizond by Muhammed II in 1461. In the first appendix Uspensky describes and explains the inscription in the Church of John on the Rock beyond the city wall (pp. 140-149); he ascribes the inscription to the year 1210-1211 (p. 145). The second appendix deals with the "Bell-tower of the Church of Saint Sophia in Trebizond" (pp. 149-154), and the third with the Citadel (*Kremlin*) of Trebizond (pp. 154-158).

The history of the Empire of Trebizond has often been considered as a section of Byzantine history. Uspensky lays stress upon the significance in the history of Trebizond of local Lazic elements and the influence of Georgia from her capital Tiflis, which always supported Lazic tendencies; the emperors of Trebizond themselves sympathized with the Lazes. In addition, it should not be forgotten that the Hellenic element was in the minority in the Empire of Trebizond. The Constantinopolitan Empire of the Palaeologi taxed all its power to increase Hellenic tendencies in Trebizond and thus to annex Trebizond to Constantinople. But these attempts at an artificial and enforced Hellenization of the Empire of Trebizond encroached upon

local Lazic, Georgian, and Armenian traditions. On the other hand, the alliance with Constantinople was much less useful and less advantageous for Trebizond than the connections based on politics and intermarriages with neighboring Muhammedan princes, who became more and more powerful and more dangerous to the very existence of the declining Empire. At the same time Uspensky shows very well the ever-growing influence of local feudalizing elements, who refused to reckon with the imperial power and were almost independent rulers in their regions. There is no doubt that Uspensky's book makes an important step forward after Fallmerayer's and Finlay's studies. But it must be remembered that his work was posthumous and that, although he had corrected the proofs of his book, he might have made changes in it had he lived. In any case, although Uspensky's work is for the time being the latest history of the Empire of Trebizond, based on the author's personal study on the soil of Trebizond, it is not final; a new history of the Empire of Trebizond remains to be written.[147] It is a great pity that Uspensky's book, which dealt so fully with the geography of the country, lacks a map. In his work Uspensky uses W. Miller's *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* and in some places corrects it.[148]

Now I wish to show what we can find concerning the Empire of Trebizond in histories of the Byzantine Empire and in some works dealing with the Middle Ages in general. I shall begin with the eighteenth century.

In his *Considerations on the causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans* Montesquieu does not mention Trebizond. He fails even to tell the story of the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The last words of his last chapter (XXIII) run as follows: "Bajazet having subdued all the other sultans, the Turks would have then completed what they afterwards did under Mohammed II, if they had not themselves been on the verge of destruction at the hands of the Tartars. I have not the heart to speak of the calamities which followed. I will only say that, under the last emperors, the empire of the East, reduced to the suburbs of Constantinople, ended as does the Rhine—which is no more than a brook when it loses itself in the ocean." [149]

In his numberless and varied works Voltaire does not fail to

[147] See, for instance, a Greek review of Uspensky's book written by Ἱέραξ and published in Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, VI (ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1935), pp. 196-205. The review ends with the following words: "A scholarly history of Trebizond, the Empire of Trebizond, and all the Pontus has not yet been written" (p. 205).

[148] See, for example, pp. 121-122. Cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[149] Montesquieu, *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains.* I use the English translation by J. Baker (New York, 1882), p. 481.

mention the Empire of Trebizond, especially in his *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations.* In Chapter LVII, "Crusades after Saladin," he writes: "There remained many princes of the imperial family of the Comneni, who did not lose their courage with the destruction of their empire. One of these, who also bore the name of Alexius, took refuge with a few vessels towards Colchis; and there, between the Black Sea and Mount Caucasus, erected a petty state, which was called the Empire of Trebizond; so much was the word empire abused."[150] Then in Chapter XCI of the same *Essay*, entitled *Constantinople taken by the Turks,* Voltaire says: "There were no less than three empires of the East, so called, when in reality there was but one. The city of Constantinople, which was in the hands of the Greeks, made the first empire of the East; Adrianople, refuge of the Lascarids,[151] taken by Amurath I in 1362, was regarded as the second empire; and a barbarous province of the ancient Colchis, called Trebizond, where the Comneni had retreated, was the third reputed empire."[152] It is worth noting that Voltaire's inquisitive mind embraced even such a remote and so little known region as the Empire of Trebizond.

In his famous work on *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* E. Gibbon several times refers to the Empire of Trebizond. But having at his disposal only the meager sources which Du Cange "had dug out,"[153] Gibbon of course could not be exact in all his statements; for example he writes vaguely, "The posterity of Andronicus, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history and so famous in romance."[154] Then following Du Cange and dealing with the opening stages of the history of the Empire, Gibbon writes: "Another portion, distant and obscure, was possessed by the lineal heir of the Comneni, a son of the virtuous Manuel, a grandson of the tyrant Andronicus. His name was Alexius; and the epithet of great was applied perhaps to his stature, rather than to his exploits. By the indulgence of the Angeli, he was appointed governor or duke of Trebizond: his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence; and without changing his title, he reigned in peace

[150] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations,* chapter LVII "Croisades après Saladin." Oeuvres complètes. Nouvelle édition, vol. 11 (Paris, 1878), 462. In English translations this work of Voltaire is very often known as a section of "Ancient and Modern History."

[151] Here Voltaire errs: the refuge of the Lascarids was not Adrianople but Nicaea.

[152] Voltaire, *op. cit.*, chapter XCI "Constantinople prise par les Turcs." Oeuvres complètes, XII (Paris, 1878), 98.

[153] Gibbon, chapter LXI; ed. Bury, VI, 421, n. 25.

[154] Gibbon, chapter XLVIII; ed. Bury, V, 241.

from Sinope to the Phasis, along the coast of the Black Sea. His nameless son and successor is described as the vassal of the sultan, whom he served with two hundred lances; that Comnenian prince was no more than duke of Trebizond, and the title of Emperor was first assumed by the pride and envy of the grandson of Alexius." [155] Gibbon's statements based on Du Cange's text may now be rectified and completed. It is hardly to be believed that after seizing Trebizond Alexius, who belonged to the notable Comneni family, would have contented himself with the title of duke which the governors of Trebizond had once borne as mere representatives of the Constantinopolitan emperors. Nor would Alexius have recognized the imperial title of the Latin emperor, who in Alexius' eyes in 1204 was a usurper and intruder.[156] Gibbon gives the correct date of the fall of Trebizond, 1461.[157] We must not forget that Panaretos' *Chronicle* was not at his disposal.

In 1816 in his *Textbook of the History of the Middle Ages*, now of no value whatever, a German historian, F. Rühs, says some words on the history of the Empire of Trebizond. His information comes from Du Cange and the Spanish traveller Clavijo. Concerning the foundation of the Empire Rühs writes: "Alexius, son of Andronicus II was, in the time of the Latin conquests, under the name of *Dux*, the governor of the province Colchis or Trebizond, and established himself as an independent ruler." [158] Rühs erroneously calls Alexius the son of Andronicus instead of the grandson and names the latter Andronicus II. The rest of the passage Rühs took from Du Cange.[159] But Rühs' few lines on the Empire of Trebizond are one of the earliest examples of the mention of the Empire in a textbook on the general history of the Middle Ages.

In 1824-1836 a new twenty-one volume edition of Lebeau's French compilation *Histoire du Bas-Empire* came out, of which the first edition had been printed in 1757-1786. The new edition was revised and augmented by two orientalists, Saint-Martin, a specialist in Armenian, and Brosset, in Georgian history, both of whom added some valuable material on the history of the Empire of Trebizond. In several places, beginning with vol. XVII, Lebeau deals with the Empire of Trebizond. In Lebeau's original text we read that Alexius

[155] Gibbon, chapter LXI; ed. Bury, VI, 420-421.

[156] See A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 31.

[157] Gibbon, chapter LXVIII; ed. Bury, VII, 205.

[158] F. Rühs, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1816), pp. 131-132.

[159] See A. Vasiliev, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11-12; 31.

and David left for Pontus, where their grandfather had long lived; with the aid of the partisans of their family they established an independent state . . . "Such was the origin of the Empire of Trebizond which owing to the striking sound of its name has become more famous in the romantic tales of chivalry than have the exploits of its princes in history" . . . The Empire fell in 1461. The two founders were satisfied with the title of duke: John Comnenus, Alexius' great grandson, was the first who took the name of emperor.[160] As we see from this text, Lebeau fails to mention the participation of Georgia and Queen Thamar in the foundation of the Empire. Then, apparently following Du Cange, Lebeau believed that Alexius Comnenus ruled with the title of duke, not of emperor. The date of the fall of the Empire, 1461, is correct. But in note one, p. 255, Brosset mentions the Trapezuntine chronicle of Michael Panaretos, in Tafel's edition, and gives in a French translation its first chapter dealing with the foundation of the Empire. Thamar's participation is pointed out; but Brosset erroneously calls her a sister of Manuel, Alexius' father. Brosset also quotes Fallmerayer's book. On pp. 256-258 Lebeau describes David's war against the Lascaris. In volume XVIII (1835), Lebeau writes of Michael Palaeologus' discontent because John Comnenus of Trebizond, "prince of the Lazes," assumed the imperial title, and Lebeau tells how John Comnenus left Trebizond for Constantinople and there married Michael's daughter Eudocia.[161] In note one, pp. 279-281, Brosset gives in a French translation chapters II-V of Michael Panaretos' chronicle. In volume XIX (1835) Lebeau deals with the disputes between the Genoese and Trebizond at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[162] In note one, p. 86, a French translation of Panaretos' chapter VI is given. In volume XX (1836) many events are told in the history of the Empire of Trebizond that took place at the close of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century.[163] In addition to this volume, on pp. 482-509 Brosset gives a French translation of Panaretos' chronicle, ch. VII-LVI, in other words to its end. Brosset thus gives a complete French translation of Michael Panaretos' chronicle in his addition to Lebeau's work in XVII, 255, note, chapter I; XVIII, 279-281, note, ch. II-V; XIX, 86, note, ch. VI; and XX, 482-509, ch. VII-LVI. In volume XXI (1836) we have the story of the fall of the Empire in 1461, and the fatal destiny of its last emperor and his family.[164]

A Greek scholar and professor at the University of Athens, K.

[160] Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, ed. Saint-Martin and Brosset, XVII (Paris, 1834), 254-255.

[161] Lebeau, XVIII, 279-283.

[162] *Ibid.*, XIX, 85-87.

[163] *Ibid.*, XX, 123-127 and 462-465.

[164] *Ibid.*, XXI, 371-376.

Paparrigopoulo, pays little attention to the Empire of Trebizond in his bulky five volume *History of the Greek People from the Most Ancient Times to Recent Years.*[165] Paparrigopoulo says a few words on the foundation of the Empire by Alexius Comnenus and correctly links this fact with the activities and interests of the queen of Georgia, Thamar, Alexius' aunt;[166] then he deals with the territorial limits of the Empire,[167] its rivalry with the Empire of Nicaea,[168] and finally the fall of Trebizond, correctly placed in 1461.[169]

Paparrigopoulo's contemporary, the German historian Karl Hopf, in his extremely valuable two volume work *History of Greece from the Beginning of the Middle Ages down to Recent Times,*[170] in several places deals with the opening pages of the Empire of Trebizond. I believe Hopf to be the only writer who, especially not aiming to write a history of the Empire of Trebizond, is well acquainted with the sources and literature on the question. He refers not only to Fallmerayer, Finlay, and Brosset, but even to Kunik's Russian study which I have mentioned above.[171] Hopf mentions previous "apocryphal" writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, those of Metaxopoulos, Miniati, and Hénin, which I have discussed above and which according to Hopf are pure charlatanism and nonsense.[172] Giving a brief picture of the foundation of the Empire with Thamar's powerful aid, Hopf tells the story of David, brother of the first Trapezuntine emperor, Alexius. He positively states that the two brothers were safely taken away from Constantinople to Colchis immediately after their father's violent death in 1185.[173] Hopf even mentions the relations of Trebizond to the peninsula of the Crimea.[174] But in the later parts of his book, concentrating all his attention on the Latin possessions on the territory of the former Byzantine

[165] Κ. Παπαῤῥηγοπούλου *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων* (Athens, 1860-1877). This work has had several editions; the most recent edition by P. Karolides (Π. Καρολίδης) with the latter's notes and additions came out at Athens in 1925. I use Karolides' edition.

[166] IV (2), 203. Karolides inserts here (pp. 204-206) a lengthy note on Thamar and her significance in the foundation of the Empire.

[167] V (1), 16.

[168] V (1), 22; 44.

[169] V (2), 74-75.

[170] K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginne des Mittelalters bis auf die neuere Zeit* (Leipzig, 1867-1868). Unfortunately the work of Hopf was published in a German encyclopaedia, Ersch-Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste,* vols. LXXXV and LXXXVI, which has had a very limited circulation.

[171] Hopf, I, 210, n. 24.

[172] *Ibid.*

[173] Hopf, I, 209-210; 220.

[174] Hopf, I, 211.

Empire, both on the continent and in the Archipelago, Hopf entirely dismisses the Empire of Trebizond. Once in connection with the history of Lesbos in the second half of the fifteenth century, he mentions the widow of Alexander of Trebizond,[175] the exiled brother of the two last Trapezuntine emperors, John IV and David. Hopf even ignores the fact of the fall of the Empire of Trebizond.

Hopf's history was not accessible to a wide reading public. Later in 1877 and 1883 G. F. Hertzberg based on Hopf's work two more readable surveys of medieval Greek or Byzantine history, which have several references to the history of the Empire of Trebizond. His works are: *A History of Greece from the end of Antiquity to the Present Time* and *History of the Byzantines and of the Ottoman Empire to the End of the Sixteenth Century.*[176] In the *History of Greece* Hertzberg, writing of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond, contrary to Hopf's opinion, is inclined to believe that Alexius and David fled from Constantinople during the war of the crusaders against Alexius III and his successors, in other words just before 1204.[177] Like Hopf, Hertzberg mentions the Greeks of the Crimea and says that they took oath to Alexius as the emperor of the Romans in Trebizond. But, Hertzberg adds, "the new Emperor of the East had no desire whatever to get in touch with the Crusaders." [178] He narrates the same story in his second work.[179] Some other episodes from the history of the Empire of Trebizond can be found in Hertzberg's two books.[180]

In 1879 in Germany (Stuttgart) a most important book came out on the history of the Middle Ages, W. Heyd's *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (*A History of the Commerce of the Levant in the Middle Ages*). A few years later in 1885-1886 a new French

[175] Hopf, II, p. 153.

[176] G. F. Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens bis zur Gegenwart.* Zweiter Theil (1204-1470). Gotha, 1877; *Geschichte der Byzantiner und des osmanischen Reiches* (Berlin, 1883). The latter book came out in a Russian translation by P. V. Bezobrazov, with his important notes and appendices, under the title *History of Byzantium* (Moscow, 1896). In the Russian edition the history of the Ottoman Empire is omitted.

[177] Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands,* II, 14. Alexius III is Alexius III Angelus who reigned from 1195 to 1203. After his deposition his old blind brother Isaac II was reestablished upon the throne (1203-1204) with his son Alexius IV as his co-emperor (1203-1204). Both of them perished in 1204. After them their relative Alexius V Ducas Mourtzouphlos reigned a few months.

[178] Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands,* II, 14.

[179] Hertzberg, *Geschichte der Byzantiner,* p. 375; Russian translation, p. 365.

[180] See *Geschichte Griechenlands,* II, 583-584 (the fall of Trebizond). *Geschichte der Byzantiner,* pp. 467-468; 527-528; Russian translation, pp. 456; 519-520.

edition of this book in two volumes corrected and considerably enlarged by the author was published in Leipzig under the title *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*; the French translation was made by Furcy Raynaud. In 1923 the two volumes of 1886 were reprinted without change. I use here the French edition.

The author devotes much attention to the history of the Empire of Trebizond, especially to its commercial and economic significance, as an intermediary link between East and West. All his statements and considerations are based on careful study and profound knowledge of all available sources, so that all the pages which deal with the history of the Empire of Trebizond have very great value.

First there is an extremely interesting chapter *Trebizond considered as a vestibule to Central Asia* (II, 92-107), where, after mentioning the foundation of the Empire, the author gives a very colorful and reliable survey of the Genoese and Venetian penetration into Trebizond and their economic rivalry down to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Empire begins to show signs of decadence. Some very interesting information on the same period concerning trade routes through Trebizond can be found also in the chapter "Persia" (pp. 119-131). In a long chapter, "The Colonies of the north coast of the Pontos" (pp. 156-215), one finds references to the dependence of certain regions in the Crimea on the Empire of Trebizond, (for instance, p. 157). The book contains a special chapter, "The End of the Empire of Trebizond" (pp. 360-365), in which the author tells its tragic story in the fifteenth century and closes with the fall of the Empire in 1461. "This overthrow struck a fatal blow to Italian commerce which disappeared for long from this market" (p. 365). In many other places one can discover indications concerning the topography, churches, fortresses, and especially the economic life and significance of the Empire. Though not a special work on the Empire of Trebizond, Heyd's book gives us more fresh material and better information on it than some books which deal specifically with the Empire.

In his *World History* L. Ranke writes, "In Trebizond the descendants of Andronicus Comnenus established an independent State which comprised, beyond ancient Colchis, the region along the Pontic coast to the Crimea and was culturally important, especially because from there a great trade route into the depths of the East was maintained and used." [181] Ranke's brief statement erroneously suggests that the whole of the eastern coast of the Black Sea belonged to the Empire of Trebizond.

[181] L. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, VIII (Leipzig, 1887), 296.

In 1897 the German historian H. Gelzer published in the second edition of Krumbacher's *History of Byzantine Literature* an *Outline of Byzantine Imperial History*, in which he devoted a brief chapter to the Empire of Trebizond.[182] Gelzer rather admires the first period of the Empire. After stating that the young princes escaped from Constantinople in 1185 to take refuge at the court of the great Queen Thamar, Gelzer gives the following pictures of the opening pages of the Empire. "The reign of Alexius I," Gelzer says, "as efficient ruler and true prince in appearance, is the brilliant moment in the modest magnificance of Trebizond. Already at his death a certain decline had begun: feudalism with its conflicts failed to allow an organized state system to develop, and the struggle of both aristocratic parties, *scholarii* and *mesochaldaei*, *i. e.* court aristocracy that had come with the Comneni on one side, and the local nobility long settled in the East on the other, undermined the Empire." [183] At the beginning of the fourteenth century, according to Gelzer, the Emperor Alexius II (1297-1330) was an outstanding ruler among the Comneni. Even at the end of that century Alexius III, who died in 1390, left to his son Manuel III a flourishing state.[184] Only beginning with the year 1417 does the history of the Great Comneni reveal the final decline of the old Comneni family which was steadily degenerating. Trebizond perished, after the Great Comneni for nearly three centuries had sustained Christianity and Greek culture in the far-off eastern corner of the Old Empire.[185]

The Greek scholar Sp. Lampros in his *History of Greece* gives us almost nothing of the Empire of Trebizond; it is a work intended primarily for a wide circle of readers.[186] He is inclined to believe that Andronicus' grandsons fled to Colchis "in the painful days of the Fourth Crusade." [187]

In 1910 Charles Diehl's concise history of the Byzantine Empire came out in Paris. Later this book had several reprints. In 1925 it was translated into English.[188] After two bare mentions of the founding of the Empire of Trebizond,[189] Diehl gives a brief special chapter

[182] H. Gelzer, *Abrise der byzantinischen Kaisergeschichte* (Munich, 1897), pp. 1049-1051.

[183] *Ibid.*, pp. 1049-1050.

[184] *Ibid.*, p. 1050.

[185] *Ibid.*, pp. 1050-1051.

[186] Σπ. Λάμπρος, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος, VI (Athens, 1902), 227-231 (Ἡ αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος).

[187] *Op. cit.*, VI, 228; see also p. 229 (on the Trapezuntine dependencies in the Crimea).

[188] Ch. Diehl, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin.* In English, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, translated by George B. Ives (Princeton, 1925).

[189] French, pp. 173-174 and 189; English, pp. 139 and 151.

entitled *The Greek Empire of Trebizond.*[190] This brief two page outline of its history down to its fall in 1461 is, as might be expected, excellently written. Pointing out the political weakness of the Empire, Diehl says: "Nonetheless, thanks to the Empire of Trebizond, there still remained at the head of the Pontus Euxinus, a reflection of the glories of Byzantium; and for two and one half centuries Greek nationalism found a refuge there" . . . (After the fall of the Empire) " this was the end of the last Greek state in the Orient."[191] In his admirable book *Byzance. Grandeur et décadence* (Paris, 1928) Diehl almost entirely omits the Empire of Trebizond.[192]

In an Italian book compiled by N. Turchi with the title *Byzantine Civilization,* which was published in 1915, the Empire of Trebizond is not considered. The names of two eminent Trapezuntine "humanists" and writers are given, however, George of Trebizond, as he was called from his parents' original home, although he was born in Crete, and Cardinal Bessarion.[193]

In his *History of Greek Public Finances* published in 1918 in Modern Greek, the famous Greek historian and economist, A. M. Andreades,[194] included a part entitled "Public Finances of the Byzantines."[195] This contains a section on general Byzantine bibliography (pp. 361-403), where in a note Andreades writes, "Perhaps it is also necessary to study the financial and social history of the Empire of Trebizond." After that he gives a bibliography of the subject from Fallmerayer's work to Lampros' edition of the Chronicle of Michael Panaretos in 1907. This is all.[196] It is a great pity that Andreades, who devoted much space in his book to the internal history of Byzantium, entirely omitted the Empire of Trebizond.

The fourth volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History,* which came out in 1923, is entitled *The Eastern Roman Empire* (717-1453) and in addition to the history of that Empire, contains several chapters on neighboring countries, such as Armenia (ch. VI), Northern neighbors and the conversion of the Slavs (ch. VII), the First Bul-

[190] French, pp. 217-219; English, pp. 173-175.

[191] French, pp. 218-219; English, pp. 174-175.

[192] See bare mentions of Trebizond, for instance, on pp. 219, 237, 238.

[193] Nicola Turchi, *La Civiltà Bizantina* (Torino, 1915), pp. 6 and 161.

[194] Ἀνδρέου Μιχ. Ἀνδρεάδου Ἱστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημοσίας οἰκονομίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Βασιλείου. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1918.

[195] *Op. cit.*, pp. 337-624.

[196] This note is not even mentioned in a very detailed presentation of Andreades' bibliography in the excellent volume dedicated to Andreades' memory soon after his death in 1935. A. J. Sbarounis, *André M. Andréadès fondateur de la science des finances en Grèce* (Paris, 1936). The bibliography of the note on the Empire of Trebizond should have been given on p. 146.

garian Empire (ch. VIII), Muslim civilization during the Abbasid period and the Seljuqs (ch. X), Venice (ch. XIII), the Balkan States: I. The Zenith of Bulgaria and Serbia (1186-1355) and II. The Turkish Conquest (1355-1483) in ch. XVII-XVIII, and the Mongols (ch. XX). There is no special chapter or section devoted to the Empire of Trebizond; but information on its history is to be found in different chapters of the book without continuity and with some repetitions, since different chapters were compiled by different scholars. A few words on the foundation of the Trapezuntine Empire and its first conflicts with the Empire of Nicaea are to be found on pp. 423-425; almost the same material is repeated on pp. 479-480. Here we read, "At Trebizond, in the same month in which Constantinople fell, young Alexius, grandson of Andronicus I established himself with the aid of a Georgian contingent, provided by the care of his paternal aunt Thamar" (p. 479). On p. 482 is a mention of David Comnenus' failure in his war on Theodore Lascaris. On pp. 486-487 we read that the Greeks of Trebizond declined to acknowledge the authority of the Patriarch of Nicaea and that after the death of the first Emperor of Trebizond his Empire was very small in territory but his capital was deemed impregnable. On pp. 514-516 is briefly told the history of Trebizond under its first three emperors, Alexius I, Andronicus Gidon, and Manuel I, who died in 1263. On p. 516 referring to the thirteenth century is the following debatable remark: "Nicaea and Trebizond have, however, apart from aught else, a permanent lesson for the historian and the politician; they teach us the extraordinary vitality of the Hellenic race even in its darkest hour." The author of this chapter is William Miller, destined to write the history of Trebizond. On pp. 656, 665, 674-675, and 690 are indicated the evergrowing successes of the Ottoman Turks against Trebizond down to the year 1433, when a Turkish fleet ravaged the coasts of Trebizond. On p. 770 we have a statement by Charles Diehl that in my opinion should be modified. He says, "Trebizond . . . was from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century to be the capital of a powerful state." The epithet "powerful" scarcely fits the weak Empire of Trebizond. It might be pointed out that the fact of the fall of the Empire of Trebizond in 1461 is not mentioned in this volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History.* In volume VII of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (1932) in chapter one, "Italy in the time of Dante," there are only two brief statements referring to the Empire of Trebizond; on. p. 27 we read, "The Genoese controlled Trebizond," (in the thirteenth century), and on p. 48, "The city of Trebizond granted (Venice) access to trade with Persia." That is all. In volume VIII (1936), entitled *The Close of the Middle Ages,* Trebizond is not mentioned.

In conclusion, I must state once more that the extremely important fact of the fall of the Empire of Trebizond does not appear either in volume IV or in any other volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History.*

In 1928 the Greek magazine Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου published a popular article, "Pontos through the Ages," compiled by A. A. Papadopoulos.[197] The author deals briefly with the question of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond and gives a brief sketch of its history.[198] According to him, Alexis Comnenus with a few followers took Trebizond, whose duke Nicephorus Palaeologus made no resistance but supported Alexius; the people, seeing great political changes all over the Byzantine Empire and fearing new dangers from the Franks and Turks, welcomed Alexius as a legal heir of the Byzantine Empire, because he bore the august name of the Comneni. In his sketch Papadopoulos presents in a very brief form the most important events in the history of the Empire of Trebizond. This article is of little interest for our purpose but would be of use for Greek readers.

My two volume *History of the Byzantine Empire* contains no special chapter on the history of the Empire of Trebizond either in its original English edition published in 1928-1929 at Madison, Wisconsin, or in its French revised and augumented edition printed in 1932 in Paris. I wrote, (After the taking of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204) "the third Greek centre, the Empire of Trebizond, lay too far away to be able to play the leading part in the process of the unification of the Greeks; therefore the history of Trebizond has its own special interest, political as well as cultural and economic, and deserves a particular investigation of its own" (II, 188; French, II, 177). But although I gave no special outline of the history of the Empire, I dealt in several places with the important moments of its history and emphasized some traits overlooked by other writers on the history of Byzantium. I pointed out the Mongol danger in the thirteenth century when the emperor of Trebizond was forced to make a speedy peace with the Mongols and became a Mongol vassal (II, 219; French, II, 207). I noted that, after the restoration of the Byzantine Empire by Michael Palaeologus in 1261, the Empire of Trebizond not only continued to live a separate and independent life, but also possessed Byzantine territory in the Crimea, namely the theme of Cherson (Korsun) with the adjacent country frequently referred to as "the Gothic Klimata," which paid tribute to the emperor of Trebizond (II, 265; French, II, 254). I mentioned that Andreas Palaeologus, a nephew of the last Byzantine emperor, transmitted his

[197] Παπαδοπούλου, Α. Α. Ὁ Πόντος διὰ τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, I (1928), 7-46.

[198] *Op. cit.*, 13-19.

ephemeral rights to the Empires of Constantinople and Trebizond to the King of France, Charles VIII (II, 277; French, II, 266); and that in 1461 Trebizond passed into the hands of the Turks (II, 357-358; French, II, 347). I indicated the importance of the Acts of the monastery of Vazelon near Trebizond, recently published (in 1927), for the history of peasant and monastery land ownership in the Empire of Trebizond (II, 388; French, II, 378). I mentioned the visit to Trebizond of a Spanish traveller of the fifteenth century, Pero Tafur (II, 390; French, II, 379). I feel that it would be very useful now to insert in the book a brief special chapter on the history of the Empire of Trebizond.

In 1929 an interesting book came out in London, *The Byzantine Achievement. An Historical Perspective A. D. 330-1453,* written by Robert Byron, whose name up to then was entirely unknown in the field of Byzantine studies. The author frankly admits in the introductory note, "The present volume is in no sense one of research among original sources." Byron mentions the Empire of Trebizond several times. "At Trebizond, also now an Empire, supporting the rule of a grandson of Andronicus I Comnenus, from Heraclea to the Caucasus" (p. 104). On p. 111 he correctly says that "the Empire of Trebizond was reduced in 1461." "After the Latin conquest the mantle of scientific and mathematical learning fell to Trebizond, whither voyaged students in search of it from every part of the Levant" (p. 206). As to the *labarum* of Constantine . . . "the eagle inherited from Rome descended to the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond" (p. 241). Pages 301-303 are exclusively devoted to the Empire. "Meanwhile, at Trebizond, on the south coast of the Black Sea, a last offshoot of the vanished monarchy was represented by the Grand Comnenus, King and Emperor of all the East, whose eagles were now the rallying point of Greek disaffection. . . . The extent of their dominion, which had reached even Georgia and the Crimea, was ordinarily some 7000 square miles contained in a narrow strip along the shore. And their capital, since the destruction of Bagdad by Hulagu, had been famed for its mart of wares from the further East. Venetians and Genoese, as at Constantinople, had their outposts there; and many travellers have left passing impressions of the place" (pp. 301-302). Among travellers the author mentions neither Spanish nor Italian nor German visitors to Trebizond, all of whom are well known to us; but, an Englishman himself, he mentions two Englishmen who visited Trebizond. He writes: "An English embassy of 1293 wore its shoes to ruin on the cobbled streets. Another Englishman, in the time of Richard II, describes the royal palace; its marble audience chamber in the form

of a pyramid; its frescoed banqueting hall; and its library of scientific and historical works. To the city's continued prosperity in the fifteenth century, the writings of Bessarion, the Trapezuntine Cardinal, are witness" (p. 302). Byron probably took his information on the English embassy of 1292-1293 from W. Miller's book, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (p. 31),[199] which he mentions in his bibliography (p. 330). I was at first at a loss to define Byron's source for the Englishman who in the time of Richard II (1377-1399) visited and described Trebizond. Miller's book has no mention of such a visit. I finally identified the description, however, as nothing but an abridgment of the description of the imperial palace which is to be found in the well known *Encomium* of Trebizond by Bessarion of Nicaea.[200] It is quoted in W. Miller's book as follows: "a marble edifice, shaped like a pyramid, which served as an audience chamber, and beyond that the frescoed banqueting-hall. Thence on the left the visitor was conducted to the library, containing memoirs on anthropology and political history" (pp. 121-122). Miller correctly attributes the description to Bessarion,[201] and I am unable to make out why Byron assigns it instead to "another Englishman in the time of Richard II."

At the end of his account of the Empire of Trebizond, Byron says a few words on its two last emperors, John IV, whom he calls John VI, and David, and concludes his story with the fall of the Empire in 1461 and the tragic fate of David and his seven sons. "All vestiges of Greek independence had disappeared" (p. 303).

Several casual and scattered mentions of the Empire of Trebizond can be found in Steven Runciman's book *Byzantine Civilization*, published in London in 1933. Runciman correctly places the fall of the Empire in the year 1461 (p. 60).

In 1934 at Bucarest appeared three volumes in French of N. Iorga's *History of Byzantine Life. Empire and Civilization.*[202] For our

[199] The first connection between England and Trebizond occurred under King Edward I, who sent an embassy to Persia, which in 1293 passed through Trebizond and was headed by Geoffrey of Langley, afterwards "one of the household of the King's brother Edmund" (W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 31). The original source for the visit of this embassy was published with an introduction by an Italian scholar, C. Desimoni, "I conti dell' ambasciata al Chan di Persia nel MCCXCII," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, XIII (Genoa, 1877-1884), 537-609.

[200] Βησσαρίωνος Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα . . . ὑπὸ Σπυρ. Π. Λάμπρου, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, XIII (1916), 189; separate edition, p. 47.

[201] See Bessarion's description of the palace also in Fallmerayer's *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), p. 309 (from the manuscript of Bessarion's *Encomium*).

[202] N. Iorga, *Historia de la vie byzantine. Empire et civilisation. D'après les sources.* Vol. I-III (Bucarest, 1934).

purpose the third volume, which covers the period from 1081 to 1453, contains a great deal of information on the Empire of Trebizond. Of course this information is scattered in various parts of the book. In 1907 in London Iorga published a little book in English, *The Byzantine Empire*, where he mentioned very briefly some episodes in the history of the Empire of Trebizond: how David and Alexius Comneni founded the Empire (p. 175) which Byzantine writers scornfully called the principality of Lazes (p. 193); how under the next to the last emperor, John IV," a veritable monster," the Empire was on the brink of final catastrophe, which actually occurred under David in 1461 (p. 226). All these brief statements were incorporated by the author in his French work in 1934.

In volume two and at the beginning of volume three, there is some mention of Trebizond before the foundation of the Empire.[203] But beginning with page 104 of volume three we have much well known information on the Empire. In connection with the founding of the Empire Iorga mentions a princess of Georgia, but does not give her name, and states that Alexius Comnenus assumed the imperial title with a view to reconquering Constantinople (p. 104). Iorga writes, "In the old city of Constantinople, as in that nest of barbarians between the mountain and sea (*i. e.*, in Trebizond), one finds only a brilliant sovereign of fallen prestige but splendid exterior, monks ceaselessly disputing, and foreigners who exploit the wealth of the State and at the same time supply it fully with means of defense" (p. 157). Iorga gives in various places several names of Trapezuntine writers (pp. 218, 266, 270-271, 277). He devotes a relatively large amount of attention to the final page of the Empire of Trebizond and places its fall in the correct year, 1461 (pp. 289, 293-294). Iorga gives in his full notes a very useful bibliography of primary and secondary sources for the history of the Empire of Trebizond.

In 1940 came out two histories of the Byzantine Empire, one in German, the other in Russian. The German book, *A History of the Byzantine State*, is written by a very well-known Russian byzantinist, Georg Ostrogorski now living in Belgrad, Yugoslavia.[204] His work, covering the whole period of Byzantine history down to the fall of the empire in 1453, in several places deals with the Empire of Trebizond. He mentions the foundation of the Empire by Alexius and David Comneni, grandsons of Andronicus I, who escaped from Constanti-

[203] See II, 223, 239; III, 55, 70.

[204] Georg Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1940), pp. xx + 448. *Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft* herausgegeben von Walter Otto—München, Erster Teil, Zweiter Band.

nople just before and not after its conquest by the Latins in 1204, recognizes Queen Thamar's essential part in the founding of the Empire, and says a few words on the military activities of David west of Trebizond, which were checked by Theodore Lescaris of Nicaea.[205] Ostrogorsky tells of the successes of the Sultan of Iconium against Alexius Comnenus, who after losing Sinope was captured by the Sultan and then reinstated on the throne as his vassal. "The political as well as economic and social evolution of the Trapezuntine State presents, for its own sake, high historical interest. However, on the general Byzantine development this remote petty Empire has exerted no essential influence. It lived in seclusion its own life for two hundred and fifty years, remained untouched by the fight over Constantinople and by the restoration of the Byzantine Empire, and outlived the fall of Byzantium by many years." [206] In connection with the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century Ostrogorsky mentions the defeat of the Empire, after which the Emperor of Trebizond became a tributary vassal of the Tartars.[207] Finally he mentions the capture of Trebizond by Muhammed II in 1461 and concludes: "Therewith the last piece of Greek land came under Turkish power." [208]

A Russian *History of Byzantium* has been written by M. V. Levchenko.[209] This book is the first attempt to give a sketch of Byzantine history from the Marxist point of view. The author twice mentions events referring to the Empire of Trebizond. In connection with the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, Levchenko writes, "Simultaneously (with the foundation of the Empire of Nicaea) was created the so-called Trapezuntine Empire. In 1204 the Georgian Queen Thamar aided her nephew Andronicus Comnenus, grandson of Andronicus, to found an independent possession on the sea coast from Phasis to Sinope, with a center in Trebizond. Andronicus' attempt to take possession of Bithynia ended in failure, but the dynasty that he founded ruled in Trebizond some three centuries." [210] In this passage, probably by oversight, the first emperor of Trebizond is erroneously called Andronicus instead of Alexius. At the end of the sketch Levchenko merely says, "In 1461 distant Trebizond, the capital of the independent Empire, passed into the hands of the Turks." [211]

These two recent publications of 1940 conclude the works that cover the whole course of Byzantine history. But some histories of the Byzantine Empire exist that do not comprise the whole course of

[205] Ostrogorsky, p. 303.
[206] *Op. cit.*, p. 307.
[207] *Ibid.*, pp. 313-314.
[208] *Ibid.*, p. 411.
[209] M. V. Levchenko, *Istorija Vizantii. A brief sketch* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), pp. 263.
[210] Levchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
[211] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

its history and cease their narrative before 1204 when the Empire of Trebizond was set up. These books occasionally give a little information on Trebizond when the city still belonged to the Byzantine Empire, so that for our purpose they have no significance. To this group first belong the histories of the Byzantine Empire written by Russian scholars: J. A. Kulakovsky, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, three volumes, 1910-1913, coming down to the year 717; F. I. Uspensky, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. I and II, 1, 1914-1927, ending with the iconoclastic epoch and the activities of the Slavonic apostles, Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius in the ninth century; S. P. Shestakov, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, sec. ed. 1915, embracing the period to the coronation of Charlemagne in 800; C. N. Uspensky, *Outlines in Byzantine History*, 1917, ending with the final restoration of icon worship in 843. In his beautifully written little book, *The Byzantine Empire* (London, 1926) Norman H. Baynes writes in the introduction, "For these or other reasons, in this little book the present writer has confined himself in the main to the period before the fall of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade" (p. 10), i. e. in 1204. In the book *Le Monde Oriental de* 395 *à* 1081 (Paris, 1936), written by Charles Diehl and Georges Marçais, the history of the Byzantine Empire is dealt with only to the year 1081, *i. e.*, the accession to the throne of the Comnenian dynasty and the beginning of the Crusades. According to the plan of the series in which this volume was published, the following volume was to contain a history of the Byzantine Empire up to its fall. The Empire of Trebizond will probably be considered in this. But this volume has not yet appeared. In 1939 the first volume of the *History of the Byzantine Empire* in Modern Greek by Constantine I. Amantos came out in Athens. But this volume covers the period from 395 to 867 only.[212] In the introductory chapter in section two, *Division of Byzantine History*, Amantos says that after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, "the other Greek states, the Empire of Trebizond, the Despotate of Epirus and later, the Despotate of Mistra, are busy with their own enemies, have other aims, and are unable to fulfil or feel mutual obligation to help Byzantium."[213]

Studies on special questions connected with the Empire of Trebizond during recent years have been concentrated mostly on the fact of the foundation of the Empire. In 1936 I published in *Speculum* a study, *Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond*.[214] My end was to

[212] Κωνσταντίνου Ἰ. Ἀμάντου Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους. Τόμος πρῶτος 395-867 M. X. (Ἀθῆναι, 1939), pp. xvi + 495.

[213] Ἀμαντος, *p.* 8.

[214] A. A. Vasiliev, "Foundation of the empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 3-37.

show what had been done in this respect in previous works and emphasize once more the essential significance of Georgia and her famous Queen Thamar in the foundation of the Empire. After outlining the general situation in the Near East after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, I discussed the Comneni and the Georgian Bagratids, especially the younger line of the Comneni family, which was destined to found the Empire. I told the story of the escape of Alexius and David from Constantinople, gave the characteristics of Thamar (Tamara), Queen of Georgia, discussed the sources on the foundation of the Empire, and tried to draw a picture of the foundation of the Empire based upon all available sources. Then passing beyond the chronological limits of its foundation I gave a sketch of the reign of the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius, who died in 1222 and ended my study by discussing the question of the title of the emperors of Trebizond.

In his notice of this study a German scholar, Franz Dölger, correctly indicated my omission of the writings of Mesarites connected with the beginning of the Empire of Trebizond.[215] I rectified my omission in an article in *Speculum*, "Mesarites as a Source," in which I discussed Mesarites' writings as far as they related to the opening pages of the history of the Empire of Trebizond.[216] A Rumanian historian, N. Iorga, published a review of my study of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond, denying Thamar's essential part in its foundation. He writes, "The proof that M. Vasiliev was on the wrong track when attributing to the Georgian Thamar a role that she had not and that she could not have played, is found in the fact, which has been recognized by Vasiliev himself, that the two brothers have no connection with Georgia, which on the contrary appears later as a rival and even enemy."[217] Of course on this point I entirely disagree with Iorga. The Trapezuntine *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos clearly asserts that the two brothers, Alexius and David, were brought from Constantinople to Georgia "to their paternal aunt Thamar"; and the same writer notes that Alexius Comnenus "marching from Iberia supported by the zeal and efficient help of his paternal aunt, Thamar, took possession of Trebizond."[218]

[215] F. D(ölger), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVI (1936), 223.

[216] A. A. Vasiliev, "Mesarites as a Source," *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 180-182.

[217] N. Iorga, "Une nouvelle théorie sur l'origine et le caractère de l'empire de Trébizonde," *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, XIII (1936), 172-176; the statement quoted on p. 175.

[218] Michael Panaretos, ed. Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, IV (1907), 266. See Vasiliev, "Foundation," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 9 and 15-16. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1940), p. 303, n. 3.

Very recently in 1940 a very interesting article came out in *Speculum* written by a young Russian-Georgian scholar, Prince Cyril Toumanoff, *On the Relationship between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar.*[219] The author knows the Georgian language, so that Georgian sources which are very important on the foundation of the Empire, are accessible to him in the vernacular. On the basis of his new and very plausible interpretation of these sources Toumanoff has come to the conclusion that the first wife of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (1182-1185), grand father of the first Trapezuntine emperor Alexius and his brother David, was a sister of the King of Georgia, George III, Thamar's brother.[220] In other words, Toumanoff has established a new link between the Byzantine Comneni and the Georgian Bagratids and has satisfactorily explained Michael Panaretos' rather hazy description of Thamar as "the paternal aunt of Alexius and David."

In all important Encyclopedias there are articles on Trebizond of various value depending on their authors. I mention here several of the most important. In French, *La Grande Encyclopédie* contains an article *Trébizonde* (XXI, 335-336); the history of Trebizond before the Empire is sketched by R. Dussaud, and *The Greek Empire of Trebizond* has been compiled by Ch. Diehl. Diehl's name is a guarantee that the article, though very brief, is reliable. Queen Thamar is called merely "the aunt" of the two young princes. The Empire, it is emphasized, during more than three centuries maintained some remnants of Christianity and of Byzantine civilization in those far-off regions of the Black Sea. The bibliography refers to Fallmerayer, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, and Fisher. Surprisingly Finlay is not mentioned.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* contains a very brief anonymous article (14th edition, XXII [1930], 444). After mentioning the economic importance and geographic situation of Trebizond, the article says that the Grand Comneni were patrons of art and learning, and gives a little information on the political history of the Empire. The bibliography is out of date.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* (XV, 28-29) has an article *Trebizond* signed by S. Vailhé. The author stresses Christianity in the region of Trebizond, briefly sketches its history, and assigns the fall of the Empire of Trebizond to the year 1462 (instead of the correct 1461). The bibliography begins with Gainsford's book published in 1616, which, as we have seen above, is quite unhistorical.

In the *Great Hellenic Encyclopedia* (Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλο-

[219] *Speculum*, XV (1940), 299-312.
[220] Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

παιδεία) there is a rather superficial article compiled by A. A. Papadopoulos (XXIII [Athens, 1933], 262-266). At the end of the article is a very incomplete bibliography containing books written in Modern Greek only, with one exception: F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* (vol. II, Brussels, 1906). Papadopoulos fails to mention Fallmerayer, Finlay, W. Miller, or Uspensky.

The article *Trebisonda* in the Spanish *Enciclopedia Universal ilustrada europeo-americana* (LXIV, 6-10) is of special interest in modern times, as it deals with the general topography of the region as it existed in 1914. There are only a few words on the history of Trebizond. Some of the information is incorrect, e. g., this statement: "The Empire was founded in 1185 by David and Alexius Comnenus, who had escaped from the Latins, the masters of Constantinople," and the date of the fall of the Empire as 1462. The bibliography is poorly presented; Gainsford's book (London, 1616) should be omitted.

The *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere et arti* contains an article *Trebisonda* (XXXIV [Rome, 1937], 245-246). The first section on the monuments in Trebizond is compiled by G. de Jerphanion, and the historical section by A. Pernice. The latter section is divided into three parts: ancient Trebizond, Byzantine Trebizond (V-XII centuries), and the Empire of Trebizond (1204-1461). This is a brief but clear and reliable account. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, it points out, Trebizond reached an extraordinary prosperity. At the end are a few words on Turkish Trebizond. In the bibliography the names of Fallmerayer, Evangelides, and W. Miller are given. Neither Finlay nor Uspensky is mentioned.

J. H. Kramers wrote an article *Tarabzun* for the *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (IV, 694-696). This article gives a brief but very reliable and clear presentation of the history of the Empire of Trebizond, especially in its relations to the Orient, the Turks, and Mongols. A good bibliography is added, including some Turkish works.

W. Ruge compiled a very accurate article *Trapezus* for Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* . . . Zweite Reihe, VI (1937), 2214-2221. But in this article Ruge deals only with the ancient period of the history of Trebizond, including Justinian's epoch. Ruge writes, "Trebizond enjoyed a second flourishing period in the Middle Ages; but this is no place to speak of it" (col. 2219).

In 1934, in one of our local Wisconsin papers, the *Milwaukee Journal* (Sunday, November 25, 1934), I published a popular article on the Empire of Trebizond under the title *Trebizond, the Ancient Gateway to Asia,* in connection with my own studies on the subject. The editor of the *Milwaukee Journal* added to my title his own subtitle, "Where Xenophon's Retreat with the Ten Thousand Greeks was Checked, University of Wisconsin Professor Traces, in Forthcoming

Book, an Elusive Story of the Cultural and Economic Relations Between East and West." In the text of my article the editor inserted a minuscule map of the Near East, and the picture of the Sultan Muhammed II who in 1461 put an end to the Empire of Trebizond.

Perhaps no other land has left so deep an impress on medieval chivalrous literature, on *romans d'aventures,* as the Empire of Trebizond, whose founding was closely connected with the Fourth Crusade. During the crusades, especially in the thirteenth century, that Empire, situated very far east and very little known, ceased to be a reality and became a fairy land. When the French King Louis IX landed in 1253 at Sidon in Syria, envoys came to him there from a great sovereign of "Profound Greece" who was called "the Grand Comnenus and Lord of Trebizond." [221] Neither Louis IX nor many errant knights of that period had any exact idea what "Profound Greece" and her lord were. But at that time there were widespread many hazy accounts about the wonderful fertility of the Trapezuntine soil, the vigor of its men and beauty of its women, the countless wealth of its rulers. Sailors from Genoa and Venice and travellers who had visited that distant region on their return to Western Europe brought back the accounts of eye witnesses, not without imaginative coloring. They described gardens that were ever green, castles on wooded hills, whose towers and battlements were guarded by ghosts; the unsurpassable beauty of the women, the splendor of the Great-Comnenian palace.[222]

I have seen several rare editions of sixteenth century books which tell the deeds, battles, and heroic death of one of the very well known figures in the French medieval epic poems, *chansons de geste,* Renaut de Montauban, one of the four sons of Aimon de Dordone.[223] In the editions of the sixteenth century his name is given as Rinaldo di Montalbano, Regnault de Montauban, or simply Rinaldo. All these anonymous stories in verse deal with Trebizond, where, according to a Venetian edition of 1511, takes place "a very noble battle with the life and death of Rinaldo;" [224] the almost identical title is to be found in another Venetian edition of 1535, corrected and "brought to its entirety." [225] In a French edition in Paris, seemingly also published

[221] See Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis,* ed. N. Wailly (Paris, 1882), ch. CXVI, p. 591: "li messaige à un grant signour de la parfonde Grece, liquex se fesoit appeler le Grant Comnenie et signour de Trafentesi." See above, referring to Thomas Gainsford's book.

[222] See Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt,* p. 315.

[223] See E. Langlois, *Table des nom propres de toute nature compris dans les Chansons de Geste imprimées* (Paris, 1904), p. 550 (Renaut de Montauban); p. 14 (Aimon de Dordon).

[224] *Trabisonda historiata ne laquale si contiene nobilissima battaglia con la vita e morte de Rinaldo,* In Venetia, 1511.

[225] *Trabisonda nelaquale se tratta nobilissima battaglia: con la vita e morte*

in 1535, the title runs as follows: "There follows the conquest of the very powerful Empire of Trebizond and spacious Asia, where are comprised many battles both on sea and on land." [226] On the last page of this book we read, "The conquest of Trebizond made by Regnault de Montauban, son of the Duke Aymonte Dardaine. Recently printed in Paris." [227] These epic poems are of interest from the viewpoint of medieval literature but have no historical value whatever as to the Empire of Trebizond. I have already explained that Thomas Gainsford's collection of fantastic stories entitled *The Historie of Trebizond, in foure bookes* (London, 1616) has no historical significance.

Beginning with the sixteenth century the name of Trebizond or the Empire of Trebizond appears in many literary works that have no pretensions to historical accuracy.

In his immortal *Don Quixote* Cervantes (1547-1616) writes that "the poor hidalgo already saw himself by his arm's might crowned emperor of Trebizond at least." [228] In the sixteenth century the renowned French writer Rabelais in his satire *Gargantua* (ch. XXXIII) makes one of his imaginary characters Picrochole, King of Lerné, exclaim, "I want also to be Emperor of Trebizond." [229] In his other satire *Pantagruel* Rabelais writes, "I am going to tempt the students of Trebizond to leave their Fathers and Mothers, to renounce the ordinary life of a Citizen, to emancipate themselves from the Edicts of their King, to live in underground Liberty, to despise every one, to scoff at all the World, and taking the fine and jovial little Cap of poetic Innocence, to turn themselves into Gentlemen Hobgoblins." [230]

di Rinaldo hystoriata: nuovamente corretta e alla sua integrità ridotta, In Vineggia, 1535. No pagination; counted according to the files of sixteen pages, A, B, C, *etc.*

[226] "S'ensuyt la conqueste du tres puissant empire de Tresbisonde et de la spacieuse Asie, en laquelle sont comprinses plusieurs batailles tant par mer que par terre," Paris (1535 ?), with many wood cuts. No real pagination; 98 leaves; printed in two columns.

[227] "Cy fine ce present livre. La conqueste de Tresbisonde faicte par Regnault de Montauban fils du duc Aymonte Dardaine, "Nouvellement imprimé à Paris.

[228] Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha,* part I, ch. 1: "Imaginabase el pobre ya coronado por el valor de su brazo, por lo menos, del imperio de Trapisonda"; *The Visionary Gentleman Don Quijote de la Mancha,* transl. by Robinson Smith (New York, 1932), p. 15.

[229] "Je veulx estre aussi empereur de Trebizonde." Picrochole is a Greek word πικρόχολος, full of bitter bile, bilious, splenetic, irascible.

[230] Rabelais, *Les Oeuvres,* ed. Ch. Marty-Laveaux, II (Paris, 1870), 432 (*Pantagruel,* ch. 46). Some comments on this passage occur in *Oeuvres de Rabelais* (Paris, 1823), VI, 441. Rabelais, *The five books and minor writings.* A new translation by W. F. Smith (London, 1893), p. 195. "Little Cap"

In this rather obscure passage Rabelais uses the name of Trebizond for that of Paris, deriving the word from the Greek τράπεζα (table), and hinting at the gormandizing life of the monks. Rabelais does not refer to the Empire of Trebizond.

In the seventeenth century Milton mentions Trebizond in his *Paradise Lost* (book I, line 584); like Rabelais, he does not refer to the real Empire.

> And all who since baptized or infidel,
> Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban,
> 584 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebizond,
> Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore,
> When Charlemagne with all his peerage fell
> By Fontarabia.

This passage is connected with the legendary history of Charlemagne.

In 1641 at Venice appeared a romance entitled *Il Calloandro*. The real name of the author is Ambrogio Giovanni Marini. He was born at Genoa *ca.* 1594 and died at Venice *ca.* 1650. He was the first Italian writer who described in prose the customs and manners, dangers and adventures of chivalry; his romances were very popular and found many imitators. But the author assumed the cowl and therefore wrote his books under pseudonyms. The work of his in which we are interested is *Il Calloandro fedele* published in two parts; in one the author disguises himself under the name of Gio. Maria Indris Boemo; in the other under that of Dario Grisimani. For our purpose part one is the more interesting.[231] At the beginning of the romance during a violent tempest a young knight (*Cavaliere*) lands not far from Trebizond and reaches the gates of the city.[232] Then follows a story full of fantastic adventures and dangers. But, according to Fallmerayer, if we remove the cover of fantasy with which the author embellished his story, we discover an historical kernel that shows that the author was well acquainted with the nature of the region, the customs of its inhabitants and even with the internal situation of the Empire of Trebizond.[233]

In the second half of the eighteenth century, an Italian alchemist and imposter passed himself off, especially in France, as Count Cagliostro, and called himself son of the Grand Master of Malta, grandson of the Sherif of Mecca, and heir to the Empire of Trebizond.[234]

Very little was known concerning the history of the Empire of

translates "petit beguin," the word used by Rabelais to denote a monk's hood (transl. by Smith, p. 195). "Poetic innocence" means *licentia poetica.*

[231] *Il Calloandro di Gio. Maria Indris Boemo. Poema.* Traslatato di Tedesco in Italiano da G. Bisii Romano, Venetia, 1641. Fallmerayer (*Geschichte*, p. 314) used another edition of this romance published at Bassano, 1786.

[232] *Il Calloandro*, pp. 1 and 5. [233] Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[234] See, for instance, Thomas Carlyle, *Count Cagliostro*, in his *Miscellanies*,

Trebizond in the nineteenth century even among very well-educated people. For instance, Walter Scott implies that Trebizond was conquered by the Turks in the time of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, for in his novel *Ivanhoe* the Templar says to Rebecca, "Mount thee behind me on my gallant steed—on Zamor the gallant horse that never failed his rider. I won him in single fight from the Soldan of Trebizond."

In the poetic and dramatic literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Empire of Trebizond is mentioned several times. I shall give here some examples. In 1859 the French writer and managing editor of the *Bibliothèque Bleue,* Alfred Delvau, printed an article entitled *La princesse de Trébisonde.* This article is a fantastic story having no historical basis, presenting an old emperor and a beautiful princess of Trebizond; in it Trebizond itself means something beautiful, fantastic, and quaint, not a real city.[235] In 1870 a Greek writer, Triantaphyllides, wrote a drama in five acts, Οἱ Φυγάδες (*The Fugitives*), in which the author from historical sources and local Trapezuntine songs pictured the last fate of the Empire, its fall. The characters of the drama are partly historical or taken from the songs, partly fictitious. The interest of this very long drama (over two hundred pages) lies in its historical background, since it is not pure fiction.[236] In Gabriele d'Annunzio's drama *La Gloria* one character is Elena Comnena, Empress of Trebizond. The name is used effectively in several songs.

	E marcio il grano	(Grain is rotten,
	Ma l'oro abbonda	But gold abounts
Chorus	A Trebisonda!	In Trebizond.
	La moglie ha un trono	The woman has a throne
	Che non si sfonda	That stands firm
Chorus	A Trebisonda.	In Trebizond).

In 1909, a German, Philipp Langmann, published a drama in three acts, *The Princess of Trebizond.*[237] The action of the drama takes place in Trebizond in the year 1370. The play is a boring and wretched piece of work in which no account is taken of historical truth.[238]

III (London, 1858), 263 (*The Collected Works of Thomas Carlyle,* in sixteen volumes, vol. IV).

[235] *La princesse de Trébisonde. Bibliothèque Bleue.* Réimpression des romans de chevalerie des XII, XIII, XIV, XV et XVI siècles, sous la direction d'Alfred Delvau (Paris, 1859), p. 48.

[236] Π. Τριανταφυλλίδης, Οἱ φυγάδες. Δρᾶμα εἰς μέρη πέντε μετὰ μακρῶν προλεγομένων περὶ Πόντου (Athens, 1870). The drama itself on pp. 3-229. The lengthy introduction has a special pagination, 1-175.

[237] Philipp Langmann, *Die Prinzessin von Trapezunt.* Drama in drei Akten (Munich und Leipzig, 1909).

[238] See, for instance, a review of this drama by Cyril Davidsohn, in Βυζαντίς, II (Athens, 1911-1912), 257.

In 1912 Miss Camilla Lucerna published an interesting article in German, *The Last Empress of Trebizond in South-Slavonic poetry.*[239] In her article Miss Lucerna deals with the second wife of the last Trapezuntine emperor, David, Helene Cantacuzene, the most tragic figure in the history of the Empire. After David, seven of his sons, and his nephew Alexius had been beheaded by the Sultan's order, the widowed empress buried with her own hands the corpses of her husband and sons, to which the Sultan had refused interment. Miss Lucerna, after saying that the memory of that tragic heroine has been forgotten, writes that a similar type of woman is preserved in a Serbian epic poem. This poem belongs to the cycle of the songs of the battle of Kossovo, and is entitled *The Death of the Mother of Jugovica.* Miss Lucerna tries to show that the mother in this epic in fate and character duplicates the last Trapezuntine empress. After giving a brief sketch of the end of the Great Comneni of Trebizond and describing the tragic figure of Helene Cantacuzene, Miss Lucerna passes to the "ballad," *The Death of the Mother of Jugovica.* She studies the origin of the tradition, gives the text of the epic, emphasizes the character of the mother, and stresses its similarity with that of Helene Cantacuzene.

Some mention of Trebizond in fiction and poetry is given in W. Miller's *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire,* pp. 117-119; 136.

It is amusing to notice that the unreal fantastic Trebizond has left its trace not only in literature but also in music, not, I must admit, in serious music, but in light opera. Two French light operas (operettas) of the middle of the nineteenth century are entitled *La Princesse de Trébizonde.* One in one act and two scenes was composed by four Frenchmen otherwise unknown, Louis, Carlo, Thierry, and Nekerim. This operetta was performed in Paris at the Théâtre Lyrique on September 4, 1853. The other operetta with the same title, *La Princesse de Trébizonde,* was composed by the famous author of many very well known light operas, Jacques Offenbach. In French this light opera is "opéra-bouffe" in three acts, with words by Nuitter and Tréfeu and music by Jacques Offenbach; it was performed for the first time on December 7, 1869, also in Paris at the theater Bouffes-Parisiens.[240] It is a mere burlesque, and its plot has nothing to do with the city or Empire of Trebizond. These two light operas have not been performed in Paris for fifty or sixty years, so that I have never seen them.

[239] Camilla Lucerna. *Die letzte Kaiserin von Trapezunt in der südslavischen Dichtung* (Sarajevo, 1912). Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel, II. Quellen und Forschungen, herausgegeben von Dr. Carl Patsch, Heft 4, pp. 36.

[240] See F. Clement et P. Larousse. *Dictionnaire des opéras.* Revu et mis à jour par A. Pougin (Paris), pp. 902-903.

It is interesting to note that in Spanish there are several words whose origin is undoubtedly connected with the name of Trebizond. I give them according to El Diccionario de la Academia Española: *Trapisonda,* "quarrel, dispute, strife, dissension"; *Trapisondear* (verb), "to start frequent quarrels, disputes, strivings, dissensions"; *Trapisondista,* "a person who starts quarrels, disputes, strivings, dissensions."

Supplementary Note.

In 1933 a fundamental work in Modern Greek came out entitled *The Church of Trebizond,* written by Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond.[1] The book consists of 904 pages and is much greater in scope than its title indicates. The Church is so closely connected with the general history of Trebizond, political, economic, and cultural, that Chrysanthos' book furnishes us with a rich mine of information, based on ample evidence, on all aspects of Trapezuntine life. The author, starting from ancient times, gives a very clear geographic, topographic, and historical survey of the history of the Pontus. Of course the most important part of the book is that which expounds the religious and political significance of Trebizond under Byzantine domination; Chrysanthos stresses the importance of the elevation of Trebizond to the rank of metropolis of the theme of Chaldia at the end of the ninth century, and gives an excellent picture of the history of the Trapezuntine Church after 1204, when Trebizond became the capital of the Empire. I wish to give special mention here to a section on the topography of Trebizond and its famous shrine of Mithras, a *Mithraeum* (pp. 104-111),[2] and to a long chapter on "Spiritual Movement and Life" (*πνευματικὴ κίνησις καὶ ζωή,* pp. 185-372), in which all eminent writers of and on Trebizond and their works are listed and discussed, for example Michael Panaretos, Andreas Libadenos, Bessarion, George of Trebizond, and others.[3] Chrysanthos calls Trebizond "the Acropolis of Orthodoxy" (p. 361). He devotes some attention to monuments of Christian art, churches and monasteries, and also to manuscripts. He includes a list brought up to date of Trapezuntine prelates of various ranks. The books covers also the period of Turkish domination after the fall of the Empire in 1461. We must not forget that Chrysanthos is well equipped for his task, since he spent many years in the region whose history he has so strenuously studied and whose life he has so thoughtfully observed.[4]

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[1] Χρυσάνθου Μητροπολίτου Τραπεζοῦντος Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος, Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, IV-V (Athens, 1933). A separate edition of this book is dated 1936. As has been indicated above, the author of the book is now Archbishop of Athens.

[2] My citations here refer to the 1936 edition of the book.

[3] On p. 326 an historian is named, Theonas (Θεωνᾶς), who probably never existed.

[4] See a very interesting polemic between Chrysanthos and S. Binon, *Byzantion,* XIII (1938), pp. 363-377.

THE MONGOL ORDERS OF SUBMISSION TO EUROPEAN POWERS, 1245-1255

By Eric Voegelin

I. Preliminary Observations

There is a number of extant documents which have considerable value as source materials for our knowledge of the Mongol idea of political leadership and empire-building. They all originate in the decade from 1245 to 1255. The documents are communications from the Mongol Great Khans and their high military commanders to the European powers, and particularly to the Pope and to the King of France. They contain the principal ideas underlying Mongol constitutional law, as well as the framework of Mongol political theory. They give in clear and ruthless terms an excellent picture of the position of the supreme ruler as created by Genghis Khan and his successors. The fanatic fury and the strong belief in divine guidance that is to be felt in every sentence of these documents is the only surviving trace of the power which for an historic instant threatened the Western world with extinction.

The menace of Mongol penetration into Europe had caused the Pope and the King of France to send several missions to the Mongol court at Karakorum in order to induce the Great Khans to desist from further invading, destroying, and terrorizing Christian nations. The documents we mention are the answers of the Khans as brought back to Europe by the Papal and French embassies.

The Mongol Empire expanded towards the West and into Europe by a series of dangerous attacks which came to an end abruptly after the death of a Great Khan. The first great attack of 1221-1224 was carried into Russia, but before any use could be made of this success Genghis Khan died in 1227, and further expansion became impossible for some time. The second attack of 1236-1242 was carried as far as Silesia, Bohemia, and Austria, but was broken off suddenly when the news of the death of Ogodai Khan (1241) reached the army, and the royal princes hurried back in order to participate in the election of his successor. The ensuing interregna and short reigns up to the accession of Mangu Khan (1251) made any far-reaching plans and expeditions to Europe impossible. From that time the center of the empire gravitated toward the East to China, and the dissolution of the empire as created by Genghis Khan into the partial Empires of China, Persia, and Kipchak already became visible. Apart from a later short attack

which reached Hungary, the Mongols were not able to extend their rule beyond Russia to the West.

The attack of 1242 made the European powers conscious of the terrible danger threatening them. In the years after the unexpected and, for the Westerners, inexplicable retreat of the Mongols, the powers considered measures in order to be prepared for future attacks, and if possible, to avert them by way of negotiations. As a measure of this kind, Innocent IV made an attempt to come to an understanding with the Mongols. He dispatched several missions to the Imperial Court from Lyons in 1245 shortly before the Council which he had convoked.

Two of the missions are important as bearers of Mongol answers which have been preserved. One of them was a mission of Franciscan monks to Southern Russia, under the leadership of Friar Pian de Carpini; the other, consisting of Dominican monks, under the leadership of the Lombard Friar Ascelin, the Pope dispatched to the military commander of Northeastern Persia.

The mission of Pian de Carpini started in April 1245, and arrived at the camp of Batu, on the bank of the Volga, a year later. They were then ordered to proceed to the Imperial Court at Karakorum because the letters carried by the mission seemed too important for Batu to make a decision of his own upon them. The mission stayed at the Imperial Court from July 22 to November 13, 1246. It witnessed the ascension of Kuyuk Khan to the throne on August 24, and it returned to Lyons about All-Saints' Day, 1247, bringing with it the imperial letter, of which the original was discovered in the Vatican Library several years ago, and published by M. Paul Pelliot with a translation.

The mission of Ascelin set out in 1245; the monks arrived at their destination, the camp of Baichu-Noyon, on May 24, 1247. They stayed in his camp up to July 25, 1247, and returned in the late summer of 1247, accompanied by two Mongol ambassadors. They brought with them a letter from Baichu Noyon together with a letter from Kuyuk Khan to Baichu.

The investigations of M. Pelliot have made it highly probable that the letters brought back by the two missions are related very intimately one to the other. Shortly before Friar Ascelin left the camp of Baichu Noyon for his return trip, an envoy of the Great Khan, by the name of Aldjigiddai arrived, and he was to all probability the bearer of instructions for the drafting of the letter, as well as of the letter of the Khan to Baichu which the latter enclosed with his own letter to the Pope. The conformity of the contents of the letters handed to

the missions is supposed to be due to the instructions brought by Aldjigiddai.[1]

A second series of documents is connected with the missions sent and received by Louis IX of France. In 1244 the King had taken the cross, and from 1245 the crusade was preached in France. On August 25, 1245, Louis embarked at Aigues-Mortes. On September 17th he arrived at Cyprus, and established his residence with Henri I de Lusignan at Nicosia. On December 14, Mongol emissaries arrived at Cyprus, on the 19th they came to Nicosia, and were received in audience by Louis on the next day. They brought a letter from Aldjigiddai, then commander of Persia and Armenia. This letter differs from all the others originating from Mongol authorities in that it is not in substance an order of submission. It contains a request addressed to King Louis that he should undertake a campaign against Egypt next summer while the Mongols would attack the Caliph of Bagdad. On the whole, the letter, always supported by oral explanations and commentaries of the envoys, attempts to create the impression that the Mongol court was largely christianized and the Khan himself baptized, so that a military entente and ensuing campaign could be considered as a crusade against the common enemy, Islam. The question has frequently been raised whether the ambassadors were impostors and the letter forged. A new examination of this question, by M. Pelliot assembles in a convincing way all reasons for the genuineness of the document.[2] The offer is the first of a whole series of similar ones extended at a later date by the Persian Khans to the Kings of France. It is, however, unique for its time, and was followed immediately afterwards by orders of submission of the same type as those brought back by the Franciscan and Dominican missions to Innocent IV.

Whatever may be the final decision on the question whether the Mongol ambassadors were impostors, Saint-Louis thought the message important enough to answer it by a mission of his own. On January 25, 1249, the Mongols were received in a final audience, and on January 27 they embarked on their return trip, accompanied by the ambassadors of Louis. The mission consisted of several persons, under the leadership of Andrew of Longjumeau. They arrived, probably in April-May 1249, in the camp of Aldjigiddai. In the meantime, however, the Great Khan Kuyuk had died. Faced by the new political situation created by the death of the Khan, the military

[1] Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3 série, IV (1924), 118 ff., and 129 ff.

[2] Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, 3e série, vol. VIII, 1931-32.

commander apparently did not dare to deal with the French mission at his discretion. He thus required them to extend their journey to the court of the Regent Ogul-Gaimish, where they arrived early in 1250. It is not known exactly how long they stayed at the court, but they started on their homeward journey only after the designation of Mangu Khan as Great Khan. In April, 1251, accompanied by Mongol ambassadors they returned to King Louis in Cesarea. The result of the mission was not quite what the King had expected it to be, for the Regent Ogul-Gaimish had considered the sending of an embassy as an act of submission, and reacted accordingly. The letter entrusted to Andrew of Longjumeau was one of the well-known Mongol orders of submission asking for tribute and threatening severe sanctions in case of non-fulfilment. Joinville, who tells the story of the mission, closes his report with the words: "And know that the King regretted very much ever having sent a mission."

Louis, however, was not discouraged. New reports telling of the favorable situation of Christians under Mongol rule and of a Christian Mongol prince, named Sartach, the son of Batu, induced him to send after some time a second mission under the leadership of the Franciscan William of Rubruck in order to reach a peaceful solution of the Mongol question. Cautioned by the result of his first mission, he enjoined his ambassadors not to declare themselves openly as such, but to travel as a private party, stating as their purpose the propagation of the Gospel. After careful preparations, the mission left Constantinople on May 7, 1253, and arrived in due course at the camps of Sartach and Batu, and in December, 1253, at the camp of Mangu Khan. They followed Mangu to Karakorum, where they were received in audience on April 5, 1254, and left Karakorum on August 18. One year later, in August 1255, they were back in Asia Minor. The result was nothing but a new Imperial order with a demand for submission.

The letter of Mangu Khan is the last one that has been preserved from this series of missions. A few years later the political situation underwent fundamental changes. In 1258 Hulagu, the founder of the Mongol dynasty of Persia, conquered Bagdad. In 1260 the Mongols were beaten severely, for the first time, by the troops of the Mameluk Sultan of Egypt. In the same year, with the accession of Kublai Khan, the center of the Empire was transferred from Karakorum to China. The disintegration of the empire of Genghis Khan into the sectional empires of China, Persia, and Kipchak began. The expansive power of the Mongols was paralyzed thereafter.

The letters of the Khans and their commanders have had a curious fate in the history of science. Although the reports of the missions

which have preserved the texts of the documents have been repeatedly published and have inspired a considerable number of monographs, the contents of the documents has attracted scant attention, and their importance for our knowledge of Mongol political and legal concepts has scarcely been stressed. Nobody has ever made an attempt to inquire into the juridical nature of the documents, or to analyze the constitutional theory they set forth. They have attracted attention almost exclusively from historical, geographical, and philological points of view. They have aroused so little interest that the original documents have not been searched for, and only in 1923 was M. Pelliot able to publish one of them which apparently was found by chance. We know them otherwise only from the Latin texts of the medieval authors of the mission reports, and even these secondary sources were published in print belatedly and in a very imperfect manner.

The main features of publications and scientific occupation with the material in question have been the following:

A basic stock of texts is incorporated by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*. Vincent digests the report of Friar John of Pian de Carpini on his mission, as well as the report of Simon of Saint-Quentin on the mission of Ascelin. The report of Pian de Carpini does not contain the letter of Kuyuk Khan. The report of Simon de Saint-Quentin, however, includes the letters of Baichu Noyon to Innocent IV and the letter of Kuyuk Khan to Baichu Noyon. There are no other sources for the two documents, and all later editions have to go back to the manuscripts and prints of Vincent.

The letter of Kuyuk Khan handed to the mission of Pian de Carpini was published for the first time in 1839 by d'Avezac in his excellent "Notice" which precedes his edition of Carpini's *Historia Mongolorum*. The *Historia* and the "Notice" have been published by the Société de Géographie in its *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, vol. IV. A better and more complete Latin text, probably the most reliable one, is to be found in the *Chronica* of Fra Salimbene. It was published in 1857 in the *Chronica Parmensia*, but the letter passed unobserved. In 1906 it was reprinted by P. Golubovich in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, Vol. I. A better text of the letter is included by Holder-Egger in his 1913 edition of Salimbene's *Chronica* for the *Monumenta Germaniae*. In a footnote Holder-Egger published another text of the letter which, however, is inferior to the first one. In the same year Pullé published a third in his *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*. In 1923, M. Pelliot finally edited in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* the Persian original which had been found in the Vatican Library. This series of

publications shows the decisive motives of previous studies to have been geographical and philological, or else an interest in the political history of Europe, in the history of Christianity in general, and in the history of religious orders in particular.

The editions of the letter of Mangu Khan have been determined chiefly by geographical interests. The oldest edition of the *Itinerarium* of Rubruquis is Hakluyt's, in his *Principal Navigations* of 1598. Hakluyt's text is incomplete and does not contain the letter. The next edition, the first complete one containing the letter, is that of Purchas in his *Pilgrims* (1625). English collections of travels and voyages offer further editions. The first French edition, Bergeron's of 1634, goes back to Purchas. It was republished in 1735 at the Hague, and the Hague edition has remained for a long time the only one in use. The first tolerable Latin edition was arranged by Francisque Michel and Thomas Wright in 1839, in the *Recueil de la Société de Géographie*, vol. IV. The first edition not inspired by interests in geography or travel-reports is that of the emended Latin text by P. Anastasius Van den Wyngaert, in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. I (1929).

The case of the Aljigiddai letter is less complicated. It is contained in an epistle of the Papal legate Odon de Chateauroux to Innocent IV. Since the *Spicilegium* of d'Achéry, all editions go back to the only manuscript preserved. It is, however, to be found, earlier in medieval historians since Vincent of Beauvais.

Of the letter of Ogul-Gaimish we have neither an original nor a Latin translation, but only a condensed report, which seems to render the Mongol style rather faithfully. This report is to be found in Joinville's *History of Saint-Louis*. It is contained in all editions of this *History* since the middle of the sixteenth century.

This whole set of documents has been dealt with in a rather unsatisfactory way. The collections of travels and voyages report the letters without any further commentary. The historians insert them in the context of a pragmatic history of the period, and dwell only on the political results of the missions. Very rarely do we find a few words going beyond the elucidation of purely historical points. Desguignes, for example, gives the text of the letter of Baichu Noyon and adds the remark: "This letter fits in with the plans which the Great Khan had undertaken to realize."[3] D'Ohsson, the most brilliant and important historian of the Mongols, gives the texts without comment. Howorth, the most voluminous author, remarks concerning

[3] Desguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux*, III (Paris, 1757), 120.

the letter of Kuyuk; "it was not very conciliatory." Regarding the letter of Baichu he says, "This correspondence is a good example of the intolerable arrogance of the Mongols." He remarks of the letter of Mangu Khan that it was couched "in very moderate terms." A modern historian, M. Grousset, has a better understanding of the question, for he comments at least: "This Mongol of the thirteenth century confessed concerning the question of world monarchy the same principles as later Charles V. For he had engraved in his seal the words: 'God in the Heaven, and Kuyuk on the Earth, Khan by the Power of God and Emperor of all Men.'" [5]

The opinion of writers on the history of missions and religion are not much more illuminating. In a pamphlet of P. Batton we find as an exhaustive judgment on the letter of Mangu Khan the following: "This letter, written in Oriental style, had a strong religious character and was a particularly good testimony of the well-known arrogance of the Mongol rulers." [6] And in a similar way Risch writes, "The contents of all of these letters is testimony to the incredible arrogance of the Tartars, their form is rather bombastic and clumsy, and thereby they contrast sharply with the surrounding text and receive their touch of genuineness." [7]

Three times only, and at intervals of a century, have authors dealt more thoroughly with the letters: Mosheim, in his *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica* of 1741; Abel-Rémusat, in his *Mémoires sur les Relations politiques des princes chrétiens, et particulièrement des rois de France, avec les empereurs Mongols,* (1822-24); and M. Paul Pelliot in his papers on *Les Mongols et la Papauté* (1923-32). Even these books and essays are not inspired primarily by an interest in the political ideas of the Mongols, as their titles show. The context, however, induced the authors either to collect the documents or to enter into a detailed analysis of their contents.

Mosheim's *Historia,* in its central part, which covers the period from Genghis Khan to the disintegration of the empire, deals with the history of the missions with special regard to their results. The letters themselves, apart from the usual remarks on Mongol arrogance, are not discussed in detail. In the Appendix to his volume, however, Mosheim collects all the Mongol letters as well as the Letters of the Popes which were known at the time. This appendix is the first good

[4] Howorth, *History of the Mongols* (1876), I.

[5] Grousset, *Histoire de l'Asie,* III (3e éd., Paris, 1922), 51.

[6] P. Achatius Batton, *Wilhelm von Rubruk. Ein Weltreisender aus dem Franziskanerorden und seine Sendung in das Land der Tartaren* (Münster, 1921; *Franziskanische Studien,* Beiheft 6), p. 61.

[7] Friedrich Risch, *Johann de Plano Carpini* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 33.

collection of sources on which further enquiry into the subject could be based.

The *Mémoires* of Abel-Rémusat go beyond the scope of a mere collection. They too provide a collection of Mongol documents, attached as an appendix to the second *Mémoire,* augmented by a few items from the period of the Persian Khanate. But in addition he makes occasional remarks on the legal concepts exposed in the letters, and compares them to Chinese ideas of the status of an emperor. Concerning the letters of Baichu and Kuyuk he observes, as others before and after him, the tone of contempt and arrogance, considering it to be the sign of genuineness. But he sees besides that the Khan is speaking as the ruler of the world, and that, in accordance with this idea, he treats as rebels princes who do not submit to his orders—this construction, he asserts, is taken from Chinese public law.[8] The same considerations apply to the letters of Ogul-Gaimish and of Mangu-Khan.[9] Some importance also, attaches to the analyses of the preambles of the letters of Arghun Khan to Philippe-le-Bel and of the Chinese seal. We shall return to them in a later context. These few remarks are dispersed in a broad survey of the relations between the Mongols and the European powers with special regard to the effects on European civilisation of contacts between East and West. The real motive underlying the enquiry becomes visible when Abel-Rémusat reflects on the Chinese seal printed on the letter of Arghun Khan. Here he says: "A curious peculiarity are these Chinese hieroglyphs, printed across the names of Egypt, Jerusalem, and France which have been transcribed into Tartar characters. This combination appeals to the imagination; it is a symbol of the new relations created by the crusades on one hand and by the conquests of Genghis Khan on the other between the races of the two ends of the world." [10] Abel-Rémusat is of the opinion that the contact with Eastern Civilization effected by the Mongols brought Europe the end of the middle ages. He believes, furthermore, that the great number of inventions and discoveries made in Europe had as their immediate cause a cultural diffusion from China, and that the terrible sufferings brought by the Mongol conquest upon millions of men had the historic consequence of rescuing Europe out of the spiritual and intellectual narrowness into which it had fallen with the end of the Roman Empire.[11]

[8] Abel-Rémusat, *Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens, et particulièrement des rois de France, avec les empereurs Mongols* (*Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* Vols. VI et VII, 1822 and 1824), VI, 424 ff.

[9] *Loc. cit.,* VI, 449 and 452 ff.

[10] *Loc. cit.,* VII, 373.

[11] *Loc. cit.,* VII, 414.

Finally, the articles of M. Pelliot claim as their purpose an investigation into the situation of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12] They analyze a number of documents which had been found recently in the Vatican Library, among them the important original Persian letter of Kuyuk Khan to Innocent IV. They contain, besides a transcription and translation of the new text, a careful analysis of the seal and a comparison of the preamble of the newly-found letter with the preambles already known. We cannot agree with the analysis and conclusions of M. Pelliot on every point, but his treatment of the preambles and his stressing of their formal character has nevertheless been the model for our own analysis of the legal contents of the documents.

II. Texts

In order to understand an analysis of the documents the reader needs a collection of the texts. Such collections have been made twice in the past: in 1741 by Mosheim, and in 1822-24 by Abel-Rémusat. Both of them, however, are insufficient now because they omit some of the documents and present the others in imperfect texts. Excellent texts are now to be found in the articles of M. Pelliot, some of them, however, are fragmentary. The following collection of texts has, therefore, two aims: (1) it is supposed to present all the documents which are known at present; (2) it is supposed to give them in the best texts which can be obtained.

1

THE LETTER OF KUYUK TO INNOCENT IV

(Translation of the Persian Original) [13]

Dans la force du Ciel éternel, (nous) le Khan océanique du grand peuple tout entier; notre ordre.

Ceci est un ordre envoyé au grand pape pour qu'il le connaisse et le comprenne.

Après en avoir tenu conseil dans les . . . des territoires du kärāl, vous nous avez envoyé une requête de soumission, que nous avons entendue de vos ambassadeurs.

Et si vous agissez selon vos propres paroles, toi qui est le grand pape, avec les rois, venez ensemble en personne pour nous rendre hommage, et nous vous ferons entendre à ce moment-là les ordres (résultant) du yāsā.

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[12] Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3e série, III, 3.

[13] Paul Pelliot, *op. cit.* The text as printed above is Pelliot's translation, p. 16. The Persian original is printed on p. 15; a photograph of the Letter is attached.

Autre (chose). Vous avez dit que si je recevais le baptême, ce serait bien; tu m'en as informé moi-même et tu m'as envoyé une requête. Cette tienne requête, nous ne l'avons pas comprise.

Autre (chose). Vous m'avez envoyé ces paroles: "Vous avez pris tous les territoires des Mājar et des kiristān; je m'en étonne. Dites-nous quelle était la faute de ceux-là?" Ces tiennes paroles, nous ne les avons pas comprises non plus. L'ordre de Dieu, Čingis-khān et le Qā'ān l'ont envoyé tous deux pour le faire entendre. Mais à l'ordre de Dieu (ces gens) n'ont pas cru. Ceux-là dont tu parles ont même tenu un grand conseil(?), ils se sont montrés arrogants et ont tué nos envoyés-ambassadeurs. Dans ces territoires, les hommes (c'est le) Dieu éternel qui les a tués et anéantis. Sauf par l'ordre de Dieu, quelqu'un, par sa seule force, comment tuerait-il, comment prendrait-il?

Et si tu dis: "Je suis chrétien; j'adore Dieu; je méprise et . . . (les autres," comment sais-tu qui Dieu absout et en faveur de qui il octroie la miséricorde, comment le sais-tu pour que tu prononces de telles paroles?

Dans la force de Dieu, depuis le soleil levant jusqu'à son occident, tous les territoires nous ont été octroyés. Sauf par l'ordre de Dieu, comment quelqu'un pourrait-il rien faire? A présent, vous devez dire d'un cœur sincère: "Nous serons (vos) sujets; nous (vous) donnerons notre force." Toi en personne, à la tête des rois, tous ensemble, sans exception, venez nous offrir service et hommage. A ce moment-là nous connaîtrions votre soumission. Et si vous n'observez pas (?) l'ordre de Dieu et contrevenez à nos ordres, nous vous saurons (nos) ennemis.

Voilà ce que nous vous faisons savoir. Si vous (y) contrevenez, en quoi en connaîtrions-nous? Dieu en connaîtra.

Dans les derniers jours de Jumāda le second de l'année 644 (3-11 novembre 1246).

2

THE LETTER OF KUYUK TO INNOCENT IV

(The Latin Translation)

The Latin translation of this Letter was made from a Mongol original under supervision of the Mongol Imperial Chancery. Friar Pian de Carpini gives all the necessary information on the process by which the translation has been obtained: "In die autem beati Martini iterum fuimus vocati, et venerunt ad nos Kadac, Chingay et Bala pluresque scriptores praedicti, et nobis litteram de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt: et cum scripsissemus in latino faciebant sibi per singulas orationes interpretari, volentes scire si nos in verbo aliquo erraremus; et cum ambae litterae fuerunt scriptae, fecerunt nos legere semel et secundo ne forte minus aliquod haberemus, et dicerunt nobis: 'Videte quod omnia bene intelligatis, quia non expediret quod non intellegeretis omnia, quia debetis ad tam remotas provincias proficisci.' Et cum respondissemus: 'Intelligimus omnia bene,' litteras in sarracenico rescripserunt, ut posset aliquis inveniri in partibus istis qui legeret eas si Dominus Papa vellet."—The Latin text, therefore, is not a translation of the Persian original Letter, as given under no. 1, which M. Pelliot has published, but of a Mongol original which has not been preserved. M. Pelliot thinks that, after the "rescriptio" of the Letter in Persian, the Mongol copy was withdrawn and the embassy received only the Persian Letter.—The Latin Letter is, therefore, an independent document. It has gathered some additional importance because, in deciphering the Persian document, M. Pelliot has followed, when in doubt, the meaning as conveyed by the Latin text. I

have thought it advisable, for these reasons, to include the Letter in the collection. The following text is taken from: *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *M.G.H., SS.*, XXXII (Hannover-Leipzig, 1905-1913), 208.

Epistola domini Tattarorum ad Papam Innocentium IIII.

Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperator, magno pape litteras certissimas atque veras. Habito consilio pro pace habenda nobiscum, tu papa et omnes Christiani nuntium tuum nobis transmisisti, sicut ab ipso audivimus, et in tuis litteris habebatur. Igitur si pacem nobiscum habere desideratis, tu papa et omnes reges et potentes, pro pace diffinienda ad me venire nullo modo postponatis, et tunc nostram audietis responsionem pariter atque voluntatem.

Tuarum continebat series litterarum, quod deberemus baptiçari et effici Christiani. Ad hoc tibi breviter respondemus, quod hoc non intelligimus qualiter hoc facere debeamus. Ad aliud, quod etiam in tuis litteris habebatur, scilicet quod miraris de tanta occisione hominum et maxime Christianorum et potissime Pollonorum, Moravorum et Ungarorum, tibi taliter respondemus, quod etiam hoc non intelligimus. Verumtamen ne hoc sub silentio omnimodo transire videamur, taliter tibi dicimus respondendum: Quia littere Dei et precepto Cyngis-Chan et Chan non obedierunt et magnum consilium habentes nuntios occiderunt, propterea Deus eos delere precepit et in manibus nostris tradidit. Alioquin, quod si Deus non fecisset, homo homini quid facere potuisset? Sed vos homines occidentis solos vos Christianos esse creditis et alios despicitis. Sed quomodo scire potestis, cui Deus suam gratiam conferre dignetur? Nos autem Deum adorando in fortitudine Dei ab oriente usque in occidentem delevimus omnem terram. Et si hec Dei fortitudo non esset, homines quid facere potuissent? Vos autem si pacem suscipitis et vestras nobis vultis tradere fortitudines, tu papa cum potentibus Christianis ad me venire pro pace facienda nullo modo differatis; et tunc sciemus, quod vultis pacem habere nobiscum. Si vero Dei et nostris litteris non credideritis et consilium non audieritis, ut ad nos veniatis, tunc pro certo sciemus, quod guerram habere vultis nobiscum. Post hec quid futurum sit, nos nescimus, solus Deus novit. Cyngis-Chan primus imperator. Secundus Ochoday-Chan. Tertius Cuiuch Chan.

3 and 4

THE LETTER OF BAICHU NOYON AND THE EDICT OF KUYUK KHAN

The following texts are reprints from: *Tercia Pars speculi hystorialis fris vincencij* (s.l.), 1474 (Copinger, II, nr. 6247), bk. XXXI, chs. 51, 52. The text of this edition is better than that of all other prints of Vincent, and it is better also than all later editions of the Letter and the Edict. The words in the Edict which I have put in parenthesis are probably errata; they are not to be found in other editions.—Speaking of the process of translation, Simon of Saint-Quentin says that the letter of the Pope was translated from Latin into Persian, and from Persian into Mongol (Vinc., Bk. XXXI, c. 47). The reverse process has been applied probably for the translation of Mongol texts into Latin. We find a remark to that point with Matthew of Paris: 'Charta autem eorum quam papae detulerunt, ter fuit de idiomate ignoto ad notius translata, prout nuncij partibus occidentalibus appropinquaverunt' (Abel-Rémusat, *loc. cit.*, VI, 426).

THE LETTER

Exemplum autem litere que a baiothnoy ad dominum papam missa est hoc est.

Dispositione divina ipsius chaam transmissum baiothnoy verbum Papa ita scias tui nuncij venerunt et tuas literas ad nos detulerunt. tui nuncij magna verba dixerunt. nescimus utrum injunxeris eis ita loqui / aut a semetipsis dixerunt. Et in literis taliter scripseras. homines multos occiditis. interimitis et perditis. Preceptum dei stabile et statutum eius qui totius faciem orbis continet ad nos sic est. Quicunque statutum audierit / super propriam terram aquam et patrimonium sedeat. et ei qui faciem totius orbis continet virtutem tradat. Quicunque autem preceptum et statutum non audierint sed aliter fecerint / illi deleantur et perdantur. Nunc super hoc istud statutum et preceptum ad vos transmittimus si vultis super terram vestram aquam et patrimonium sedere / oportet ut tu papa ipse in propria persona ad nos venias. et ad eum qui faciem totius terre continet accedas. Et si tu preceptum dei stabile et illius qui faciem totius terre continet non audieris / illud nos nescimus. deus scit. Oportet ut antequam venias nuncios premittas. et nobis significas si venis / aut non. si velis nobiscum componere / aut inimicus esse. et responsionem precepti cito ad nos transmittas.

Istud preceptum per manus Aybeg et Sargis misimus mense iulio XX die lunacionis. in territorio scisciens castris scripsimus.

THE EDICT

Hoc autem exemplum literarum chaam ad baiothnoy quas ipsi Tartari vocant literas dei.

Per preceptum dei vivi chingiscam filius dei dulcis et venerabilis dicit. quia deus excelsus super omnia ipse deus immortalis. et super terram chingiscam solus dominus. Volumus istud ad audientiam omnium in omnem locum pervenire. provinciis nobis (audientibus et) oboedientibus et provinciis nobis rebellantibus. Oportet ergo te o baiothnoy ut excites eos et notifices eis. quia hoc est mandatum dei vivi et immortalis. Incessanter quoque innotescas eis super hoc petitionem tuam et innotescas in omni loco hoc meum mandatum ubicumque nuncius poterit devenire. Et quicunque contradixerit tibi venabitur et terra ipsius vastabitur. Et certifico te quod quicunque non audierit (et viderit) hoc meum mandatum / erit surdus et quicnnque viderit hoc meum mandatum et non fecerit / erit caecus. Et quicunque fecerit secundum istud meum judicium cognoscens pacem. et non facit eam / erit claudus. Hec mea ordinatio perveniat ad notitiam cujuslibet ignorantis et scientis. Quicunque ergo audierit et observare neglexerit / destruetur. perdetur. et morietur Manifestes igitur istud o baiothnoy Et quicunque voluerit utilitatem domus sue. et prosecutus istud fuerit / et voluerit nobis servire / salvabitur et honorabitur. Et quicunque istud audire contradixerit / secundum voluntatem tuam faciens eos corripere studeas.

5

THE LETTER OF ALDJIGIDDAI TO SAINT-LOUIS

With the exception of Matthew of Paris, the editions are based on the letter of Odon de Châteauroux to Innocent IV. The original text was Persian in Arabic characters. Saint-Louis had it translated "in latinum de verbo in verbum"; most of the work was done probably by Andrew of Longjumeau.— The following is the text as restored by M. Pelliot (*loc. cit.*, p. 161 ss.). The brackets are M. Pelliot's; they set apart the "formules de phraséologie

orientale"; the main structure of the letter comes out much more clearly by this arrangement. The brackets at the end of the introductory part of the letter are mine; I believe that the passage in these brackets consists of polite formulas as well as the others in Pelliot's brackets. Furthermore I have made, following d'Archéry, a section before the words "Post hanc . . .", because I believe that with these words the main body of the letter is beginning.

THE LETTER

Hoc est autem exemplar epistole sive litterarum quas misit erchaltay sive erchelteу princeps ille tartarorum ad regem Ludovicum. et iubente rege ipso translate sunt in latinum de verbo ad verbum.[14]

Per potentiam Dei excelsi, missi[15] a rege terre chan, verba Elchelthay. Regi magno provinciarum multarum, propugnatori strenuo orbis, gladio christianitatis, victorie religionis baptismalis / corone gentis ecclesiastice / defensori legis evangelice, filio regi Francie (augeat deus dominium suum, et conservet ei regnum suum annis plurimis et impleat voluntates suas in lege et in mundo, nunc et in futurum, per veritatem divine conductricis hominum et omnium prophetarum et apostolorum, amen) centum milia salutum et benedictionum. Ex hoc rogo quod recipiat salutationes istas, ut sint grate apud ipsum. (Faciat autem Deus ut videam hunc regem magnificum qui applicuit. Creator autem excelsus causet accursum nostrum in caritate et facere faciat ut congregamur in unum).

Post hanc autem salutationem noverit quod in hac epistola non est intentio nostra nisi utilitas christianitatis, et corroboratio manus regum christianorum, Domino concedente. Et peto a Deo ut det victoriam exercitibus regum christianitatis, et triumphet eos de adversariis suis contemnentibus crucem. Ex parte autem regis sublimis (sublimet eum Deus), videlicet de praesentia Kyocay (augeat Deus magnificentiam suam), venimus cum potestate et mandato ut omnes christiani sint liberi a servitute et tributo et angaria et pedagiis et consimilibus et sint in honore et reverentia et nullus tanget possessiones eorum, et ecclesie destructe reedificentur, et pulsentur tabule, et non audeat aliquis prohibere ut oret corde quieto et libenti pro regno nostro. Ista autem hora venimus adhuc pro utilitate christianorum et custodia, dante Deo excelso. Misimus autem hoc per nuntium fidelem nostrum virum venerabilem Sabaldin Mousfat David et per Marcum ut annuncient illos bonos rumores et que sunt circa nos dicant ore ad os. Filius autem recipiat verba eorum et credat eis. Et in literis suis rex terre (augeatur magnificentia sua) ita praecipit quod in lege Dei non sit differentia inter latinum et grecum et armenicum / et / nestorinum et iacobinum. et omnes qui adorent crucem Omnes enim sunt unum apud nos. Et sic petimus ut rex magnificus non dividat inter ipsos, sed sit ejus pietas et clementia super omnes Christianos. Duret ejus pietas et clementia. Datum in finibus muharram. Et erit bonum, concedente Deo excelso.

6

THE LETTER OF OGUL-GAIMISH TO SAINT-LOUIS

The following is a reprint from Joinville, Histoire de Saint Louis (*Recueil des Historiens*, XX [Paris, 1840], 265.

Bone chose est de pez; quar en terre de pez manguent cil qui vont a quatre

[14] The beginning from Vincent, loc. cit., 1474.

[15] *Vincent has* missa.

piez, lerbe pesiblement; cil qui vont a deus, labourent la terre dont les biens viennent passiblement; et ceste chose te mandons nous pour toy aviser: car tu ne peus avoir pez se tu ne las a nous. . . .[16] . . . et tel roy et tel (et moult en nommoient) et tous les avons mis a lespee. Si te mandons que tu nous envoies tant de ton or et de ton argent chascun an, que tu nous retieignes nous avons fait ceulx que nous avons devant nommez.

Et sachiez quil se repenti fort quant yl y envoia.

7 and 8

THE EDICT AND THE LETTER OF MANGU KHAN TO SAINT-LOUIS

The Latin text as related by Rubruquis was worked out at the court of Mangu Khan. Friar William relates concerning the question: "Tandem completis litteris, quas mittit vobis, vocaverunt me et interpretati sunt eas. Quarum tenorem scripsi, prout potui eas comprehendere per interpretem, qui talis est"—and the text follows.

In the following I give the text as restored by P. Anastasius Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, I (Quaracchi-Florence, 1929), 307 ff. The sections and numbers introduced by Van den Wyngaert I have omitted because they bear no relation to the meaning of the text. I have, however, divided the hitherto unseparated body of the text into the Edict and the Letter. Concerning this question see the following section of this paper.

The Edict

Preceptum eterni Dei est. In celo non est nisi unus Deus eternus, super terram non sit nisi unus dominus Chingischan, filii Dei, (Demugin Cingei, id est sonitus ferri. "Ipsi vocant Chingis sonitum ferri, quia faber fuit; et in superbiam elati, dicunt eum modo filium Dei"). Hoc est verbum quod vobis dictum est. Quicumque sumus Moal, quicumque Naiman, quicumque Merkit, quicumque Musteleman et ubicumque possunt aures audire, quocumque potest equus ambulare, ibi faciatis audire vel intelligi; ex quo audierint preceptum meum et intellexerint, et noluerint credere et voluerint facere exercitum contra nos, audietis et videbitis quod erunt habentes oculos, non videntes; et cum voluerint aliquid tenere, erunt sine manibus; et cum voluerint ambulare, erunt sine pedibus. Hoc est preceptum eterni Dei.

The Letter

Per virtutem eterni Dei per magnum mundum Moallorum, preceptum Manguchan sit domino Francorum Regi Lodovico et omnibus aliis dominis et sacerdotibus et magno seculo Francorum, ut intelligant verba nostra. Et preceptum Dei eterni factum a Chingischan, nec a Chingischan nec ab aliis post ipsum pervenit hoc preceptum ad vos. Vir quidam nomine David venit ad vos tamquam nuncius Moallorum sed mendax erat, et misistis cum illo nuncios vestros ad Keuchan. Postquam Keucham mortuus fuit, nuncii vestri pervenerunt ad curiam eius. Camus uxor eius misit vobis pannos nasic et litteras. Scire autem res bellicas et negotia pacis, magnum seculum quietare et bona facere videre ille mulier nequam, vilior quam canis, quomodo scire potuisset. . . . Illos duos monachos, qui a vobis venerunt ad Sartach, misit

[16] There is a gap in the text; Pelliot has: "Car prestre Jehan se leva encontre nous."

ipse Sartach ad Baatu; Baatu vero, quia Manguchan est maior super seculum Moallorum, misit eos ad nos. Nunc autem ut magnus mundus et sacerdotes et monachi sint omnes in pace et gaudeant in bonis suis, ut preceptum Dei audiretur apud eos, voluimus cum predictis sacerdotibus vestris nuncios Moal destinare. Ipsi vero responderunt quod inter nos et vos esset terra guerre, et multi mali homines et vie difficiles; unde timebant quod non possent nuncios nostros salvos perducere usque ad vos, sed si nos traderemus eis litteras nostras preceptum nostrum continentes, Regi Ludovico ipsi eas deportarent. Hac de causa non misimus nuncios nostros cum istis; misimus vero vobis preceptum eterni Dei scriptum per dictos vestros sacerdotes. Preceptum Dei eterni est quod fecimus vos intelligere. Et cum vos audieritis et credideritis, si vultis nobis obedire, mittatis nuncios vestros ad nos, et sic certificabimur utrum volueritis habere nobiscum pacem vel bellum. Cum per virtutem eterni Dei ab ortu solis usque ad occasum totus mundus fuerit in unum in gaudio et in pace, tunc apparebit quid sumus facturi; preceptum eterni Dei cum audieritis et intellexeritis et nolueritis intendere nec credere, dicentes 'Terra nostra longe est, montes nostri fortes sunt, mare nostrum magnum est,' et hac confidentia feceritis exercitum contra nos—nos scire quid possumus-ille qui fecit quod difficile erat facile et quod longe erat prope, eternus Deus ipse novit.

III. The Problem of the Preambles

Pelliot's Approach

Nobody has ever put forward a close interpretation of the documents. Only recently an approach to a better understanding has been made by M. Pelliot in his articles on occasion of the publication of the Persian original letter. The attempt has, however, not been carried far enough, and has been hampered in the most unfortunate way by the predominant philological interests of the distinguished editor. The disproportionate attention paid to philological points prevented M. Pelliot from taking into account the subject matter proper of the documents. His interpretations have also gone somewhat astray, although the method he employs is the only one that can claim to be sound.

The problem of interpretation seems rather puzzling at first sight. We have a number of documents, written (with a single exception) in medieval Latin, supposed to be translations of Mongol and Persian originals which have, again with one exception, not been preserved. Now, since ancient Mongol materials are comparatively scarce, it is very difficult to form an idea of what the originals may have looked like, and consequently of the degree to which the Latin versions render them adequately.

Faced by this difficulty, Pelliot has used the recently discovered original Persian letter in a very interesting and efficient way and has succeeded in breaking down the first barriers against a more intimate

understanding of the documents. He starts with an attempt to establish the exact meaning of certain introductory words of the documents which constitute at first sight, in all probability, a formal Preamble to the main body of the letter. The following are a number of such formulas, arranged in print so as to make visible the similarity of structure:

I: Dei fortitudo
omnium hominum imperator
magno pape
litteras
certissimas atque veras.

II: Per virtutem eterni Dei
per magnum mundum Moallorum
preceptum
Mangu Khan
sit domino Francorum regi Lodovico etc.
ut intelligant verba nostra.

III: Dispositione divina
ipsius chaam transmissum
baiothnoy
verbum
Papa
ita scias.

IV: Per potentiam Dei excelsi
missi a rege terre chan
verba
Elchelthay
Regi magno etc.
Ex hoc rogo quod recipiat salutationes istas, ut sint grate apud ipsum.

The formulas (I) and (II) have been taken from Letters of Khans, the formulas (III) and (IV) from Letters of high military commanders. The formulas are apparently built according to a certain plan, and when they are complete they probably contain the following parts:

a) A reference to God
b) a reference to the Emperor
c) name of writer
d) name of adressee
e) a formula of order (Verbum, preceptum)
f) a formula requiring acceptance by the addressee.

The sequence is not always the same in the Latin texts, and one or the other of the parts may be garbled or altogether missing. Formula (I), for example, does not give the name of the Khan who issued the letter; and there is missing as well in (I) the formula by which acceptance is required from the addressee unless the words 'certis-

simas atque veras' contain it in a mutilated form. In Preamble (II) the reference to the Emperor is not very clear. The Preamble (IV) is striking for the exceptional courtesy of the formula demanding acceptance. In spite of such differences, however, Preambles (I) to (IV) permit the reasonable presumption that they go back to the same or rather similar Mongol texts.

The original Persian Letter (coll. no. 1).

A solution of the problem may be considerably promoted by an analysis of the original letter published by Pelliot. The Preamble of this letter runs, in the French version as he supplies it:

> Dans la force du ciel éternel,
> (nous) le Khan océanique du grand peuple tout entier
> notre ordre.
> Ceci est un ordre envoyé au grand Pape
> pour qu'il le connaisse et le comprenne.

This Preamble employs two languages. The first three lines are written in Turkish. The fourth and fifth line are written in Persian, as is the main body of the letter. The reason for the change of language is not known for certain. But M. Pelliot ventures a theory which sounds reasonable: the Mongols, he says, did not want to use Persian in rendering a sacred formula, Persian being the language of the Mohammedans; the Mongol language was, on the other hand, entirely unknown to the West, and besides it had probably never been written in Arabic characters. The Turkish had the advantage of being a medium of expression related linguistically and culturally to the Mongol, and probably had been written frequently in Arabic characters.

If we accept the theory, we shall have to accept as our conclusion, that the first three lines of the Preamble probably had, because of their sacred character, a high degree of stability, and that they were used without alterations as introductions to documents of a similar nature. It follows, furthermore, that the formula, once the original text is established, may be used in the interpretation of the documents which are preserved in Latin only.

That the Turkish-Persian Preamble may be trusted to render the original Mongol text adequately is corroborated by the text of the Imperial Seal which is couched in Mongol language and has been affixed to the letter in two places. The text of the Seal and the text of the Preamble support one another. In Pelliot's version the text of the Seal runs:

[17] Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, p. 27.

Dans la force du ciel éternel
du khan océanique du peuple des grands Mongols,
l'ordre.
S'il arrive à des peuples soumises et (des peuples) révoltés,
qu'ils le respectent et qu'ils craignent.[18]

The Mongol text of the Seal confirms the three Turkish lines of the Preamble, and it confirms also the two Persian lines as forming part of the whole introductory formula. M. Pelliot has been justified, therefore, in making use of the Turkish-Persian Preamble in the interpretation of the Latin documents.

Turning now to the Preambles of the Latin letters, we find some of them easy to deal with, others less so.

The Letter of Kuyuk Khan to Innocent IV (coll. no. 2).

No particular difficulties occur in analysing the introduction to the Latin Letter of Kuyuk Khan to Innocent IV which had been entrusted to the mission of Pian de Carpini. The formula is the first of the series of four given above. The structure of the Latin Preamble corresponds, on the whole, to the Turkish-Persian Preamble. Precisely for that reason it is of some importance for further analysis, because from the comparison of the Latin and the Turkish-Persian text we can form an idea of the degree to which a Latin translation may deviate from the original Mongol even when the process of translation was under close supervision of the secretaries of the Mongol Imperial Chancery. We also gain a general impression of the limits within which conjectures as to the meaning of Mongol originals which form the basis of Latin translations are safely admissible. There is missing, e. g., in the first line of the Latin Preamble the attribute "eterni" in "Dei . . . fortitudo." There were also apparent difficulties in rendering the Mongol "Dalai," which Pelliot has translated rather questionably by "océanique." The "grand peuple" has been translated, not very carefully, by "omnes homines"; and the request for acknowledgment seems to have been reduced to the somewhat obscure "certissimas atque veras." But even if we admit all the deficiencies of the Latin text, it nevertheless conveys a generally correct idea of the original formula, and certainly does not garble its meaning to unrecognizability. This point should be kept in mind when we now follow up M. Pelliot's argument concerning other Preambles which offer more difficult problems to the interpreter.

[18] Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, p. 22, with an emendation on p. 127.

The Letter of God (coll. no. 4)

The first of the Preambles which Pelliot has attacked is the formula of document coll. no. 4, issuing from Kuyuk Khan and attached by Baichu Noyon to his letter to Innocent IV. The Preamble reads as follows:

> Per preceptum Dei vivi
> Chingischan filius Dei dulcis et venerabilis
> dicit quia
> Deus excelsus super omnia, ipse Deus immortalis
> et super terram Chingischam solus dominus.

Working on the assumption (which I believe and intend to prove erroneous) that this document is a Letter of the same kind as documents nos. 1 and 2, M. Pelliot is of the opinion that the first line "Per preceptum Dei vivi" corresponds to the first line of the Mongol original, given in his version as "Dans la force du ciel éternel." The line "dicit quia" corresponds to the Mongol word *yarlik* (edict), rendered in other Latin texts by "verbum," "verba," or "litterae." Difficulties arise, however, concerning the line "Chingischan filius Dei dulcis et venerabilis." This line should correspond to a Mongol designation of the writer. But the designation of Genghis Khan would be absurd, as he died in 1227, and the Letter was sent, without doubt, by Kuyuk Khan. M. Pelliot does not consider it absolutely impossible that the name is due to an interpolation or to a mistake of a copyist, but he is not satisfied by this assumption for reasons which we shall discuss further on. Nor can the words "filius Dei," M. Pelliot thinks, be correct but must have crept in because of a confusion of the Mongol word *kagan* with a Persian word of similar sound *faγ-fur,* used to designate the Emperor of China and meaning, indeed, "Son of Heaven."—The remainder of the Preamble he believes to be an awkward paraphrase of a Mongol formula, to be found in later texts (after 1276) and having the meaning of "dans l'appui de la protection de la grande Fortune." The whole text of the Preamble he believes, therefore, to read correctly:

> Dans la force du ciel éternel,
> dans l'appui de la protection de la grande Fortune,
> le qagan (océanique)
> notre ordre.

The Rubruquis Document (coll. nos. 7 and 8).

As we have indicated above, M. Pelliot does not feel quite happy about the results of his interpretation. In particular, he is dissatisfied with his argument that the designation of Genghis Khan as the writer

of the Letter is due to an interpolation or mistake of the copyist. There are manuscripts of the Letter brought by Piano Carpini which show that a mistake of this kind is possible, but there is , on the other hand, the Letter brought by Rubruquis of Mangu Khan to Saint Louis. This Letter starts with a very similar formula which runs:

> Preceptum eterni Dei est:
> in celo non est nisi unus Deus eternus,
> super terram non sit nisi unus dominus Chingischan.
> Filii Dei hoc est verbum.

In this case no doubt is possible that the translator intended to refer to Genghis Khan because Rubruquis slips in some commentary as to the meaning of the name "Temujin Genghis." Another explanation is therefore needed, and M. Pelliot admits reluctantly that the Mongol original must have contained some sort of reference to the name of Genghis Khan. He advances the theory that the original text perhaps contained the formula already mentioned: "dans l'appui de la protection de la grande Fortune"; and that "Fortune" referred to the Fortune of Genghis Khan. The formula would, in this case, actually invoke Genghis Khan, and the translator had done nothing but render explicitly an implied meaning.—Even this explanation does not seem wholly satisfactory to M. Pelliot, and he advances it "with all reserve." But without it he believes the appearance of the name Genghis Khan would be inexplicable.[19]

I agree with M. Pelliot that the explanation is unsatisfactory—and for several reasons. First of all, regarding the technique of interpretation: almost every fragment of the Preamble needs very complicated explanations and the assumption of various mistakes in order to arrive at the meaning we are looking for. And when, after much effort, we have at last obtained a text, it is not very encouraging to find a Preamble which differs substantially from the formula of the Turkish-Persian and Mongol originals. An excuse might be found for the Letter coll. no. 4: one might reasonably assume that the Khans, in writing to their military chiefs, used a different Preamble from what they employed in writing to a foreign ruler. It seems to me very doubtful, however, that the Letter of Mangu Khan to Saint Louis should have had a different Preamble from that of the Letter of Kuyuk to Innocent IV written only a few years earlier, when the Preamble had been sacred to such a degree that the Imperial Chancery dreaded to translate it into Persian in a letter written in that language.

I propose, therefore, another solution which comes immediately to the mind of a careful reader of the letter of Mangu Khan to Saint

[19] Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

Louis (nos. 7 and 8 of our collection). About one-third down the text as transmitted by Rubruquis we read the words.

> Per virtutem eterni Dei
> per magnum mundum Moallorum
> preceptum
> Mangu Kan
> sit domino Francorum Regi Lodovico etc.
> ut intelligant verba nostra.

Here we have a formula (I have given it earlier in this section as formula II) which seems to be much closer to a Preamble of the type of the Turkish-Persian Letter than the introductory formula of the Rubruquis document. Not being an Orientalist, I cannot prove the point philologically, but I wish to stress that only the second line of the Preamble is obscure and does not render closely the supposed Mongol original. But that is just the line which, in the Latin text of Piano Carpini also (coll. no. 2), produced under supervision of the Imperial Chancery, was unsatisfactorily rendered. In both cases the Latins apparently did not know what to do with the word "dalai," (océanique). For the rest, the line in Piano Carpini's text contains the title of the Khan, but garbles the "great people" (which is, as proved by the seal, the people of the Mongols) to "omnes homines," while the text of Rubruquis does not contain the title of the Khan, but renders fairly well the "magnum mundum Moallorum."

Considering this state of the problem, I should think it reasonable to say that the formal Preamble of the letter of Mangu Khan to Saint Louis is not to be found at the beginning of the document as transmitted by Rubruquis, but in the midst of it, beginning with the words "Per virtutem eterni Dei etc." As, furthermore, we can hardly assume that the formal introduction to a letter is to be found in the midst of its body, we are forced to conclude that the text of Rubruquis does not constitute *one* document, as has been generally believed, but consists of *two* documents, i. e., the Letter beginning with the Preamble just analyzed, and another document which is *not* a Letter of the type attested by the Persian original.[20]

If we once accept this theory, all difficulties are solved. We have a Letter of the Khan of which the introductory words correspond to the original Letter at least as closely as the Latin translations of the

[20] Anticipating this conclusion, I have given in the collection of the texts *two* numbers (7 and 8) to the Rubruquis document, and have furthermore made a new paragraph in the text where I believe the Letter proper to begin. It should be understood, however, that up to now the whole text of the two documents has been considered to be only one, and has been printed and treated accordingly.

Carpini letter do to the Turkish-Persian original. And no artificial and unsatisfactory theories are needed in order to interpret the beginning of the Rubruquis text as a Preamble, for the simple reason that the first document is no letter of the form authenticated by the Persian original.

The nature of the first document contained in Rubruquis' text we shall investigate later on. At present, I wish only to stress what M. Pelliot had already seen, that the introductory formula of the Rubruquis text is closely related to that of the Imperial communication of Kuyuk Khan to Baichu Noyon (collection no. 4). The document sets out with the words: "Per preceptum Dei vivi"; the document of Mangu Khan (no. 7) with the words: "Preceptum eterni Dei est." The word *preceptum* corresponds, just as in the Preamble of the Letter, to the Mongol legal concept of *Yarlik* (Edict), and we shall therefore refer, to these documents hereafter as "Edicts," in order to distinguish them more easily from the "Letters."

The Preambles of Documents, coll. nos. 3 and 5.

The Preambles of the Letters of the military commanders Baichu Noyon and Aldjigiddai throw some further light on the question. The first lines: *Dispositione divina* and *Per potentiam Dei excelsi* apparently correspond in their general meaning to the first line in the Letters of Kuyuk and Mangu. The second line, however, has caused considerable trouble to M. Pelliot because he persisted in working on the assumption that all the documents are "Letters," and that all the "Letters" ought to have the same introductory formula. The second lines run: *ipsius Chaan transmissum* and *missi a rege terre chan.* M. Pelliot tries to explain them by analogy with certain later formulae, particularly with the Preamble of a Letter of 1289 from Arghun Khan to Philippe-le-Bel. This letter, of which the Mongol original has been preserved, opens with the words (the following is the translation of Abel-Rémusat, *loc. cit.*, VII, 336):

> Par la force du ciel suprême
> Par la grâce du Khakan
> Paroles de moi Argoun.

Abel-Rémusat had already drawn the attention to what he supposed to be a parallel between this Preamble and the earlier documents. He remarked that, in spite of the change in the general political situation, the Il-khans of Persia used the same Preamble as the simple military commander Baichu Noyon.[21] M. Pelliot agrees with him; but in

[21] Abel-Rémusat, *loc. cit.*, p. 367 ff.

elaborating the point he encounters certain difficulties. When the Preamble of the Letter of Baichu Noyon (coll. no. 3) is worked out in analogy to the formula of the Arghun letter, M. Pelliot arrives at the following reconstruction:

> Par la disposition divine du qagan lui-même
> la parole de Baiju (est)
> transmise.
> Pape, sache ceci.

In this reconstructed formula, however, the customary first line would be missing. To get a complete formula which corresponds to the introduction of the Imperial letters, M. Pelliot faces us with the choice between two assumptions. Either we should have to assume that the word "transmissum" is an erratum and has taken the place of another word which had rendered more adequately the Mongol "su-dur" ("dans la Fortune," or "Par la grâce"), or, "dispositione divina" is the translation of "su-dur," and the first line "Dans la force du ciel éternel" has disappeared for some reason or other in the process of translating and copying the Letter.[22]

Again, as in the former case, M. Pelliot himself is not satisfied. In later studies[23] he remarks that the Letter of Aldjigiddai (coll. no. 5) has the same introductory formula as the Baichu Letter (coll. no. 3). In this case, too, the Latin formula reads:

> Per potentiam Dei excelsi
> missi a rege terre chan
> verba etc.

M. Pelliot believes himself justified in correcting the earlier formula in the light of this one; he supposes that "transmissum" in the Baichu Letter is due to an error of the scribe, and that "missi" is the better reading; the word "missi" does not refer to "verbum" but to "baiothnoy." The assumption that the Latin Preamble of the Aldjigiddai Letter renders the Mongol original more adequately than the Preamble of the Baichu Letter would have the advantage that we obtain a formula which corresponds, in its general structure at least, better to the formula of the Arghun Letter. M. Pelliot proposes as a reconstruction of the Preamble of the Aldjigiddai Letter:

> Dans la force du Ciel éternel
> dans la Fortune du qagan,
> Aljigidai,
> notre parole,
> au roi de France.

[22] Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, p. 129.
[23] Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, p. 166 ff.

Even this result, however, is not wholly satisfactory to M. Pelliot; he says in conclusion of his attempt at an interpretation: "Missi a rege terrae chan est cependant un peu une paraphrase pour désigner le haut personage Aljigidai que le qagan, 'roi de la terre,' a envoyé agir en son nom et qui ne doit pas sa puissance qu'à la 'Fortune' du qagan; nous aimerions à avoir ici les mots mêmes de l'original persan pour en juger."[24]

Again I share the misgivings and suspicions of M. Pelliot. I have grave doubts whether the line "Missi a rege terre chan" can be understood as a paraphrase of "qagan-u-su-dur" (by grace of the Khan). The conjecture seems to me all the more doubtful, since a letter of Arghun Khan to Honorius IV exists of which we have a Latin text only.[25] In this Latin letter we find as a second line of the Preamble the words: "Gratia magni Chan." Now, if the translator of the Arghun Letter to Honorius was able to render the words "qagan-u-su-dur" quite correctly by "gratia magni Chan," it would seem rather curious that both the translators of the Baichu Letter and of the Aldjigiddai Letter should have rendered precisely this line imperfectly and, *without knowing one another, have committed the same mistake.* As long as we do not possess the originals of the Letters, it seems to me, therefore, advisable to assume that the Letters of Baichu and Aldjigiddai both had the same Preamble which, however, differed from the later Preamble of the Arghun Letter. This assumption does not seem to me an awkward issue from an insurmountable philological difficulty, and it presupposes exactly what the institutional situation requires. It would be not strictly impossible, but highly improbable, that the generals of the Khans who were his inferiors in the military hierarchy would make use of the same formal Preamble as the Il-khans of Persia, who stood in a rather different relation of vassalage to the Great Khans in Peking. We prefer, as long as original texts are missing, the assumption that the line "missi a rege terre chan" corresponds to a Mongol text which designates the military commander as a *missus regius.* For the rest, we agree with M. Pelliot's conjecture that the Aldjigiddai Letter has the better formula, and that "transmissum" is an erratum for "missi."

Conclusion

To summarize the results of our analysis we may say: M. Pelliot's idea of starting the interpretation of the documents from the one certain point, the Mongol Preamble, is an excellent one, even when his

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Cf. Abel-Rémusat, *loc cit.*, vol. VII. Collection no. VI.

own attempts have invariably led him into impasses. By means of the Preambles we can distinguish and classify the documents, at least provisionally. We have obtained by this method the notable result of splitting a body of text, the Rubruquis letter, which had been supposed to be a single document, into two well distinguished documents. Therefore, setting aside for the moment the letter of Ogul-Gaimish, which is preserved in a summary only, we have for further analysis established six documents; to say:

I. Two Imperial Letters:
   1) The letter of Kuyuk Khan to Innocent IV—preserved in a Persian original and in a Latin text (coll. nos. 1 and 2).
   2) The Letter of Mangu Khan to Saint-Louis; in the text of Rubruquis, beginning with the words " Per virtutem eterni Dei " (coll. no. 8).

II. Two Imperial Edicts:
   3) The Edict of Kuyuk Khan, forwarded by Baichu Noyon to Innocent IV (coll. no. 4).
   4) The Edict of Mangu Khan; forming the first part of the Rubruquis text (coll. no. 7).

III. Two Letters of Military Commanders:
   5) The Letter of Baichu Noyon to Innocent IV (coll. no. 3).
   6) The Letter of Aldjigiddai to Saint-Louis (coll. no. 5).

The three groups of documents are marked distinctly by their formal introductions.

IV. The Legal Contents of the Documents

Having established the formal characteristics of these documents we can proceed now to an analysis of their meaning. They are, as I believe, not mere " Letters," but legal instruments revealing essential features of Mongol public law and political ideas. Their importance ought to be judged from the fact that they are our only authentic sources of information on Mongol legal culture in the period of the greatest power of the Mongol Empire. The so-called " Letters " are in part orders of submission issued by the Khans to the European powers, observing carefully what in Mongol opinion was due process of law, and in part formal instruments of information and commentary on fundamental rules of the constitutional law of the Empire, attached to the orders of submission in order that the addressees might not plead ignorance of Mongol law when they did not obey the orders received. The juridical structure of the instruments is surprisingly clear. The legal rules are organized and classified with a high degree of rationality into general substantive law, general rules concerning

sanctions for the case of contravention, individual orders, legal instructions, and law of procedure.

The Order of God

The law governing the legal acts in question is at the same time the basic rule of all Mongol constitutional law. It is designated in the Latin texts as the "Litterae Dei," the "Order of God," and it declares, as stated in the Edict of Kuyuk Khan:

> Deus excelsus super omnia ipse Deus immortalis
> et super terram chingischam solus dominus.

In the Edict of Mangu Khan the same law is expressed by the lines:

> In celo non est nisi unus Deus eternus
> super terram non sit nisi unus dominus Chingischan.

The formulas differ in the translation but the identical original meaning back of them seems to be clear:

> In Heaven there is God, the One, Eternal, Immortal, Most High,
> On Earth Genghis Khan is the only and supreme Lord.

The "Order of God" is a curious combination of a legal principle of far-reaching consequences with an argument as to its metaphysical foundation. One intention of the Order is obviously to draw a parallel between the monarchical constitutions of Heaven and Earth. While, however, the first term of the parallel partakes of the nature of a theological dogma, the second term is dogmatic as well as pragmatic. The thesis that Genghis Khan is the only and supreme Lord of the Earth may be considered as part of a dogmatic system explaining the true nature of government in the cosmos and may, therefore, be qualified as a judgment on an ontological subject. But since the cosmos, or at least the earthly part of it, is a world in the making, the formula proves to be a claim to rulership for Genghis Khan and to submission by all other earthly powers. The true essence of world government is not yet in an actual but only in a potential state, and it is bound to materialize itself in the course of history by turning the real world of political facts into a true picture of the ideal and essential state as visualized by the Order of God. Bringing down revealed essence to earth, incorporating essence into history, is the far-reaching comprehensive intention of the Order. It is brimming with dynamic energy and pregnant with visions of fanatical acts born of the desire to transform the world of man into a likeness of God's rule in Heaven.

Imperium mundi in statu nascendi

Following up the consequences of the Order and its application, we attend the birth of a legal order out of a metaphysical vision. There is an abyss between the world-order as envisaged by the Mongol formula and the actual political situation at the time. The Order of God sees the world governed by Genghis Khan, while the actual world presents the picture of an expanding empire with numerous and important powers so far out of its reach geographically and politically that the Empire and foreign powers know one another only very dimly. Out of the tension between the essential and the historical order arises a set of legal assumptions and constructions which it is hard to interpret because our idea and vocabulary of international relations differs in some respects from that of the Mongols. Our concepts of international law presuppose the existence of more or less independent sovereign states and a community of international law giving status as legal subjects to the sovereign states. The Mongol Empire is, according to its self-interpretation, not a state among states in this world, but an *imperium mundi in statu nascendi*, a World-Empire-in-the-Making. Territories, rulers, and peoples may be *de facto* beyond the sphere of influence of the Mongol military and tax administration, but they are *de jure* and potentially members of the Empire-in-the-Making. When the power of the Empire spreads *de facto*, the *de jure* potential membership of foreign powers is transformed into a *de jure* actual membership in the Empire.

I have introduced the terms of "*de jure* potential" and "*de jure* actual membership" in the Empire in order to have at our disposal technical terms for the designation of certain legal situations with which the present documents deal. Without the introduction of these terms the precise juridical meaning of the Mongol orders of submission would be incomprehensible. The European powers to whom the orders of submission were addressed (the Pope, the King of France, and other Princes), cannot, according to the Mongol Imperial conception, be legal subjects of the same rank and dignity as the Khans. The position of a World-Emperor is exclusive. When the power of the Khan happens to enter into contact with the power of another Prince at any point, on any occasion, for the first time, there can ensue neither a state of peace *de jure*, including mutual recognition of territories and power, nor a *de jure* state of war. On occasion of its first contact with the Mongol Empire, a foreign power has to enter into a relation of submission to, and dependence from, the Mongols. If it does observe this rule it will later be an actual member of the Empire. If it does not obey, it becomes a rebel. The state of

violent action which takes place in the second case is not a war but, speaking legally, a punitive expedition, being an act of enforcement of the Order of God.

When the World-Empire comes into contact with another power and the problem of transition from potential into actual membership in the Empire has to be solved, a process of law is inaugurated. The Khan bases his claim to world-domination on a divine order to which he is subjected himself. He has not only a right derived from the Order of God, but he acts under a duty. It has fallen to him to institute world-domination, and he is God's instrument for that purpose. The building of the Empire goes back in the last resort to an act of revelation by which God has issued his order for the foundation. This act of revelation has become known, at first, to Genghis Khan and the Mongols only, and it is their duty to spread the knowledge of it to all peoples and powers. The building of the Empire is not simply a war-like expansion of Mongol dominion over the world, but a process by which the essential Empire, existing only potentially, is actualized into a historic Empire. The Mongols, therefore, cannot simply make war on foreign powers, since any legal title is lacking for an enterprise of this sort. The proper mode of procedure for the Imperial Government is to send embassies in due form to the powers in question, giving them all the necessary information on the principles of Mongol World-Empire law in order that they may know that the moment of passing from potential to actual membership has come, and to enable them to take this step in accordance with the legal rules which govern it.

The reaction to Mongol procedure was not uniform. Some Princes, who had had previously an occasion to watch the striking force of the Mongol military machine more closely, arrived quickly at an excellent understanding of the revelation. They submitted to all ordinances of the Mongol Imperial Government and preserved a more or less tolerable status within the Empire. Others, unhappily prejudiced in their power of understanding, considered the Mongol embassies and their demands to be the expression of unfounded arrogance and a glaring disregard for their right to independent existence. Occasionally such ill-advised Princes went to the extreme of killing the Mongol ambassadors. Others again, like the Emperor of China and the German Emperor, in spite of having been notified of the Order of God, remained in their mistaken and heretical belief that they were Emperors themselves, and refused to consider the case. Frederic II, who had an inherent inclination to jest frivolously about sacred things, strengthened by frequenting the company of Saracens, made a joke about the order of submission which might have had fatal consequences in case of an actual clash. The King of France made

a successful *bon mot*: he said the Tatars came from the Tartarus and, therefore, should rather be called Tartars, the name has stuck.— In such cases of a regrettable lack of understanding for the perfectly peaceful and law abiding intentions of the Mongol Imperial Government who did nothing but carry out an Order of God, punitive expeditions had to be undertaken—like that of 1241, carried into Eastern and Central Europe, which had been the proximate cause for the Papal mission of 1245.

These remarks must suffice as an outline of the Imperial legal and political conception. We may now turn to a survey of the stock of legal rules contained in the documents, which interpret and develop the Order of God proper.

General Rules

I have pointed out that the Order of God was the basic constitutional norm of an Empire-in-the-making. The further development of its legal contents into detailed formulas concerns, therefore, the process of "Making" and the transformation of the potential into the actual Empire. The Letter of Baichu Noyon to Innocent IV contains the following formula:

> Quicumque statutum audierit
> super propriam terram aquam et patrimonium sedeat
> et ei qui faciem totius orbis continet virtutem tradat.
>
> Quicunque autem preceptum et statutum non audierint sed aliter
> Illi deleantur et perdantur. [fecerint

The formula contains general rules concerning the alternative cases of obedience and disobedience to the Order of God; i. e.:

(1) Whoever submits to the Order shall sit in peace over his land (this being an administrative order, addressed to the administrative authorities, and giving a claim to help and damages to the subject who has submitted and is not left in peace by military commanders and other authorities);
(2) Whosoever submits shall enter into a relation of vassalage (virtutem tradere), a rule addressed to the powers on the point of becoming actual members of the Empire;
(3) Whosoever does not submit shall be destroyed (sanctioning rule, addressed to military executive organs).

The same set of rules may be repeatedly found, complete or fragmentary, couched in the same or slightly different formulas, in the present documents. A very similar formula, only reversing the alternative, may be found, e. g., in the Edict of Kuyuk Khan to the military commander of Southern Russia (coll. no. 4):

Quicumque ergo audierit et observare neglexerit
destruetur perdetur et morietur

et quicumque voluerit utilitatem domus suae, et prosecutus istud fuerit.
et voluerit nobis servire
salvabitur et honorabitur.

The same Edict repeats the sanctioning formula on three further occasions, combined with an order to the commander to apply the sanctions according to his discretion:

Et quicumque istud audire contradixerit
secundum voluntatem tuam faciens eos corripere studeas;

and:

Quicumque contradixerit tibi
venabitur et terra ipsius vastabitur.

To the context of sanctioning rules there seem furthermore to belong certain curse-like formulas, for we find very similar ones in both the Edicts. In the Edict of Mangu Khan the curse runs:

Ex quo audierint preceptum meum et intellexerint
et noluerint credere
et voluerint facere exercitum contra nos,
(audietis et videbitis)
quod erunt habentes oculos, non videntes,
et cum voluerint aliquid tenere, erunt sine manibus,
et cum voluerint ambulare, erunt sine pedibus.

Individual Orders

A logical and legal sequence to this set of general formulas and rules is offered by the individual orders of submission and the individual threats of sanctions which intend to carry through the general rules. The individual order runs in the Persian original letter (coll. no. 1) as follows:

A présent, vous devez dire d'un cœur sincère:
"Nous serons (vos) sujets; nous (vous) donnerons notre force."
Toi en personne, à la tête des rois, tous ensemble, sans exception, venez nous offrir service et hommage.
A ce moment là nous connaîtrons votre soumission.
Et si vous n'observez pas l'ordre de Dieu et contrevenez à nos ordres, nous vous saurons (nos) ennemis.
Voilà ce que nous vous faisons savoir.
Si vous (y) contrevenez, en quoi en connaîtrions-nous?
Dieu en connaîtra.

The Latin text of Salimbene's (collection no. 2) contains the same formulas; in the Letter of Baichu Noyon it is a bit shorter. The Letter of Mangu Khan elaborates it more broadly:

Preceptum Dei eterni est quod fecimus vos intelligere.
Et cum vos audieritis et credideritis, si vultis nobis obedire,
mittatis nuncios vestros ad nos
et sic certificabimur utrum volueritis habere nobiscum pacem vel bellum.
Cum per virtutem eterni Dei ab ortu solis usque ad occasum totus mundus fuerit in unum in gaudio et in pace
tunc apparebit quid sumus facturi.

Preceptum eterni Dei cum audieritis et intellexeritis et nolueritis intendere nec credere,
dicentes: "Terra nostra longe est, montes nostri fortes sunt, mare nostrum magnum est,"
et hac confidentia feceritis exercitum contra nos,
nos scire (? nescimus) quid possumus—
ille qui fecit quod difficile erat facile, et quod longe erat prope, eternus Deus ipse novit.

Law-giving authorities—God and Man

The orders and the formulas of submission contain, beside the general rules and individual commandments just set forth, a certain amount of juridical material regarding the problems of law-giving authorities, the addressees of rules and commands, and the technique of promulgation.

We have seen throughout this analysis that the basic constitutional rule (One God in Heaven, One Lord on Earth) was styled the "Order of God." This title is given to the basic rule in all the documents preserved. The Persian original Letter (coll. no. 1) refers four times to the "ordre de Dieu" (without stating, however, its contents); the Latin text (coll. no. 2) has in the corresponding places "litterae Dei." The Edicts state the rule itself, and surround the statement by solemn opening and closing formulas referring to the author of the Order. The Edict of Kuyuk Khan (coll. no. 4) introduces the Order by the words:

Per preceptum Dei vivi
chingischam filius Dei dulcis et venerabilis
dicit quia . . . (the Order follows).

The Edict of Mangu Khan has:

Preceptum eterni Dei est: . . .

and the Order is followed by the words:

Filii Dei, Demugin Cingei, hoc est verbum quod vobis dictum est.

Other formulas run: "praeceptum Dei stabile," "mandatum Dei vivi et immortalis," "preceptum eterni Dei," etc. The basic rule, therefore, is designated either simply as Order of God, or as such and additionally as Order of the Son of God Temujin Genghis.

From the Divine summit the sacred substance emanates over the pyramid of the Order of God, the general rules, and the individual commandments down to the last executive act. The Empire-in-the-Making thus is in all its phases a divine revelation, starting with the Order of God. The title of a "Son of God" seems to have applied to Genghis Khan only, but his successors approximate their own repetitions and confirmations of the basic rule, as well as their enforcing rules and sanctions, so very closely to the Order of God that the documents scarcely permit us to draw a definite border-line between the rules of divine origin and the rules issued by secular authorities. The wording of the formulas creates the general impression that the successors of Genghis Khan considered themselves to be the executors of a divine mandate, and their enunciations and acts to form part of a comprehensive revelation of God's will. They did not therefore, differentiate strictly between acts emanating from God and acts emanating from themselves as mortal beings, e. g., the Edict of Kuyuk Khan, which by its opening words designates the basic rule as an Order of God and when the Son of God goes on speaking of it as "this my (Kuyuk Khan's) order." The Letter of Baichu Noyon speaks of the "immutable order of God and the statute of him who reigns over the face of the whole world," and it does not become clear whether only the basic principle is meant, which in that case would be not only the Order of God but of the Khan as well, or the subsequent formula of submission and sanction (mentioned above), which in this case would not be a rule issuing from the Khan alone, but from God as well. The Edict of Mangu Khan concludes the corresponding formula by the words: "This is the Order of the eternal God," as if it did not emanate from the Khan at all, but from God alone.

Promulgation

The sacred character of the process of building the World-Empire becomes clearly visible in the formulas of promulgation. The Edicts and Letters of the Khans continue the original divine revelation. The "Order of God" must be announced as the "Word of God" to those peoples who were hapless enough never to have heard of it. The building of the Empire is not an enterprise in power-politics with the intention of securing for the Mongols military and economic domination over the world, but the execution of the will of God. The Mongol Khans, as we have said above, do not enter into the relation of one sovereign ruler to another, but into the relation of a messenger of God to the ignorant. The orders of submission take, therefore, always care to combine the order proper with an explanation

of its reasons and its legal basis, and this explanation always consists in the announcement of the word of God. In the Edict of Kuyuk Khan the Order of God is followed by the order to proclaim it:

> Volumus istud ad audientiam omnium in omnem locum pervenire
> provinciis nobis obedientibus et provinciis nobis rebellantibus
> Oportet ergo te, o baiothnoy, ut excites eos et notifices eis quia hoc est
> mandatum dei vivi et immortalis.
> Incessanter quoque innotescas eis super hoc petitionem tuam
> et innotescas in omni loco hoc meum mandatum ubicumque nuncius
> poterit devenire.

And this order of proclamation is repeated twice in the same Edict. The orders of proclamation or announcement take more than one third of the whole Edict.—The Edict of Mangu Khan even speaks (probably, the text is corrupted and not quite clear), of an Order of God to announce the basic rule to the people:

> Quicumque sumus Moal,
> quicumque Naiman,
> quicumque Merkit,
> quicumque Musteleman,
> et ubicumque possent aures audire,
> quocumque potest equus ambulare,
> ibi faciatis audiri vel intelligi.

The Letters also bring the general order of proclamation down to individual acts of announcement. The Letter of Baichu Noyon (coll. no. 3) stresses this point:

> Nunc superbum istud statutum et preceptum ad vos transmittimus,

and then draws the consequences of sanction. The Letter of Mangu Khan to Saint Louis deals with the question in detail. At first it recollects that the Order of God "nec a Chingischan nec ab aliis post ipsum pervenit ad vos." Then it explains very carefully that the Order of God was brought to Saint Louis by his ambassadors (referring to the Edict preceding the Letter in the Rubruquis document). It furthermore details the reason why this mode of proclamation had been chosen and not the other, probably the more regular one, of sending Mongol ambassadors carrying the Edict.

The Letter of Kuyuk Khan (coll. nos. 1 and 2) does not quote the Order of God, but in several places presupposes that it has been announced to the Western powers and that the Pope, therefore, has exact knowledge of it. The order of submission is based in this Letter as well as in the others on the assumption that the Pope knows the basic rule.

And, finally, the acts of enforcement are considered to be acts of

divine revelation and of divine will. The Letter of Kuyuk Khan (coll. nos. 1 and 2) is very explicit on this point. To the reproach of the Pope that the Mongols had attacked Christian peoples and slaughtered them cruelly, the Khan answers that the due process of law (proclamation of the word of God and order of submission) had been observed by the Mongols, but that the peoples in question had persisted in their unbelief, shown themselves arrogant, organized resistance and killed the Mongol ambassadors. The natural consequence had been the divine judgment and punishment: "Dans ces territoires, les hommes (c'est le) Dieu éternel qui les a tués et anéantis. Sauf par l'ordre de Dieu, quelqu'un, par sa seule force, comment tuerait-il, comment prendrait-il?" This the Letter says in order that the Pope may understand the Mongol acts of law in the past. Then the Khan goes on to explain to the Pope the principle underlying the Mongol point of view: "Dans la force de Dieu, depuis le soleil levant jusqu'à son occident, tous les territoires nous ont été octroyés. Sauf par l'ordre de Dieu, comment quelqu'un pourrait-il rien faire?" And, ultimately, the Khan leaves, for the future, all sanctions which might follow upon an act of disobedience on the side of the Pope to the present order of submission to the discretion of God:

> Si vous (y) contrevenez,
> en quoi en connaitrion-nous?
> Dieu en connaîtra.

The individual threat of sanction was apparently always couched in these words, for we find the same formula in several of the other documents. The Letter of Baichu Noyon (coll. no. 3) says: "illud nos nescimus, Deus scit," and the remnants of the same formula can be discerned in the corrupted text at the end of the Letter of Mangu Khan.

Conclusion

Our analysis has covered all of the typical, legal contents of the documents. It has demonstrated, I trust, that they are not primitive pieces of writing, but well considered legal acts showing a remarkable juridical technique. The legal conception of an *imperium mundi in statu nascendi*, a World-Empire-in-the-Making, may seem strange to us, and certainly does not enter in the traditional concepts of Western international relations. But it is not obscure, and its rational contents can be presented adequately by such technical terms as potential and actual Empire and *de jure* potential and *de jure* actual membership of the Empire. The logical organization of the legal material in a basic principle, a set of general rules, individual orders, and acts of

enforcement, into substantive and procedural law is clearly visible. The sacred character of the idea of a growing World-Empire is emphasized throughout the system descending from the Order of God through all phases of enactment down to sanction and enforcement. I think we can recognize the symptoms of a very conscious and rational technique of constitutional law. The documents, therefore, cannot be said to be clumsy and awkward, or arrogant, as is the prevailing opinion. They are, on the contrary, expressive of a clear fundamental idea, they are very keen in their argument, and above all, they are constructed juridically with the utmost care.

The high degree of legal formalism seems to permit the repetition of single formulas in the same document, but hardly a word beyond the established legal language. This limpidity of construction makes it possible to discuss, in conclusion, the probable juridical relation between the documents. That not all of the documents were "Letters" had become clear already by the analysis of the problem of Preambles. Two of them we designated provisionally as "Edicts." Now certain sections of the "Letters" do partake of the nature of a correspondence in the strict sense that they are answers to letters addressed to the Khans and enter into the argument of such letters. As far, however, as the main body is concerned, they are "Letters" in the vague meaning only that they are sent by an individual writer to an individual addressee. The preceding analysis makes it possible, I think, to describe their nature more closely. The documents are not just Letters, but acts of law. Applying a modern terminology, we might say that they are executive orders addressed to individual persons. They are neither private letters nor "notes" in the meaning of international law, but, governed by the idea of an Empire-in-the-Making, they are formal steps in a procedure destined to transform potential members of the Empire into actual members. They are issued as individual orders based on the authority of general rules, and contain in accordance with prescriptions of the law (1) a demand to observe the Order of God by application for membership in the Empire in due form and (2) information on the legal consequences of the alternative cases of obedience and disobedience.

The service of the order of submission may be combined with the service of a legal instrument (the so-called Edicts), which are not individual orders, but supplement the order by precise information on the contents of the general rules governing the order. The reference to God and to the Son of God Genghis Khan as the authorities who have issued the basic constitutional rule seems to me to permit the conjecture that perhaps the Order of God and the general alternative formula are sections of the Yassa of Genghis Khan. The Persian

original Letter (coll. no. 1) seems also to point in that direction, because it urges the future actual member of the Empire to come to Karakorum and to receive there the further commands based on the Yassa.

If these assumptions are correct, the so-called "Edicts" would be instructions on paragraphs of the Yassa necessary for the legal understanding of the orders of submission, and the so-called "Letters" would be (with the exception of the Aldjigiddai Letter) the orders of submission based on the Yassa.

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MODERN GREEK STUDIES AND MATERIALS IN THE UNITED STATES.

By PETER W. TOPPING

I

The aim of this article is to indicate some of the research done by American scholars in the field of Modern Greek studies and to describe some of the resources, printed in Modern Greek, which are available in America for such studies—much of this material being found in collections not so widely known as they deserve to be. This is an admittedly incomplete survey, and is in no sense a critical bibliographical article; it has only incidental reference to Medieval Greek contributions, and is thus not a survey of American research in Byzantine history. Nor does it attempt to describe the varied materials, in languages other than Modern Greek, which are scattered through a number of our great libraries, such as the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the libraries of Harvard, Columbia, etc.

The output of works on Medieval and Modern Greece has not reached the point in America of suggesting periodic bibliographical surveys such as the eminent authority William Miller has been providing in an admirable series of articles on contributions in Europe in several languages, as well as on the original contents and later accessions of the Gennadeion of Athens.[1] Nevertheless, there has been a steady trickle of scholarly American works relating to modern Hellas which it is hoped will increase in volume now that Byzantine and Balkan studies are well established in America, and scholars of Greek extraction pursuing historical research are becoming more numerous. It is natural that some of these scholars should concentrate in Medieval or Modern Greek studies, and their increasing establishment in academic positions leads us to expect many solid and noteworthy contributions in the future.

We can, if we wish, begin our survey by noting some of the historical efforts and printed memoirs of American philhellenes during and after the Greek War of Independence. But, for the most part, these need not detain us long as serious historical contributions, although the

[1] He has not failed to notice an occasional American contribution. The articles referred to have appeared in *History*, X (1925-26), 110-23; *Journal of Modern History*, II (1930), 612-28, and IX (1937), 56-63; *Cambridge Historical Journal*, II (1926-28), 229-47, and VI (1938-40), 115-20; and *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (1931-32), 272-79, and XL (1934-35), 688-93.

best of them, such as the works of Samuel Gridley Howe (which are based on personal experiences in Greece and shrewd observation of Greek leaders and conditions), constitute today valuable primary material on the subjects of the Greek Revolution and American philhellenism.[2] In the present generation American scholars have produced a number of valuable studies on American and European philhellenism. Professor E. M. Earle has contributed a well-documented article, "American Interest in the Greek Cause, 1821-1827," (*American Historical Review,* XXXIII [1927-28], 44-63), while Myrtle A. Cline has written a Ph.D. thesis (Columbia University) on the same subject: *American Attitude toward the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1828* (Atlanta, Georgia, 1930). A recent Harvard University dissertation is *The Philhellenic Movement in France, 1821-1830* by David P. Whitehill.[3] Virginia Penn has contributed several articles on English and continental philhellenism to the *Slavonic and East European Review,* while philhellenism in the states of Michigan and Kentucky has been described by Charilaos Lagoudakis, "Greece and Michigan," and Huntley Dupre, "Kentucky and the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1828."[4] Professor Émile Malakis illumined the background of French philhellenism in his careful study, *French Travellers in Greece (1770-1820): an Early Phase of French Philhellenism* (Ph. D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, 1925). French travellers in the early modern period form the subject of a recent Johns Hopkins dissertation by Dr. Panos Morphopoulos: *L'Image de la Grèce dans les voyageurs français du seizième siècle au début du dix-huitième.* Professor Clarence G. Lowe of the University of Nebraska, formerly Librarian of the Gennadeion, has edited the first part of a hitherto unpublished manuscript, now found in the Gennadeion, which in its entirety is

[2] Two works of Howe's must be consulted: *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution* (New York, 1828), and the *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe* (Laura E. Richards, ed., 2 vols., Boston, 1906-1909). Another contemporary history is that of J. L. Comstock, *History of the Greek Revolution; Compiled from Official Documents of the Greek Government . . . and Other Authentic Sources* (New York, 1828).

[3] So announced in *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities, 1938-1939* (No. 6, New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1939).

[4] Miss Penn's articles are entitled: "Philhellenism in England (1821-1827)," XIV (1935-36), 363-71, and 647-60, and "Philhellenism in Europe (1821-1828)," XVI (1937-38), 638-53. "Greece and Michigan" appeared in the *Michigan History Magazine,* XIV (1930), 15-27, and Dupre's article in the *Filson Club Historical Quarterly,* XIII (1939), 97-117. Mr. Lagoudakis has very recently completed a study of philhellenism in New York State and is now engaged in writing a biography of the American philhellene, George Jarvis, who gave his life to the Greek cause in 1828.

an account of the travels of Louis François Sébastien Fauvel in Greece and the Near East during the last two decades of the eighteenth century; the edited portion appears in Professor Lowe's article, "Fauvel's First Trip through Greece," in *Hesperia* (V [1936], 206-24), and is described as "a contribution to the biography of one of the earliest archaeologists who worked in Greece." The English literature of travel in Greece during the eighteenth century receives important attention in Dr. B. H. Stern's recent study, *The Rise of Romantic Hellenism in English Literature, 1732-1786* (Menasha, Wis., 1940).

Turning to linguistic matters, we find that already in the middle of the last century Medieval and Modern Greek scholarship in America had an outstanding representative in the person of the picturesque Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles, Professor of Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern Greek at Harvard University from 1860 to 1883. His *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Boston, 1870, and New York, 1887 and 1900) has remained a standard work, while his *Romaic Grammar* (Hartford, 1842, and later eds.) is a remarkably early and systematic description of spoken Modern Greek, appearing at a time when the vernacular δημοτική seemed doomed in Greece in favor of the "literary" and "purified" καθαρεύουσα, which was holding pretty complete sway even in poetical composition.[5]

Sophocles was not entirely alone in his preoccupation with post-classical Greek, for he had several contemporaries who left printed evidence of a similar interest. We might, indeed, go back to a very early article of unusual interest, entitled "On the Literature and Language of Modern Greece," which appeared anonymously in the *General Repository and Review* for 1813 (III, 80-95), a magazine published in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The author may have been the precocious Edward Everett, later to become the famous orator, who in 1815 when only twenty-one was to be appointed to the chair in Greek literature at Harvard College. The article opens with some observations on foreign borrowings in Modern Greek, it analyzes some of the works of Koraes and discusses other "Greek literati," and it goes on to describe the state of education in the Greek lands.[6] Perhaps the first grammar of Modern Greek published in America is that of a Greek immigrant, Alexander Negris, at Boston in 1828

[5] On Sophocles' life and works see C. B. Gulick, *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. XVII. Sophocles anticipated scientific philological research in post-Hellenistic Greek by several decades; consult D. C. Hesseling, *Evangelinos Apostolidis Sophoclis, néo-helléniste* (No. 7 in Deel 59, Serie A, of the *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*; Amsterdam, 1925).

[6] Dr. K. T. Argoe, of Wright City Junior College, Chicago, has kindly furnished the data given here concerning the above article.

(*A Grammar of the Modern Greek Language*). Though he writes in the καθαρεύουσα, Negris uses many vernacular forms as paradigms and nowhere takes cognizance of the existence of the "language question." Likewise at Boston, in 1829, Negris edited *Aspasia, a Tragedy in Modern Greek* written by his uncle, I. Rizos Neroulos; a copy of this rare work is in the University of Pennsylvania Library. Two years after the first edition of Sophocles' *Romaic Grammar*, another Greek immigrant, Christophoros Plato Castanis of Chios, published *An Essay on the Ancient and Modern Greek Languages . . .* (Andover, 1844), a rather superficial sketch of the development of Modern Greek literature written by a purist. Of greater significance is the interest which the classical scholar, Cornelius Conway Felton, displayed in the literature and history of post-classical Greece. Felton, a friend of Everett's, was Eliot Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard from 1834 to 1860, when he became President of the College for the remaining two years of his life. Already in 1838 he had published a thin volume of *Select Modern Greek Poems* (Cambridge, Mass.), and after a long visit to Greece on his first European trip (1853-54), he published his *Selections from Modern Greek Writers, in Prose and Poetry; with Notes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1856; enl. ed., 1857)—a purist anthology in its prose, demotic in its poetry. This work was followed by his popular lectures, published posthumously, on *Greece, Ancient and Modern* (2 vols., Boston, 1867). These lectures, whose "Fourth Course" deals with Modern Greece (II, 249-529), went through no less than eight editions. Felton's lecture on *The Schools of Modern Greece* was published in pamphlet form in Boston in 1861. Still another Greek immigrant, T. T. Timayenis, published a grammar of the καθαρεύουσα in 1877 (*The Modern Greek: its pronunciation and relations to Ancient Greek . . .* [New York]), in the preface to which he charged Sophocles with having committed a "serious mistake" in confounding Romaic with Modern Greek! Somewhat later, in 1892, there appeared a brief *Manual of the Romaic, or Modern Greek, Pronunciation with its Application to Ancient Greek* (Boston, 1892) by H. A. Scomp, professor of Greek in Emory College, Oxford, Georgia.

We have cited these titles—by no means an exhaustive list—to show that others in America besides Sophocles were devoting serious attention to post-classical Greek. Yet it is probably safe to say that Sophocles was virtually alone in his scientific comprehension of the philological evolution of the later language. Working independently in America, he anticipated the rapid progress in philological research that was being made in Europe in the second half of the century. Indeed, at the time of Sophocles' death in 1883, scientific interest in

the history and literatures of Europe was just beginning to spread widely in our universities, as yet, however, with little attention to the Balkans. But the Greco-Turkish War of 1897—which aroused some journalistic interest, the heavy Greek immigration to America beginning around the turn of the century, the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, and the rapid advance of European historical and literary studies in America—these and other factors brought about a greatly increased interest in Greece, and have resulted in a creditable number of scholarly contributions in history and literary studies, such as those already noted on philhellenism.

It is a matter of real regret that Sophocles' chair in post-classical Greek has remained the only one of its kind in America. Medieval and Modern Greek studies can be promoted in no better way than by the establishment of such chairs, and in this connection American Greeks might well emulate their English brethren who more than twenty years ago endowed the Koraes Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature, and History at the University of London.[7] Nevertheless, an increasing number of American classicists have turned their attention to post-classical Greek; among the most notable was the late Professor Carroll N. Brown, of the College of the City of New York, whose *English-Greek and Greek-English Dictionary of the "National Herald"* (third ed., New York, 1924-28) is both a work of scholarship and a lexical *vade mecum* for thousands of Greek-Americans. His services as a translator from the Modern Greek demonstrated his intimate knowledge of the language, the study of which was an obsession during the greater part of his life.[8] Dr. Procope S. Costas, who was trained under Professors Carl Darling Buck and Paul Shorey at the University of Chicago, is the author of *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language with Particular Emphasis on the Koine and the Subsequent Stages* (Chicago, 1936)—at once a lucid exposition of the bilingual problem and an authoritative bibliographical guide to a large subject. Professor Buck himself has long been interested in the evolution of post-classical Greek, and in a review of Albert Thumb's *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular* (trans. by S. Angus, Edinburgh, 1912) he incorporated a masterly

[7] Arnold J. Toynbee was the first occupant, 1919-24. Oxford University has the Bywater and Sotheby Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature which has for many years been held by the eminent neohellenist, R. M. Dawkins. At Cambridge, Romilly Jenkins, the author of the recent *Dionysius Solomós* (Cambridge, Eng., 1940), is Lecturer in Modern and Medieval Greek.

[8] Cp. especially the translation of the notable study of the late A. M. Andreades, *A History of Greek Public Finance*, vol. I (Cambridge, Mass., 1933).

summary of "the most significant characteristics of the modern inflectional system in its relation to that of the ancient language." [9] He has frequently displayed his profound knowledge of the semantic history of later Greek.[10] It is encouraging to notice the increasing number of reviews of works in the field of Modern Greek linguistics that have been appearing of late in American journals, such as—besides *Classical Philology*—the *American Journal of Philology*, the *Classical Journal*, and *Language*, the journal of the Linguistic Society of America. It is not out of place here to note that courses in the study of Modern Greek itself have been introduced into some American institutions, such as the University of Chicago, Columbia University, and most notably in four of the public high schools of Chicago; the latter have a Modern Greek enrollment of some five hundred students.[11] A grammar for use in the Chicago schools is being prepared by one of the instructors, Mr. George Drossos. Instruction in Modern Greek language and literature is of course an important part of the curriculum of the Greek Orthodox Theological School, which was opened at Pomfret, Conn., in 1937. The present writer has read in manuscript an excellent grammar of demotic Modern Greek written on inductive principles by Dr. J. W. Fay of the New Jersey College for Women, a work which deserves publication and would be of great aid to American students of Modern Greek; its illustrative texts are drawn from recent literature and thus accurately reflect the present stage of the spoken language, while one of its special features is a supplementary chapter which enables the student to make a quick transition to the more complicated inflection and syntax of the *καθαρεύουσα*. Mr. M. Stathy Pandiri, of New York City, has for some time been engaged in compiling a Modern Greek-English Dictionary with special emphasis on the vocabulary of the *δημοτική*.[12]

In the interpretation and translation of Modern Greek literature in America the outstanding name is that of Aristides E. Phoutrides, who received his classical training at Harvard University and whose pre-

[9] *Classical Philology*, IX (1914), 85-96.

[10] Cp., *e. g.*, "A Semantic Note," *ibid.*, XV (1920), 39-45.

[11] On the introduction of Modern Greek in Chicago cp. R. C. Flickinger, "The Greeks Have Found a Way for It," *Classical Journal*, XXXIV (1938-39), 292-94.

[12] It might be added here that a detailed study of Modern Greek as spoken in America by immigrants and their children—sometimes even by their children's children—would prove very interesting to some investigator who has a native command of the hybrid language. Cp. the entertaining brief sketch of S. S. Lontos, "American Greek," *American Speech*, I (1925-26), 307-10. The changes which Greek surnames have undergone in America would alone make a fascinating inquiry.

mature death in 1923 was an irreparable loss to neohellenic studies. His translations from Kostes Palamas, the most famous living poet of Greece, included two volumes of poetry, *Life Immovable* (first part; Cambridge, Mass., 1919) and *A Hundred Voices and Other Poems from the Second Part of "Life Immovable"* (*ibid.*, 1921), and the drama *Royal Blossom or Trisevyene* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1923). Phoutrides' introductions and notes to these works reflect his scholarly and sympathetic interpretation of his subject. He also collaborated with Demetra Vaka (Mrs. Demetra Kenneth-Brown) in translating *Modern Greek Stories* (New York, 1920), a selection of some of the finest short stories by recent Greek authors.[13] The late Professor F. B. R. Hellems contributed an admirable series of reviews of these translations to *Classical Philology*,[14] reviews which abundantly attest the translators' success, though it is to be regretted that the works have not received the wide circulation they deserve. More recently, Georgia H. MacPherson and Theodore P. Gianakoulis, the latter a noted Greek-American poet, have translated *Fairy Tales of Modern Greece* (New York, 1930).

The work of Phoutrides was continued by a group of Palamas enthusiasts, members of the Plato Hellenic Collegiate Club of Chicago, who in 1928 sponsored the original publication of the Greek manuscript of a varied selection of Palamas' poems, entitled in English, *Verses Mild and Harsh* (K. T. Argoe, ed., Chicago). The scholarly introductions in this handsome volume include essays by Professor Carl Darling Buck, "The Language Question," and by Dr. K. T. Argoe, "Neohellenic Poetry from Digenis Akritas to Kostes Palamas."[15] Still another of the works of Palamas, Ὁ Τάφος (*The Grave*), has been rendered into English verse by the Greek-American poet, Demetrios Michalaros; this translation (*The Grave by Kostes Palamas*,

[13] Phoutrides also left a number of articles and brief sketches which are worthy of notice: "Hesiodic Reminiscences in the 'Ascraean' of Kostes Palamas," *The Classical Journal*, XII (1916-17), 164-75; "George Soures," *ibid.*, XV (1919-20), 235-38; "Soures and his World" *ibid.*, 494-98; "The *Altars* of Kostes Palamas," *The Stratford Journal*, I (1916-17), 91-94; "Living Poet of Greece" (Palamas), *The Review*, I (1919), 284-86; "George Soures, an Athenian Satirist," in the same journal, retitled *The Weekly Review*, II (1920), 211-12; "Andreas Karkavitsas: a Story-Writer of New Greece," *ibid.*, III (1920), 566-67; and "Vernacular and Revolution," in *The Survey*, XLV (1920-21), 8-9.

[14] XV (1920), 205-08; XVI (1921), 92-93; XIX (1924), 194-95; and XX (1925), 170-71.

[15] Other essays are "Palamas and the Western World," by Dr. D. H. Stevens; "Modern Greek Poetry and Kostes Palamas," by Sotiris Skipis, himself one of Greece's outstanding poets; and "The Manuscript of *Verses Mild and Harsh*," by Dr. M. E. Prior.

[Chicago, 1930]), which is fittingly dedicated to the memory of Phoutrides, has an illuminating introduction by the French neohellenist, Professor Louis Roussel.

A second outstanding living poet of Greece who has had entire works translated into English by Americans is Angelo Sikelianos. His philosophical poem, *The Dedication of the Delphic Word*, was translated into prose by Alma Reed (New York, 1928), and more recently his Delphic drama, *The Dithyramb of the Rose*, was translated by Frances Sikelianos and privately printed for Ted Shawn, the American dancer (Pittsfield, Mass., 1939).

The translations from Palamas and Sikelianos make a worthy introduction to their poetry, yet they constitute but a small fraction of their total output and leave untranslated some of the finest works, for example, of Palamas, such as *The Twelve Lays of the Gypsy* (Ὁ Δωδεκάλογος τοῦ Γύφτου). And when we consider that Palamas and Sikelianos are but two of a goodly number of Greek men of letters who deserve to be introduced to American readers, it is easy to see that much remains to be done in the important work of making the finer products of Modern Greek literature known to America.[16]

Although the efforts at translation have diminished after a brief flurry, there are signs of an increasing interest recently in contemporary Modern Greek fiction. Professor C. A. Manning of Columbia University reported on "Recent Literature in Greece" for the *New York Times Book Review* of December 1, 1940, dealing with the twentieth-century novel in Greece, while M. J. Politis has written an article, "Greek Literature Attains Its Majority," in *Books Abroad* (XV [1941], 11-16), in which he surveys the activity of the more prominent post-war novelists and short-story writers and some of the newer poets.[17] Dr. K. T. Argoe has completed a lengthy study, as

[16] The English have done somewhat more than American neohellenists along these lines, but this is not the place to detail their efforts. Jenkins' *Dionysius Solomós*, a felicitous appreciation of the great Romantic poet of Greece, should serve as a model and inspiration to American students of Modern Greek literature. The Alexandrian poet, C. P. Cavafy, considered by some the most original of Greek poets of the twentieth century, was introduced to American readers through the translation by Dr. Raphael Demos of Harvard of two of his poems for the *New Republic*, LXXVII (1933-34), 355. Dr. Lowe of Nebraska contributed a preliminary study of the early Cretan poet, Troïlos, to the Lampros *Festschrift*: "The 'Rhodolinos' of Joannes Andreas Troilos" (Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου [Athens, 1935], pp. 190-98). An interesting "Greek Anthology" was published in *Decision* I (1941), ii (February), 38 ff., comprising translations from Lilika Nakos (see n. 17 below), Cavafy, and Nicolas Calas, a Greek surrealist poet now in America.

[17] The novelist Lilika Nakos, mentioned in Politis' article, made her first American appearance with a short story, "The Son," in the magazine *Story* for August, 1936.

yet unpublished, of Modern Greece as a subject in English and American poetry since the time of the Greek Revolution. An interesting contribution to Byroniana was recently made by Dr. Panos Morphopoulos in an article entitled "Byron's Translation and Use of Modern Greek Writings" (*Modern Languages Notes*, LIV [1939], 317-26). A literary-historical investigation of *The Klephts in Modern Greek Poetry: an Inquiry into a Graeco-Turkish Cultural Conflict* took the form of a Ph. D. thesis submitted to the University of Chicago by Dr. Gabriel Rombotis in 1932.[18] Readers of Modern Greek literature are in some degree enabled to keep abreast of contemporary writings through the Greek-American press in this country, although this institution, as is to be expected, has been predominantly an immigrant press and is not an outlet for scholarly articles or reviews in the same manner that some of the Athenian newspapers and literary magazines are. Quite exceptional in the last regard, and of greatest interest to Byzantinists and neohellenists alike, is the authoritative series of articles by Professor Henri Grégoire on the Byzantine epic which have been appearing (since August 17, 1941) in the Sunday issue of the New York Greek daily, *The National Herald*. They are written in a lucid δημοτική with the collaboration of Dr. Panos Morphopoulos, and will later be published in a single volume. However, very recently a number of Greek-American reviews have suddenly made their appearance in several of the chief centers of Hellenism in the United States—Chicago, New York, Boston, Washington, D. C., and even in points on the West Coast. Whether any of them can be developed into a periodical of serious research and reviews in neohellenic studies remains to be seen. The *Hellenic Spectator* of Washington, D. C., which made its maiden appearance in February, 1940, as a monthly and whose future appearance as a quarterly was recently announced, is illustrative of these newer publications; it is edited in attractive format by Mr. Constantine Poulos and is written entirely in English. It must needs specialize in contemporary activities and problems of the Greeks in America,[19] but it is also an outlet for articles and studies on literature and the arts in Greece and for reviews of historical and literary works in Modern Greek as well as in English. As yet, however, no professional publication for scholars such as the

[18] A small part of this work appeared in *Open Court*, XLVI (1932), 759-73; also reprinted and distributed, University of Chicago Libraries (Chicago, 1932).

[19] Cp., *e. g.*, the careful study which appeared in the first issue on the "Status of [the] Greek Population in the United States," by Mr. C. Loukas, pp. 3-9. It is of course not strictly part of our task in this article to review the literature relating to the history of the Greeks in America; this subject would require a separate survey.

English periodical, *The Link: a Review of Mediaeval and Modern Greek*,[20] has ever been founded in America, and we would perhaps be over-sanguine to contemplate one in the present time; it might be wiser practically for the American neohellenists to support the *Link* if and when it resumes publication after the War and thus help to assure the continued appearance of one scientific journal in which the interest and contributions of American as well as English scholars may be centered.

In the field of Modern Greek historical studies it is a pleasant task to mention a number of notable contributions. Professor J. M. Paton has illumined the history of late seventeenth-century Athens and Greece in his edition of portions of a contemporary chronicle: *The Venetians in Athens, 1687-1688, from the "Istoria" of Cristoforo Ivanovich* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940). Perhaps the outstanding contribution to the history of modern Hellas by an American scholar is the posthumous work of Professor Nicholas S. Kaltchas, *Introduction to the Constitutional History of Modern Greece* (New York, 1940)—a masterly survey and interpretation which deserves a high place among constitutional histories.[21] The turbulent period of Greek history from 1912 to 1923 prompted a good deal of writing in America, some of it mediocre or sheer propaganda, some of it of solid merit. Several organizations formed to promote better understanding between Greece and the United States and to support Greek policies and especially the Greek position at the Paris Peace Conference, sponsored a number of publications.[22] The relations of Greece with the Powers during and after the World War have received some

[20] Edited by Nicholas Bachtin of Cambridge University and published by Basil Blackwell at Oxford. Only two numbers, to our knowledge, have appeared: in June, 1938, and June, 1939.

[21] The inestimable loss to Greek studies caused by Kaltchas' premature death can be readily appreciated from Professor Lindsay Rogers' rare tribute in the Preface to the present work. Kaltchas among other writings published in Greek an *Introduction to the History of the United States* (New York, 1929). His pamphlet, "Post-War Politics in Greece," No. 12, vol. XII (Sept. 1, 1936) of *Foreign Policy Reports*, has been incorporated into the *Constitutional History* as the concluding chapter.

[22] We cannot detail these publications here, which were mostly tendencious in character. The American-Hellenic Society of New York had a distinguished membership and published several pamphlets 1918 ff. The first, for example, was by Auguste Gauvain, *The Greek Question* (trans. by Prof. C. N. Brown, New York, 1918). Another important organization was the Pan-Epirotic Union of America, whose publications were edited by Prof. Brown; cp., again, No. 1, by N. J. Cassavettes, *The Question of Northern Epirus at the Peace Conference* (Boston and New York, 1919). Under the auspices of the American Friends of Greece, H. B. Dewing and Edward Capps published a brief survey, *Greece and the Great Powers* (Washington, 1924).

considerable attention, but this interest remains embodied mostly in unpublished theses. An early doctoral dissertation is that of John K. Warren, *The Diplomatic Relations between Greece, France and England, 1914-1917*, presented at Ohio State University in 1924 (abstract published separately, Columbus, Ohio, 1929). As recently as 1939 Costa Couvaras wrote an M. A. thesis at Cornell University on "The Greek Crisis and the Entente." The epoch-making exchange of minorities between Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria has received unusual attention in scholarly articles and books; here it is enough to mention the able survey by E. G. Mears, *Greece Today: the Aftermath of the Refugee Impact* (Stanford, Calif., 1929) and the virtually definitive monograph of Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities—Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York, 1932). The Corfu incident of 1923 likewise aroused much interest, reflected in part in articles, such as those in the *American Journal of International Law*, but it has remained for European students to write the best monographs on this subject. Edith P. Stickney has treated in scholarly fashion the knotty problem of Albanian and Greek claims in Epirus and the international repercussions thereof in her prize-winning doctoral dissertation written at Stanford University: *Southern Albania or Northern Epirus in European International Affairs, 1912-1923* (Stanford, Calif., 1926).

The personalities of King Constantine and Eleutherios Venizelos and the momentous issues involved in their feud attracted many biographers in Europe and America, but most of the resultant writings were bitterly partisan, and of the American biographies we need note only Herbert Adams Gibbons' *Venizelos* (second ed., enlarged, Boston, 1923), a frankly laudatory work, but also in parts a valuable study based on first-hand observations. Henry Morgenthau Sr., one-time ambassador to Turkey, has vividly described his experiences and impressions as chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission of the League of Nations in his *I Was Sent to Athens* (French Strother, collaborator; New York, 1929).

It is apparent from our survey thus far that in historical matters philhellenism and foreign relations—subjects of obvious attraction—have monopolized the interest of American students of Modern Greece. What is encouraging of late and especially at the present time is the increasing interest in other aspects of her history—the Turkish period, the background and course of the Greek Revolution, internal development, and constitutional history. The works of Paton and Kaltchas, already noted, fall into this category, and a number of theses, recently completed or in preparation, further illustrate the newer interests. Two dissertations relating to European financial control in Greece

are in progress, one at Columbia University by John A. Levandis and another at the University of Missouri by William M. Hager.[23] Dr. Michail Dorizas contributed an economic study, the *Foreign Trade of Greece, the Economic and Political Factors Controlling* (Philadelphia, 1925), as his doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania (1924). The movement toward some form of Balkan federation or unity since the World War has received much attention, but the interesting efforts and plans in the same direction from the time of Catherine the Great to the Balkan Wars have only recently been investigated, among others by Dr. L. S. Stavrianos in a dissertation completed at Clark university; the prominent rôle of Greece in this movement is here fully chronicled.[24] The important period of the regeneration of Greek nationalism and the winning of independence—roughly about 1775 to 1830—would repay serious research. Stephen G. Chaconas is making a notable contribution in this field with his recently completed doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, entitled: *Adamantios Korais: a Study in Greek Nationalism.* Mr. Chaconas at the moment is preparing an article on the antecedents of the Greek Revolution, and he is planning for the near future a full-length study of the temporal power of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Balkans from about 1750 to 1850. Dr. Stavrianos has undertaken a detailed investigation of the commercial background of the Greek Revolution, for which he has already done considerable archival research in Europe. A study entitled "Chateaubriand and the Greek Revolution," by Marianthe Pappas, has been noticed among the Columbia University M. A. theses for 1937. The present writer investigated the background of the Greek Revolution in a preliminary way in a Master's thesis completed at the University of Wisconsin in 1938, entitled: "Some Aspects of the Preparation of the Greek Revolution of 1821." Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi, now of the department of history at the Johns Hopkins University, has dealt with "Austria and the Beginnings of the Kingdom of Greece" in *The Journal of Central European Affairs,* I (1941), 28-44, 208-223. The relatively extensive travel literature on Greece just before the

[23] Announced in the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History . . . December 1939* (supplement to the *American Historical Review,* April, 1940).

[24] *The Move for Balkan Unity to 1912,* abstracted in Clark University Bulletin, No. 135, October, 1937: *Abstracts of Dissertations and Theses: 1937* (vol. IX). Dr. Stavrianos is preparing for publication later this year a book based on the thesis aud bearing the title: *Balkan Federation: the Movement for Balkan Unity in Modern Times.* It is beyond the scope of this article to survey the literature on the Balkans in which Greece may be prominently mentioned. Dr. Stavrianos' research, which has fully utilized the relevant sources in Greek, is here cited as illustrative of this class of writings.

Revolution can profitably be studied as part of the task of reconstructing the revolutionary background. The excellent studies by Drs. Malakis and Morphopoulos on the French travellers have already been cited, and we notice that James M. Osborn, in another Columbia Master's thesis (1934), has contributed "A Study of the Literature of Travels in Greece, as Known in England from 1700 to 1850." [25] There is of course an extensive literature of travels in Greece and Greek lands by Americans; we have not, however, attempted to take note here of even the more valuable accounts. This body of literature might well repay special study, and as a sample inquiry we may refer to a paper by Professor William N. Bates of the University of Pennsylvania, entitled "Nicholas Biddle's Journey to Greece in 1806," which was read to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1917 (reprinted from the Proceedings of the Society, XXVIII [1916-18], 167-83).

Although Modern Greek studies in America can hardly be considered a well-worked and well-established discipline, except, perhaps, to some extent in history, it is apparent that they exhibit a considerable variety of interests. We have still to mention several distinct fields of inquiry in which American contributions have been made. The school system and pedagogical methods of Greece were the subject of a Columbia doctoral dissertation of 1933 by Dr. George M. White, whose study was published under the title *Education in Modern Greece* (Tiffin, Ohio, 1933).[26] Scientific interest in the geography and resources of Greece is seen in the learned periodicals in this field; we cite only the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* (sometime the *Journal*; 1852-1915), continued as the *Geographical Review* (New York, 1916 ff.), in which bibliographical references, reviews, and articles have occasionally appeared touching on the economic as well as the physical geography of Greece. We also have to record the interest of a few American scholars in Greek church history and in the theology of the Orthodox Church in Greece. The late Rev. Frank Gavin revealed his mastery of the writings of con-

[25] It must be added here that it is beyond the scope of this survey to try to discover and record all of the M. A. theses connected with Modern Greek studies; undoubtedly many such exist, as a hurried glance through the Columbia lists alone, for 1926-39, indicates; but published lists of M. A. theses are not nearly complete or accessible enough to permit us to make a thorough survey. Nor can we claim to know of all of the Ph. D. theses touching the Modern Greek field.

[26] Of incidental interest here is the attention paid to American education in Greece; the writer has seen the translation of a work on American educational theories by a Greek-American scholar, Mr. George N. Pappas (Papanikolopoulos): Σύγχρονες ἀμερικανικὲς παιδαγωγικὲς θεωρίες καὶ ἔρευνες (part I, Athens, 1933).

temporary Greek theologians in his painstaking study, *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought* (the Hale Lectures for 1922; Milwaukee and London, 1923). Professor Michael Choukas of Dartmouth College has contributed a sociological study of monastic Athos in his *Black Angels of Athos* (Brattleboro, Vermont, 1934). Professor P. E. Shaw, in his *American Contacts with the Eastern Churches, 1820-1870* (Chicago, 1937), has, among other things, detailed the history of the Protestant Episcopal Missions to Greece and Constantinople. Dr. George P. Michaelides, now at Schauffler College, Cleveland, in his recent article, "The Sacraments: an Eastern Orthodox Point of View," has based his account in part on the views of Greek theologians (*Christendom: an Ecumenical Review,* VI [1941], 96-107. The fortunes of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate and the Greek archbishoprics in the post-war period have been described in religious periodicals; we cite here the article of Professor Matthew Spinka, "Post-War Eastern Orthodox Churches" (*Church History,* IV [1935], 103-22) and the brief report of Professor Clarence Manning, "The Orthodox Churches of the Balkans in 1939" (*Review of Religion,* IV [1939-40], 45-49). It is also encouraging to see that recent works in Greek on church history are being reviewed in American journals.[27] Modern Greek folklore and popular religion have received some attention from American scholars in connection with the study of ancient Greek religion and its survivals. As an illustration, we instance the work of Professor Walter W. Hyde of the University of Pennsylvania, *Greek Religion and its Survivals* (Boston, 1923), the major part of which deals with the fascinating survivals.[28] Lastly, we note under the heading of religion the recent translation of some of the works of the "modern Socrates" of Greece, the nineteenth-century religious philosopher, Apostolos Makrakis, founder of the "Philosophical School of the Logos." The translation, which appears in two large volumes, was made by Denver Cummings and Albert G. Alexander and bears the title, *A New Original Philosophical System* (New York, 1940); the editors announce the Englishing of several more of the works of the prolific philosopher.

In concluding this portion of our survey we may allude to writings

[27] Cp. the reviews of the anniversary volume commemorating the great patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris by Manning in *Review of Religion,* IV (1939-40), 211-13, and by Dr. George E. Zachariades in *Church History,* IX (1940), 178; likewise, Manning's reviews of the biography of Eusebius Matthopoulos by the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakosta in *Rev. of Rel.,* V (1940-41), 240-41, and of Curt Georgi's study of the *Confessio Dosithei, ibid.,* 373-74.

[28] Cp. also Professor Hyde's article, "The Monasteries of Meteora and Greek Monasticism," in the *Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia* (XI, No. 3, July, 1913, 133-69), which is wider in scope than its title indicates.

of a more popular and ephemeral sort in countless periodicals of current events. It is pointless here to try to catalogue even the best of these scattered contributions; for the minute researcher they are adequately fingerposted in the various guides to periodical literature. Here we may simply refer to publications like *Current History* and *Foreign Affairs,* which at frequent intervals publish good contemporary surveys of Greek conditions; in the latter journal, especially, one finds articles of more than ephemeral value, contributed by authorities like H. F. Armstrong and William Miller. The Greek-Italian conflict, marked by the unexpected and brilliant Greek successes, aroused a great deal of interest, and current articles and notices on Greece were legion last winter and spring and are still numerous; this interest and enthusiasm, if only in that it may provide a more interested and receptive audience for the products of Modern Greek scholarship, can contribute appreciably to the promotion of Modern Greek studies in America.[29]

II

Judged by the needs of scholars, the printed materials in Modern Greek found in American libraries and pertaining to Greek history and literature in post-Byzantine times are not very imposing in bulk and are generally inadequate except on a few specialized topics for which collections have specifically been made. Scholars making extensive use of Greek sources have usually had to assemble working libraries of their own and have had to undertake or contemplate research abroad, especially, of course, in Greece itself, where great collections exist that have as yet been little used by American neo-hellenists.[30] Nevertheless, *pari passu* with the growing interest in Modern Greek studies in America, several systematic efforts have in

[29] Cp., for example, the issue of *Commonweal* for January 31, 1941, which is devoted almost exclusively to Greece and includes articles by Louis Adamic, Prof. C. J. H. Hayes, and the Rev. John LaFarge; the lengthy notice which a serious study like Kaltchas' *Constitutional History* receives in the same issue illustrates the concluding observation above. Cf. also Drake De Kay's fine essay, "Bozzaris and Greek Freedom," *Sat. Review of Literature,* XXIII, xxvi (April 19, 1941), 3-4, 18.

Even contemporary Greek music is receiving some attention; cp. the interesting notice of Mr. M. J. Politis in the New York *Times,* March 16, 1941.

[30] The Gennadeion at Athens, for example, is a great repository of materials on the modern history of Greece. William Miller, in his article, "Modern Greek History in the 'Gennadeion'" (*Journal of Modern History,* II [1930], 612-28), points out that Athens alone has four libraries and one institution where Greek history since the Revolution can be studied: the National Library, the Library of the Chamber, the Gennadeion, the Finlay Library, and the Museum of the Historical and Ethnological Society.

recent years been made to enrich existing collections and to establish new ones. We intend in this brief sketch to point to some of these efforts and to describe in detail what is probably the finest and largest Modern Greek collection in America, that of the University of Cincinnati Library.

A number of our great public libraries each have collections of several hundred volumes or more in the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the largest are in the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress. Mr. M. J. Politis has recently revealed that the works represented in these collections belong in the main to the period from the closing years of the nineteenth century to about 1920; only very recently have libraries like the New York Public, the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore and Harvard College among university libraries acquired or ordered works representing the output since 1920.[31] The public libraries are on the whole disappointing in historical materials written in Greek. Here again the New York Public and the Library of Congress probably own the largest collections, if such they may be called. The former institution published in its *Bulletin* for 1910 a "List of Works . . . Relating to the Near Eastern Question and the Balkan States Including European Turkey and Modern Greece," a compilation which included a considerable number of Greek titles.[32] In the *Bulletin* of October, 1939 (XLIII, 739), announcement was made of the receipt from the Greek Ministry of Press and Tourism of eight publications "illustrating the character of book and periodical publication in Greece" and marking "the beginning of co-operation between the Library and the Greek Ministry." The New York Public is quite weak in public documents of Greece relating to international affairs; its collection of official documents relating to internal affairs is less incomplete and contains some important series. The "Daily Journal of the Cabinet" is complete from 1899, and the serial publications in Greek and French cover many commercial, financial, and social aspects. A glance at the Library of Congress catalogue under "Greece" revealed roughly some two hundred entries; these list a variety of official publications, mostly in Greek but including a few in French and English. These entries cover government publications in finance, commerce, agriculture and education, the official minutes and the journal of the *Boule,* documents on foreign affairs, the texts of the Greek constitutions since the Revolution, and a variety of laws, statutes and treaties. In the field of philology and literary history both the

[31] "Greek Literature Attains its Majority," *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

[32] *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. XIV (New York, 1910): 7-55, 199-226, 241-95, 307-41; for the Greek titles see esp. pp. 199 ff., 316 ff.

New York Public and the Library of Congress have important collections, how extensive the present writer cannot with authority say, since he lacks any first-hand knowledge or report of them. However, he has found many titles in this field—some, indeed, very rare—in the Union Catalogue and would guess that the Library of Congress is very well represented in comparison with the Newberry Library and with the best university collections, such as those of Cincinnati, Harvard and Chicago.

It is perhaps not widely known among American neohellenists that the famous philological library of Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, which since 1901 has been a part of the Newberry Library of Chicago, includes a rather remarkable collection of grammars, dictionaries, anthologies and linguistic and literary studies relating to Modern Greek. Most of the titles belong to the nineteenth century, and no less than nine languages are represented: Greek, English, Italian, German, French, Dutch, Spanish, Rumanian and Latin.[33] Many of the items are quite rare, in particular a small number belonging to the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries. Of these latter we cite those that deal with the vernacular Medieval or Modern Greek, along with several of the eighteenth century: Stephano da Sabio, *Introduttorio nuovo intitolato Corona Preciosa, per imparare, legere, scrivere, parlare ed intendere la lingua greca volgare e literale, e la lingua latina, ed il volgare italico* . . . (Venice, 1527) ;[34] Johannes van Meurs (Meursius), *Glossarium graecobarbarum* (Leyden, 1610, and rev. ed., 1614) ; Simon Portius, *Dictionarium latinum, graecobarbarum et litterale* (2 vols. in 1, Paris, 1635), and his *Grammatica linguae graecae vulgaris* (Paris, 1638) ;[35] Johann Tribbechov(ius), *Brevia linguae ῥωμαικῆς sive graecae*

[33] A complete list of the titles can be had in Victor Collins, *Attempt at a Catalogue of the Library of the Late Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte* (London, 1894), pp. 121-33, Nos. 2299-2552. Some of the titles have to do with Ancient Greek, but the great majority relate to Modern Greek—and an unusual number of these latter to the vernacular form of the language, thereby enhancing the significance of the Bonaparte Greek section. Collins' list leaves much to be desired; the transliteration of the Modern Greek is often faulty while the bibliographical information is sometimes scanty or inaccurate.

[34] There are also two later editions (1543 and 1549) in the Bonaparte Collection. This work is No. 79 in Émile Legrand's *Bibliographie hellénique, ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (4 vols., Paris, 1885-1906), I, 199. Legrand says its success is proved by the many editions through which it passed in the sixteenth century; he remarks further: "C'est, . . . à notre connaissance, le premier livre imprimé où figure un vocabulaire grec vulgaire. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 200.)

[35] This, the first printed grammar of the vernacular Modern Greek, was reproduced with grammatical and historical commentary by Wilhelm Meyer (Paris, 1889) in the Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études . . . Sciences philologiques et historiques. 78. fasc.

vulgaris elementa, quibus differentia antiquum inter et recentiorem graecismum praecipue ostenditur . . . (Jena, 1705); Johann M. Lange, *Philologiae barbaro-graecae pars prior-[altera]* (2v. in 1, Noribergae et Altdorfi, 1707-08); Thomas of Paris, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre les principes de la langue grecque-vulgaire* . . . (Paris, 1709);[36] Benedict Kredo, Γραμματικὴ ἑλληνικορωμαϊκή (Verona, 1782); and Demetrios Benieres, Ἐπιτομὴ γραμματικῆς ἐξηγηθεῖσα εἰς τὴν ἁπλῆν ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον μὲ τὴν μετάφρασιν εἰς τὸ ἰταλικόν (Trieste, 1799). It is tempting to list here many of the interesting titles published in the nineteenth century, but inasmuch as a printed catalogue of the Bonaparte Collection is available, we cite no more than a random five or six, which caught our attention upon a hurried glance. There is, for example, the Μελέτη τῆς κοινῆς ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου (Paris, 1818), written by the ultra-purist, Panagiotakes Kodrikas, who was a most bitter opponent of Adamantios Koraes on the language question; he dedicated his study to Tsar Alexander I. An unusual reference work is a commercial encyclopaedia written for the use of Greek merchants by Nikolaos Papadopoulos, entitled Ἑρμῆς ὁ Κερδῷος, ἤτοι ἐμπορικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια (2 vols., Venice, 1815-17). Among the many Modern Greek grammars there is one by Jules David—the son of the noted painter—who taught French in the Chiot Gymnasium just before the Greek Revolution; his work is entitled Συνοπτικὸς παραλληλισμὸς τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ γραικικῆς, ἢ ἁπλοελληνικῆς γλώσσης (Paris, 1820); there are two English translations (1824 and 1825). The first grammar of Modern Greek, by the Corfiot scholar Nikolaos Sophianos (1534), is present in the first Legrand edition, which was made from the original manuscript (Athens, 1870, No. 6 in the *Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique*). We note also the Λεξικὸν ἑλληνικόν in three volumes (Venice, 1809-16) by Anthimos Gazes, founder of the famous literary journal, Ἑρμῆς ὁ λόγιος, and the *Cours de littérature grecque moderne* (1st ed., Geneva, 1827) by I. Rizos Neroulos. Other Modern Greek materials in the Newberry Library, outside of the Bonaparte Collection, include documents on international affairs, several of the Émile Legrand bibliographies, dictionaries in several languages and a complete set of the Λαογραφία (1909 ff.), the journal of the Greek Folklore Society.

Modern Greek materials in modest collections—from several dozen to a hundred or perhaps two hundred volumes—may be found in many American college and university libraries, as well as in some private libraries. Larger collections exist at the University of Cincinnati, at

[36] Thomas was a Capuchin monk, born about 1670; he wrote his manual in French, Latin and Italian. The Newberry Library copy bears the autograph of the eminent French classicist, Boissonade (1774-1857), as does the next work above, by Kredo.

Harvard, Chicago, Columbia, Michigan, Princeton, Illinois, Yale and California. Systematic collections of any great size are as yet very few. A laudable effort was recently made at Columbia University to inaugurate such a collection in December, 1937; at that time the Greek Minister to the United States presented 175 volumes of Modern Greek literature to the University Library as the gift of King George II, the Greek Ministry of Education, and the University of Athens. Fifty volumes were to be added annually by the Pnyx Society, a Greek-American student group on the Columbia campus, and an equal number by the University of Athens.[37] It has of course been difficult to carry out this plan for enlarging the collection since the outbreak of the war. Very recently, however, the collection was sensibly enriched by the addition of more than one hundred volumes from the library of the late Professor Carroll N. Brown. This gift—presented through Professor Brown's widow—is of varied subject matter; it includes works of biography, fiction, drama and poetry, and some important titles in history (*e. g.*, Andreades, Lampros, Lascaris, Meliarakes, Trikoupes, and William Miller); it includes also a number of important publications in language and philology, some of these in English and German. A large number of pamphlets, dealing with Greek history since the Balkan Wars, have also been presented to the Columbia Library but are as yet uncatalogued; there are many duplicates in this collection, and the Library will be glad to make them available to other libraries.

Professor Brown's collection, although not very large (it was always a working library), has been about evenly divided (except for the pamphlets) between the libraries of Columbia and Harvard. To the latter went some 125 Greek titles and about ten in other languages. This portion of the gift included fewer works in history but about the same number in linguistics and belles lettres.[38] The Modern Greek materials of the Harvard College Library taken as a whole constitute a far older and considerably larger collection than that of Columbia and deserve a more detailed description than the present writer—who unfortunately has no first-hand acquaintance with them—can here provide. The extensive belles lettres collection of several hundred volumes was largely purchased under the expert guidance of Phoutrides, Stephen P. Ladas and more latterly of M. J. Politis; part of Phoutrides' private library was given to the Library by his widow. Modern Greek history at Harvard is represented by a fairly extensive collection of pamphlets and volumes—in Greek and other languages—

[37] New York *Times*, Dec. 3, 1937.

[38] Dr. Alan W. Brown of Columbia University has kindly supplied the data concerning his father's library.

which reflect in part the long preoccupation with Greece and the Aegean on the part of many New England philanthropists and professors. There is a notable collection of more than 130 titles in Greek and Macedonian folklore, while perhaps 200 titles classified under linguistics constitute another valuable collection.

At the University of Chicago a well-selected Modern Greek collection has been built up during the present century, largely as a result of Professor Buck's interests in post-classical Greek and with the aid and suggestions of Greek-American students in classics and other departments.[39] In such circumstances it is not surprising that the Chicago collection is strongest in the fields of philology and belles lettres. One of its notable possessions is a set of most of the works of the eminent folklorist and bibliographer, the late Nikolaos G. Politis. Among periodicals it has eight of the earlier volumes of the journal of the Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (VII-VIII, X-XI, XIII-XVI), the historical review, Ἑλληνικά (1928 ff.), and the very valuable Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων of Sp. Lampros. Of extraordinary value is a complete set of the Ῥωμηός (1883-1918)—the unique humorous paper written entirely in verse by the inimitable satirist and gifted poet, Georgios Souris. In the field of linguistics and the language question the following works may be noted (all published in Athens): M. Philintas, Γλωσσογνωσία καὶ γλωσσογραφία ἑλληνική (3 vols., 1927); M. A. Triantaphyllides, Νεοελληνικὴ γραμματική (vol. I, 1938), and Ξενηλασία ἢ ἰσοτέλεια; (1905-07); I. K. Kordatos, Δημοτικισμὸς καὶ λογιωτατισμός (1927); E. Gianides, Γλῶσσα καὶ ζωή (4th ed., 1927); Petros Vlastos, Συνώνυμα καὶ συγγενικά (1931); A. G. Paspates, Τὸ χιακὸν γλωσσάριον (1888); S. A. Koumanoudes, Συναγωγὴ νέων λέξεων . . . (2 vols. in 1, 1900); E. P. Voutierides, Νεοελληνικὴ στιχουργική (1929); A. A. Tzartzanes, Νεοελληνικὴ σύνταξις . . . (1928); and A. E. Megas, Ἱστορία τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ζητήματος (1925). There are, in addition, several of the works written in Modern Greek of the eminent philologist, Georgios Hatzidakis. The Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία . . . of A. Papadopoulos-Vretos is worthy of note (2 vols., Athens, 1854-57). In encyclopaedias and dictionaries, the Chicago collection possesses, *inter alia*, the Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν λεξικόν of Eleutheroudakes, the Μεγάλη ἑλληνικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια ("Pyrsos" press), the French and Greek dictionary of Hepites, and the volumes to date of the monumental Λεξικὸν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης of the Academy of Athens. There are several valuable items relating to Koraes, notably the edition of his Greek correspondence by N. M. Damalas (3 vols. in 4, Athens, 1886), the Ἄτακτα (5 vols. in 6,

[39] The writer is deeply indebted to one of these students, Dr. K. T. Argoe, for much information on the Chicago collection.

Paris, 1828-35), and the posthumous Συγγραμμάτια (6 vols. [incomplete], Athens, 1881-88).[40]

Probably the finest and largest Modern Greek collection in the United States is that which is shelved in the Burnam Classical Library of the University of Cincinnati Library. This outstanding collection of some 3500 volumes is the result, on the one hand, of the keen interest of Professor Carl W. Blegen, of the Department of Classics at Cincinnati, in the products of Modern Greek scholarship and of his intimate acquaintance with Greek history and literature of the last three decades, and, on the other hand, of the encouragement and munificence of Professor William T. Semple, chairman of the Department of Classics. Professor Blegen himself directed the purchase of the volumes in Greece at the rate of several hundred annually during the period 1930-1939, and only the present European conflict has curtailed his purchasing activities. It is his intention and hope that ultimately the collection will reach such a size as to make the University of Cincinnati a leading center of Modern Greek studies in this country. Already the collection contains rare and valuable items found nowhere else in America and difficult of access in Europe even in normal times. The difficult task of cataloguing the collection has been competently executed by Mr. E. C. Skarshaug, librarian of the Burnam Classical Library, and is virtually completed at the present time. Mr. Skarshaug has informed the writer that the collection is far from being fully represented in the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress—in all probability not more than half of it is so represented.

A detailed description of the collection might begin with a list of

[40] The correspondence really forms vols. II-IV of the Συγγραμμάτια.

Although this survey deals primarily with materials in Modern Greek, it would be invidious not to record at least in a footnote that the Chicago collection has many of the philological and literary studies of European neohellenists outside of Greece: we cite a partial list of their names: Gerhard Rohlfs, Hubert Pernot, André Mirambel, Carsten Höeg, Paul Kretschmer, Karl Dieterich, M. Deffner, R. M. Dawkins, D. C. Hesseling, Albert Thumb, N. Bachtin, Émile Legrand, and Jean Psichari (writing in French). Similarly, like the Bonaparte Collection, Chicago has many early grammars and dictionaries of Modern Greek in several languages. A notable early dictionary (also in the Bonaparte Collection) is the *Tesoro della lingua greca volgare ed italiana, cioe ricchissimo dizzionario grecovolgare et* [*sic*] *italiano* (2 vols. in 1, Paris, 1709) by Alexis de Sommevoire (Alessio da Somavera), a Capuchin monk of the seventeenth century; the "*opera postuma*" was "*posta in luce*" by Thomas of Paris, whose *Nouvelle méthode* we have already noted. A rare grammar is I. B. Martin, *Kurze Anleitung zur Erlernung des neugriechischen Dialektes* (Passau, 1833); it is interleaved with blank pages containing many notes in longhand. Among early grammars published in America in English, Chicago has those of Negris, Sophocles and Castanis.

the important sets of periodicals and collections of documents which it contains. Perhaps the rarest item among the periodicals is several volumes—not a complete set unfortunately—of the Ἑρμῆς ὁ λόγιος (1817-21), the journal of the Greek intellectuals dispersed through Europe during the immediately pre-Revolutionary period and hence a most important source for the intellectual background and preparation of the Revolution. Historical periodicals include the short-lived Βυζαντίς (2 vols., 1909-12), the Ἑλληνικά (1928 ff.), the Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (1924 ff.), a complete set of the *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* (I-XX, 1898-1920; XXI, 1927), edited by J. N. Svoronos, the Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων of Lampros, likewise complete (21 vols., 1904-27), the Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας Ἑλλάδος (1883 ff.), the Ἠπειρωτικὰ χρονικά (Ioannina, 1926 ff.), the Θρακικά (Athens, 1928 ff.), the Χιακὰ χρονικά, edited by K. Amantos (Athens, 1911 ff.), and the Μικρασιατικὰ χρονικά (Athens, 1938 ff.). Among archival and documentary publications (these may also contain secondary studies) are the following works: the documentary series, Μνημεῖα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας, inaugurated in 1932 under the auspices of the Academy of Athens;[41] two documentary series, edited by Constantine Sathas, which, though mainly medieval in reference, contain some materials on early modern history: the Μνημεῖα ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας: *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge* (9 vols., Paris, 1880-90), and the Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη (7 vols., Venice, 1872-94); the Ἀρχεῖον κοινότητος Ὕδρας, *1778-1832*, in fifteen volumes (Piraeus, 1921-31), which is of great importance for the commercial background of the Revolution; the Χιακὸν ἀρχεῖον, edited by G. Vlachogiannes (5 vols., Athens, 1910) and dealing with the Revolution and the 1830's; and finally, the Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ θρακικοῦ λαογραφικοῦ καὶ γλωσσικοῦ θησαυροῦ (Athens, 1934 ff.).

In another classification, we find that the Cincinnati collection has a number of reviews which deal with belles lettres and philological matters and, occasionally, historical topics. These include the monthly review entitled Ἑλληνισμός (1898 ff.), the important literary journals Ἑστία (1876-94) and Νέα ἑστία (1927 ff.), the famed Νουμᾶς (1903 ff.)—the most important organ of the demoticists, the Παναθήναια (1901 ff.), and the journals of two leading learned associations, one

[41] Vol. I, part A (Athens, 1932), contains the Βραχέα χρονικά—here edited by K. Amantos—which Lampros had planned to edit for the Teubner series, while part B (1933) contains the Ἀποφάσεις μείζονος συμβουλίου Βενετίας, *1255-1669*, relating to Crete and edited by S. M. Theotokes. Vol. II, parts A (1936) and B (1937), each in a separate volume, contains more documents on Crete from the Venetian archives, Θεσπίσματα τῆς βενετικῆς γερουσίας, *1281-1385*, also edited by Theotokes.

the Ἀθηνᾶ (1889 ff.) of the Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑταιρεία in Athens, and the other the publications of the Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1863 ff.). The proceedings of the Academy of Athens, dealing with a great variety of topics, scientific as well as cultural, are also found in the Cincinnati collection (Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν Πρακτικά, 1926 ff.).

In view of Professor Blegen's special preoccupation with Greek archaeology it is not surprising that the collection has an excellent section on Modern Greek periodicals and studies in that field. The periodicals include complete sets of the Ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἐφημερίς, the Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, the Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, and the Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. The important investigations and secondary studies of leading Greek archaeologists like Tsountas, Kourouniotes, Kavvadias, Marinatos, Mylonas, Romaios and others are likewise part of the archaeology section. We may in this connection also note the study of the eminent numismatist, Jean Svoronos, on the coins of the Ptolemies: Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων (4 vols. in 2, Athens, 1904-08).

Although ancient and medieval history are not strongly represented, a number of important works by leading historians will be noted. First of all, we come to the monumental histories of Greece by Lampros and Paparrigopoulos, of which considerable portions deal with the ancient and medieval periods; Paparrigopoulos occurs in the masterly edition of Paulos Karolides, who made considerable additions to the work (6th ed., 7 vols. in 8, Athens, 1931). Lampros is further represented by the important collection of documents on the Peloponnese under the Palaiologoi, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά (4 vols., Athens, 1912-30), and by three notable translations: the first of Curtius' *Griechische Geschichte,* in five volumes, the second of William Miller's *Latins in the Levant,* in two volumes with additions, and the third of Gregorovius' *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter,* in two volumes, with a third volume consisting entirely of new documents. There are yet several other works by Lampros—or about him—in the Cincinnati collection, and of these we cite the Μικταὶ σελίδες, a collection of speeches, letters and studies (Athens, 1905), and the *Festschrift* issued in his commemoration in 1935 (Athens), Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου.[42] Other items of Medieval Greek and Byzantine history include the works of Bikelas and Meliarakes (cp. the latter's Ἱστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοῦ δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου, *1204-61* [Athens, 1898]), and local and insular histories touching on the

[42] For a detailed notice of this last work, to which more than eighty scholars contributed and which includes a number of articles on Medieval and Modern Greek language and history, see the description by C. Delvoye, *Byzantion,* XIV (1939), 669-81.

medieval period; these latter will be noted presently below. An interesting history of more than a century ago is the Ἱστορίαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων in twelve volumes (Vienna, 1830-32) by the prolific and versatile scholar Konstantinos Koumas (1777-1836); the last volume of this work contains the author's autobiography.

The Cincinnati collection is much richer in materials relating to the post-Byzantine period of Greek history, particularly the period from about 1800 to the present. We attempt here only an enumeration of some of the more important titles. The able historian Paulos Karolides, who possessed an enviable command of Near Eastern languages, is represented by several works, in addition to his edition of Paparrigopoulos; we cite here his Σύγχρονος ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν λαῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἀπὸ *1821* μέχρι *1921* in seven volumes (Athens, 1922-29), a detailed study on a daring scale, and his Ἱστορία τοῦ δεκάτου ἐνάτου αἰῶνος in three volumes (Athens, 1892-93). Two important political histories of the latest period of Greek history are the Πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς νεωτέρας Ἑλλάδος, *1821-1928* in three volumes by Georgios Aspreas (Athens, 1922-30), and a more detailed study on a single decade of this century by Georgios Venteres, Ἡ Ἑλλὰς τοῦ *1910-1920*, (2 vols., Athens, 1931). Two older works are the Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ἑλλάς (Athens, 1869) of Constantine Sathas and the biographical dictionary of the heroes of the War of Independence, the Βίοι παράλληλοι (8 vols., Athens, 1869-76) by A. Goudas. The learned archivist Giannes Vlachogiannes is represented by several works, including his Ἱστορικὴ ἀνθολογία (Athens, 1927). An imposing collection of letters, speeches and other documents relating to Charilaos Trikoupes is the sixteen-volume set entitled Περὶ Χαριλάου Τρικούπη ἐκ δημοσιευμάτων . . . (Athens, 1907-17). The story of Greek education during the Turkish period is told in T. E. Euangelides, Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας (2 vols., Athens, 1936).

Coming to materials and studies on the Revolutionary background and the War of Independence itself, we have to note the classic treatise of Spyridon Trikoupes on the Revolution, the more recent detailed history of the same subject by Kokkinos in six volumes (Athens, 1932-35), the essay of A. Daskalakis, Αἴτια καὶ παράγοντες τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐπαναστάσεως (Paris, 1927), the several works of Takis Kandeloros, and the Δοκίμιον ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐπαναστάσεως of Philemon (Philemon's Δοκίμιον ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἑταιρίας is unfortunately lacking). There are a number of memoirs dealing with the Revolution, several biographies, and a good deal of fiction; the biographies include several of Capodistrias and the definitive *Life* of the great patriot and "teacher of the nation," George Gennadius, by his son, J. Gennadius, writing under the pseudonym of Xenophon Anastasiades: Γεωργίου Γενναδίου Βίος, Ἔργα, Ἐπιστολαί (2 vols., Athens,

1926). But by far the most valuable part of this section on the Revolution and its background, and, indeed, one of the outstanding features of the entire collection, is the extensive list of titles relating to Adamantios Koraes—his own studies and letters, his editions and translations, and studies by others on his life and achievement. These titles, twenty-seven in number and representing sixty-five to seventy volumes, easily constitute the largest Koraes collection in an American library; except for three in French and one Latin, they are all in Modern Greek.[43] For the information of students of Koraes in America who are not acquainted with the contents of the Cincinnati Modern Greek collection, we provide here a fairly detailed list of the titles in the Koraes section.

Under the heading of Koraes as author, we note first the following volumes containing a portion of his extensive correspondence: Ἀπάνθισμα ἐπιστολῶν Ἀδαμαντίου Κοραῆ (Iakobos Rotas, ed., 2 vols., Athens, 1839-41); *Lettres inédites de Coray à Chardon de la Rochette (1790-96) suivies d'un recueil de ses lettres françaises à divers savants, de sa dissertation sur le Testament secret des Athéniens, du Mémoire sur l'état de la civilisation dans la Grèce en 1803 et de ses thèses latines de médecine réimprimées pour la première fois* (Paris, 1877); Ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιστολαὶ Ἀδαμαντίου Κοραῆ πρὸς τὴν οἰκογένειαν Πρασσακάκη (Leipzig, 1885); and Ἀνέκδοτοι λεξιλογικαὶ σημειώσεις καὶ ἐπιστολαί . . . (Athens, 1934). Under the same heading, we note secondly a variety of his writings: the famous Ἄτακτα (5 vols. in 6, Paris, 1828-35), which are a rich lexicographical mine on the Greek language in all of its periods; a posthumous collection of various writings which includes three volumes of Greek correspondence, edited by A. Z. Mamoukas and N. M. Damalas: Ἀδαμαντίου Κοραῆ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον εὑρεθέντα συγγραμμάτια (8 vols. in 7, Athens, 1881-91); the *Autobiography,* written in Modern Greek (Paris, 1833); the Διατριβὴ αὐτοσχέδιος περὶ τοῦ περιβοήτου δόγματος τῶν σκεπτικῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν, Νόμῳ καλόν, νόμῳ κακόν (Athens, 1842); and another posthumous miscellany which *inter alia* includes Koraes' contributions to the columns of the Ἑρμῆς ὁ λόγιος: Συλλογὴ τῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Βιβλιοθήκην, καὶ τὰ Πάρεργα προλεγομένων, καί τινων συγγραμματίων τοῦ Ἀδαμαντίου Κοραῆ· εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν προστίθενται ὅσα κατεχώρησεν εἰς τὸν Λόγιον Ἑρμῆν, ὁ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγγραφεὶς βίος του καὶ τὸ πανομοιότυπον τῆς ἐπιταφίου ἐπιγραφῆς μετὰ τῆς εἰκόνος του (vol. I, Paris, 1833).

Under a second heading, Koraes as editor and translator, the Cincinnati collection has many of his important productions. First and foremost is his monumental labor of patriotism and scholarship, the

[43] Mr. Stephen G. Chaconas, whose recently completed study on Koraes we have already cited, has the best private library of Koraes in America.

Greek Library or Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, in seventeen volumes (Paris, 1805-26), consisting of editions of Greek classics, with introductions in Modern Greek wherein Koraes sought to acquaint his countrymen with their ancient heritage and to arouse their longing for liberty. The nine volumes of *Parerga* to the *Greek Library* are likewise found in the Cincinnati collection (9 vols. in 8, Paris, 1809-27), as are also the four-volume edition of the first four rhapsodies of the *Iliad* (Paris, 1811-20), the French edition and translation of the *Characters* of Theophrastus (Paris, 1799), the second edition of Hippocrates, *De aëre, aquis, locis,* with a French translation (Paris, 1816), and the edition of Hierocles (Paris, 1812). There are a few other minor editions and writings, and, finally, Koraes' translation into Modern Greek of Beccaria's celebrated treatise, *Dei delitti e delle pene* (Paris, 1802).[44]

Under a third and final heading, Koraes as subject, the Cincinnati collection has no more than half a dozen titles, but these include the standard biography in three volumes by Dionysios Thereianos, Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῆς (3 vols. in 1, Trieste, 1889-90), a learned and lucidly written work indispensable to the student of Koraes; some of Koraes' minor writings are reprinted in the appendix. The other works on Koraes are shorter studies dealing with single aspects of his activity: there is a Latin dissertation by Mondry Beaudouin, *Quid Koraïs de neohellenica lingua senserit* (Bordeaux, 1883), a study of his views on education by Christos P. Oikonomos, Ὁ Κοραῆς ὡς ἐθνικὸς παιδαγωγός (Athens, 1906), and another on his political philosophy by T. G. Kokkaliades, Ὁ Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῆς περὶ πολιτείας καὶ δικαίου (Chios, 1935).[45]

[44] The *Greek Library* included editions of Isocrates, of Plutarch's *Lives*, of Strabo, of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Ethics*, Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Plato's *Gorgias* and Lycurgus' *Leocrates*. It will be noted that the prolegomena to the *Greek Library* and the *Parerga* are reprinted in the volume cited above, Συλλογὴ τῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Βιβλιοθήκην, etc., which also includes the *Autobiography*. It should be noted also that the famous *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (Paris, 1803) is reprinted in the *Lettres inédites de Coray à Chardon de la Rochette*, which likewise contains Koraes' Latin dissertations in medicine.

The present writer can claim no extensive acquaintance with Koraes' writings and cannot pose as an expert on the bibliography of Koraes; he hopes that some of the items he has listed will prove of interest to specialists who may not have known of their availability in the Cincinnati collection.

[45] Oikonomos' valuable German dissertation on Koraes' educational theories can be found in many American libraries; it is entitled *Die pädagogischen Anschauungen des Adamantios Korais und ihr Einfluss auf das Schulwesen und das politische Leben Griechenlands* . . . (Leipzig, 1906). This study has a pretty complete list of Koraes' works, including analytics for the individual volumes in the *Greek Library*, *Parerga*, and *Atakta*. A recent bibliographical

Some of the finest products of Modern Greek historical scholarship are to be found in the section on local and insular history. Thus, for example, the history of Athens in the medieval and Turkish periods is covered by the works of Kampouroglous, Gregorovius (already cited in the Lampros translation) and Philadelpheus. There are numerous works dealing with important islands or island groups: Zerlentis' works on the Cyclades, the works of Mourellos and Psilakes on Crete, Zolotas' monumental Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου (3 vols. in 5, Athens, 1921-28) and an entire shelf of works relating to Cyprus. Space forbids a detailed citation here by author and title of a miscellany of books on the topography, geography, natural resources, arts, crafts and monuments of Greece and the Greek lands.

A considerable section of the Cincinnati collection has to do with the language and literature of Medieval and Modern Greece; its varied and carefully selected titles reflect Professor Blegen's interest in these fields, especially in the perennial "language question." We have already cited a number of titles by and about Koraes which fall into this classification. The eminent authority on the post-classical philology of Greek, Georgios Hatzidakis, is well represented by several works, as are Manoles Triantaphyllides and M. Philintas. There is a complete set of the Λαογραφία (1909 ff.), while Politis' Παροιμίαι (Athens, 1899-1902) in four volumes and his Παραδόσεις (Athens, 1904) in two are also present.[46] There are several valuable dictionaries, including the *Historical Lexicon* of the Athenian Academy, the French and Greek Hepites, Demetrakos, the Turkish and Greek Chloros, and the all-Greek lexicon of Jannaris; there are also orthographical dictionaries and special vocabularies and word-lists like the Συνώνυμα καὶ συγγενικά of Vlastos. Of special interest is the very rare work by Nikolaos Logades, which was printed at the press of the Patriarchate as the first volume (A to Δ) of a great thesaurus: Κιβωτὸς τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, συμπηχθεῖσα μὲν καὶ πονηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν μελῶν τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει . . . σχολῆς (Constantinople, 1819). Histories of Medieval and Modern Greek literature are not lacking; among these is the rather good Modern Greek translation of Krumbacher's *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur* in three volumes by G. Soteriades (Athens, 1897-1900 [1901]). Modern Greek literary studies in Western Europe are well represented by the works of prominent neohellenists like Legrand, Pernot, Hesseling, Antoniadis and Mirambel; their writings, mainly in French, are prominent in the *Collection de l'institut néo-hellénique de l'Université de Paris*

study is that of G. Ladas, Βιβλιογραφικαὶ ἔρευναι ἀναφερόμεναι εἰς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ἀδαμαντίου Κοραῆ (Athens, 1934).

[46] The last two works make up the six-volume study entitled Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ (Athens, 1899-1904).

(1924 ff.) and in the *Collection de manuels pour l'étude du grec moderne*. There are dialectical studies, too, in non-Greek languages—English (cp. Dawkins), German and French (cp. Pernot, *Introduction à l'étude du dialecte tsakonien* [Paris, 1934]). The Cincinnati collection does not as yet possess all of the monumental bibliographies of printed works published by Greeks since the fifteenth century which Émile Legrand compiled; efforts are being made to complete its set.

Several shelves of the language and literature section consist entirely of Modern Greek editions of ancient Greek classics; many of these are of pedagogical interest since they are used in Greek gymnasia and colleges. The *Greek Library* of Koraes was auspiciously revived several years ago, under the aegis of the Academy of Athens, with the publication—the first in the new series—of an edition of Plato's *Symposium* by the lamented Ioannes Sykoutres (Athens, 1934); this lavish edition consists of the text, a Modern Greek translation, elaborate notes and a long introduction which is in part a discourse on the language question. The critical editing of Modern Greek works of literature is exemplified by the magistral edition of the *Erotokritos* of Vicenzo Cornaro by Stephanos Xanthoudides (Herakleion, Crete, 1915).

The literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is represented by a generous selection from the writings of many of the more prominent men-of-letters. We give here no more than a partial list of authors: Drosines, Cavafy, Nirvanas, Palamas, Pallis (there is a copy of his famed translation of the Gospels), Psichari (most of his Greek prose writings), Rangabes (Τὰ ἅπαντα), Roïdes, Skipis, Solomos, Souris (not the Ῥωμηός, unfortunately), Valaorites and Xenopoulos. The copy of Cavafy, printed in Alexandria (1930), bears a signature on the title page which is probably the author's.

In concluding this description of the Cincinnati collection we may note that it has a number of Greek textbooks in various subjects—notably philosophy, some few theological treatises, and a variety of translations of foreign works in various fields (besides those already noted in history). It of course has sets of both the *Great Greek Encyclopaedia* and that of Eleutheroudakes. A notable recent acquisition was a set of most of the writings and translations of the Indologist, Demetrios Galanos. There is a complete set of the important series Ἐκδόσεις τοῦ Συλλόγου πρὸς Διάδοσιν Ὠφελίμων Βιβλίων.

Much remains to be done in the building up of Modern Greek collections in America that will meet the demands of scholars. Some notable beginnings have been made; and certainly Professors Blegen and Semple merit congratulations for having built up the Cincinnati collection to a point where it constitutes an admirable nucleus for an extensive research library. Their efforts have as yet received inade-

quate attention and appreciation and deserve to be supplemented and aided by American neohellenists and Hellenic or philhellenic organizations here and in Greece which are interested both in promoting Modern Greek studies in America and in increasing cultural relations and cultural bonds between America and Greece.[47]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

[47] We have not mentioned the library of some 3000 volumes (of course primarily theological) at the Greek Orthodox Theological School at Pomfret. Of private libraries in America we have been informed that Mr. Panayotis Charas of New York City has the largest and finest. Mr. M. Stathy Pandiri, also of New York, has a fine private library which is especially strong on legal subjects.

The important work in Medieval and Modern Greek philology and linguistics of Professor and Mrs. H. R. Kahane, who are now living in the United States, unfortunately came to our attention too late for extended notice. On their work in Europe cp. the notices and reviews in *Italica*, XVII (1940), 178-79, and *Language*, XVII (1941), 166-67. In this country Professor Kahane has published a brief notice, "The Project of the Mediterranean Linguistic Atlas," *Italica*, XVIII (1941), 33-36, while Mrs. Kahane's paper, "Some Sandhi Phenomena in Modern Greek," will appear in *Modern Language Notes* for January, 1942. Some etymological articles are ready or in the making, and a full-length study is in preparation which will be a broad presentation of Italian nautical terms in Medieval and Modern Greek.

The writer is painfully aware of the shortcomings and omissions of this survey and hopes that these may be remedied in future notices. In particular he intends to provide a fuller description of noteworthy collections—like those at Harvard, the Library of Congress, and the New York Public Library—which were inadequately treated here. He hopes further to undertake a survey of non-Greek materials pertinent to Modern Greece; these have, of course, been only incidentally noticed in this first survey. For valuable information received in the preparation of the present article the writer is grateful to Miss Jessie M. Whitehead and to Messrs. K. T. Argoe, E. C. Skarshaug, Alan W. Brown, M. J. Politis, Paul North Rice and Constantine Poulos.

WHY ANOTHER OPTATIVE DISSERTATION?

By MARTIN J. HIGGINS

The present paper is a plea for a new approach to the study of late literary Greek.

The literary language is the one branch of Byzantinism that even to the present day suffers under the eighteenth-century reproach of "decadence." It was the first to be stigmatized as "artificial," "stilted," "stagnant," and it is, perhaps for that very reason, the last to be vindicated. Scholars still view Byzantine Greek as the Decline and Fall of Greek. Ever since the pioneer work of W. Schmid, *Der Attizismus in seinen Hauptvertretern* (4 vols., Stuttgart, 1887-97), it is an axiom that a Philo or a Clement of Alexandria had only one aim, to speak and write like a second Plato or a reborn Demosthenes. Their works have been scrutinized with an unholy zeal to detect every slightest deviation from this sacred norm. The favorite subject for grammatical investigation exploited by I know not how many aspirants for the Ph. D., the use of the optative mood in any given author, is ample evidence of this prepossession, the obvious reason for the choice being that the optative mood was the "mummified" form par excellence, and so the unmistakable criterion of success or failure in reaching the ideal of Atticism. To take instances at random, Reik concludes that the syntax of Philo bears in many respects the stamp of artificiality and mannerism, stands often where one would not expect it, and is frequently not employed where Attic usage would demand it.[1] Scham speaks of Clement of Alexandria's "willkürliche Regellosigkeit."[2] To put their views crudely, both leave one with the impression that Philo and Clement, when preparing their manuscript for publication, noticed that they had left many a page without a single optative and immediately inserted a few for no other purpose than to sprinkle their text plentifully with this "ornament of a cultured style." In other words Reik and Scham saw plainly (what is discovered by anybody that has ever tried to read a fourth-century Father with the aid of a classical grammar) that the Atticists were not writing Attic. But one wonders why it never occurred to any student of the subject that they were not even trying to do so. The readiest explanation is that they were not thought capable of so much independence and their departures from the ordinary rules were consequently ascribed to ignorance or caprice.

[1] *Der Optativ bei Polybius und Philo von Alexandria* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 189.

[2] *Der Optativgebrauch bei Klemens von Alexandrien* (Paderborn, 1913), p. 165.

It is high time to abandon this attitude. It is as great an anachronism as Montesquieu's interpretation of Byzantine History. With its purely negative approach it could produce nothing and has produced nothing. Its whole findings contribute scarcely a single page toward a descriptive grammar of late literary Greek. How much insight into the classical language would scholars have gained if they had confined their studies to a comparison with Homer and their results to a mechanical tabulation of what was Homeric and what un-Homeric? Yet this is no more absurd than classifying the optative constructions in Philo as Attic or un-Attic.

There can be no hope of progress until the point of view has radically changed. Late literary Greek, if it is to be studied at all, must be studied in and for itself. Its modes of expression should be examined solely with a view to determining why they are employed and what they mean, without any reference to their agreement with the rules of Attic. This is the proper task of the science of language.

Sister Rose de Lima Henry of Seton Hill College has, under the writer's direction, adopted this new approach in a dissertation on the optative in Gregory Nazianzen shortly to be published. The procedure has led to satisfactory results. To cite but one example, she shows that the wishing optative, which for some unaccountable reason had been shunned by previous authors, was revived by Gregory and his contemporaries. This fact provides a crucial and decisive test of the basic postulate of modern views on the Atticists. If Gregory were trying to write Attic, if he had not the slightest concern for whether or not his congregation understood him, he would have turned to the classics for his model and aped their usage. Instead he went to the Septuagint. He employed the wishing optative in manner thoroughly familiar to his audience from constant recurrence in church services. Neither his hearers nor himself, I imagine, thought it any more archaic than the modern preacher's introducing a wish with 'May we, etc.' This construction never occurs in ordinary English conversation, yet so much at home is it in prayer and elevated prose that only on reflection does one realize its artificiality.

The one fact shows how little concern Gregory had for writing pure Attic. One may make the same observation about any other optative usage found in his works. Characteristic of his independence of classical rules is his employment of the optative after verbs expressing or implying *effort,* of which a detailed account is presented here.

In Gregory the only object clause with the optative after such verbs is an indirect question with the potential optative, sometimes accompanied by ἄν, and sometimes not. Conversely, the potential optative

in an indirect question occurs exclusively in object clauses dependent upon a verb of *effort*.[3] The effort is usually intellectual, not physical. The construction is found, (a) with verbs of *effort* proper, ζητέω, χρῄζω μαθεῖν, ἁμιλλάομαι, μηχανάομαι, ἀγών ἐστι; (b) with verbs of *baffled effort*, οὐκ οἶδα, οὐχ ὁράω, οὐκ ἔχω, οὐκ εὐπορέω; (c) with verbs of *consideration*, ὁράω, βλέπω, ποιέω τὸν λόγον, σκοπέω, λόγος ἐστί.

A. Examples of potential with ἄν: ζητήσας τί μέγιστον ἂν χαρισαίμην, *seeking the greatest favor that I could bestow*, 37, 80C; ζητῶν ὅπως ἂν ἀμειψαίμην, *seeking to repay*, 37, 233A; μαθεῖν χρῄζοντι πῶς ἂν τοῦ τελείου τις τύχοι, *craving to learn how one could attain perfection*, 37, 721; also, 35, 425A, 480B, 597B, 1013A; 36, 76B, 224A, 280A, 285B, 496A; 37, 48C.[4]

B. Examples of potential without ἄν: τοὺς δέ, ὅπως διορθωθεῖεν πταίσαντες, μηχανώμενος, *devising for others how if they should fall they could be corrected*, 35, 1125C; ἀγὼν δὲ ἀμφοτέροις, οὐχ ὅστις αὐτὸς τὸ πρωτεῖον ἔχοι, ἀλλ' ὅπως τῷ ἑτέρῳ τούτου παραχωρήσειεν, *the rivalry between both (of us) was not as to who could be first himself, but how he could yield this to the other*, 36, 521C; ὑμῖν μὲν ἔστιν ἄστεως ἑνὸς λόγος, καὶ τοῦθ' ὅπως μάχοιτο νυνὶ καὶ πλέον, *you take thought for only one city and that too, how it can become even more embroiled*, 37, 1140; also, 35, 1029B; 37, 881, 968, 1058, 1104, 1061.

Note with regard to all these examples that the leading verb expresses *effort*. With respect to those in *A*, the dependent clause is clearly an indirect question. The superficial resemblance of ὅπως ἄν in the second citation to the object clause familiar from Xenophon might at first incline one to classify it as final. But as Gregory freely interchanges with it interrogative pronouns and adverbs he evidently feels the particle as the indirect interrogative, not the introductory purpose particle. The same reasoning holds for the sentences in *B*; observe in the second example the paralleling of ὅπως with ὅστις. Furthermore, in Gregory the optative never occurs in prose in a final clause introduced by ὅπως. Consequently the optative here must be either oblique for a deliberate subjunctive or a potential without ἄν. It cannot represent the deliberative subjunctive in indirect discourse because it would presuppose, in the last example for instance, a delib-

[3] This and all subsequent statements about the existence or non-existence of optative usages in Gregory are derived from Henry's dissertation, which collects all instances of its occurrence in his complete works. As a matter of fact, it was from the data thus assembled that the present writer worked out the construction with verbs of *effort* to provide her with a model of the proper procedure.

[4] The references are to Migne's *Patr. Gr.*, volume and column.

erative subjunctive in the third person, an extremely rare construction in the independent sentence and non-existent in the dependent.[5] On the other hand, Gregory and all late writers employ the potential without ἄν freely. Finally no one could fail to be struck by the exact similarity of the second example in *B* with, for instance, πῶς δὲ οὐ λέγεις καὶ θέσεως εὐκαιρίαν, καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ὥσπερ ἁμιλλωμένας ποτέρας ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἡ πόλις, *why do you not mention also the natural advantages of the location, with land and sea vying as it were for the possession of the city?* 36, 224A. The two sentences differ only in the absence of ἄν, and many other such close resemblances could be given. In short, there can be no question of the nature of the optative in a clause dependent upon a verb of *effort* in Gregory; it is a potential optative, with or without ἄν, in an indirect question.[6]

In Gregory, as in Attic, the normal object clause with verbs of *effort* is ὅπως and the future indicative, but Attic also shows constructions with the optative: in both primary and secondary sequence the optative with ἄν in an indirect question,[7] the ordinary case with οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως;[8] in secondary sequence, the oblique optative in an indirect deliberative question, which is not uncommon, and the optative in a final clause introduced by ὅπως or ὡς, which is rarer. In addition, Xenophon employs in both sequences a final clause with ὅπως ἄν or ὡς ἄν, and in secondary sequence the future optative with ὅπως. The New Testament furnishes six instances of the indirect question with optative with ἄν,[9] three of which follow verbs of *effort*: Luke 9, 46, διαλογισμός, 'dispute'; Acts 5, 24; 10, 17, διαπορέω.

Gregory's usage differs from Attic first of all in the extreme specialization of his construction. Whereas the indirect question with potential optative may in classical writers depend upon any verb of *saying*, in Gregory it comes after verbs of *effort* exclusively. Again, it is the

[5] J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit*, Indogermanische Bibliothek (Heidelberg, 1907), pp. 365, 1; 563.

[6] In poetry Gregory introduces the object clause with ὡς, 37, 968, 1104; ὡς ἄν, 37, 857; ὥς κεν, 37, 629, 1269. Of these, 37, 857 and 1104 are undoubtedly indirect questions as they depend on οὐκ οἶδα and οὐκ ἔχω respectively. There is no reason, then, to suppose that the rest are final object clauses.

[7] For potential optative in indirect question, see H. Vandaele, *L'Optatif grec* (Paris, 1897), pp. 81, 86, 88-90; Kühner-Gerth, II, 536 ff.; Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, pp. 266 f.; Stahl, *Krit.-hist. Syntax*, p. 559, 4. For indirect deliberative, Vandaele, pp. 87-90; Kühner-Gerth, II, 538; Goodwin, pp. 265 ff.; Stahl, pp. 560 ff. For final object clause, Vandaele, pp. 126-31; Kühner-Gerth, pp. 372-77; Goodwin, pp. 122-27, 401-3; Stahl, pp. 569-74.

[8] Vandaele, pp. 91 ff.

[9] L. Radermacher, *Neutest. Grammatik*, Handb. z. Neuen Test., 1 (2nd ed., Tübingen, 1925), p. 165.

only optative expression that he permits with them. This is not a mere arbitrary selection from Xenophon's wealth but the result of a development that took place in the vernacular. In the course of the Hellenistic Age, the optative in final clauses and indirect discourse became very rare, whereas the potential still persisted though with diminished vigor.[10] As a natural consequence the optative in the indirect deliberative question and in the various purpose clauses disappeared as object of verbs of *effort* and nothing save the construction with the potential was left. In the New Testament there are but nine occurrences altogether of the optative with ἄν.[11] That three of these were elicited by their dependence upon verbs of *effort* is certainly a remarkable testimony to the affinity that the speakers of the Koine felt between the two. It is only a step to the even closer connection in which the indirect question with potential optative appears exclusively with these verbs. There can be no doubt that the expression reached this final stage in its evolution in the spoken idiom before the extinction of the optative. Thus it came into the written language and formed part of Gregory's literary inheritance.[12]

In both the wishing optative and object clauses with verbs of *effort,* then, Gregory's usage represents the last point in the development of the mood. This phenomenon suggests an altogether new hypothesis as to the nature of late literary Greek. It is now universally admitted that the optative did not vanish from the vernacular at the end of the classical period but lived on, though becoming ever more infrequent, even into New Testament times.[13] Throughout these centuries its syntax changed and naturally the written language kept pace with its development. Ultimately it died out of the spoken tongue altogether. The literary tradition, however, always lags behind the conversational idiom and preserves expressions that have long ceased to be heard in everyday speech. Presumably what happened to late Greek is that the Classicist Movement arose at just this moment in its history, and maintained the mood as it was then being used. The literary language froze, as it were, the grammar of the optative as it stood immediately before its final loss by the vernacular.

This theory is not only a very natural explanation but it also accounts best for the facts. The belief that the Classicists tried to resurrect Attic syntax came largely from the false notion that the optative was already extinct in the second century before Christ, and had to be *revived* in the second century after Christ. Whereas what

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 160-64.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[12] The omission of ἄν is not discussed here because it belongs to the syntax of the potential rather than the object clause.

[13] Radermacher, pp. 81 f.

actually happened was not a revival of a dead syntax, but the crystalization of a moribund syntax. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, the hypothesis that late literary Greek strove its utmost to be Attic never could explain why it was consistently so un-Attic. "After the victory of Classicism," writes Wilh. Schmid, "its adherents had new tasks for literature, to reclothe the matter of Hellenistic prose in the garment of classical speech, to fill the Hellenistic literary forms with new and up-to-date content likewise in the purest possible Attic, etc."[14] This statement is perhaps true if restricted to literary forms and vocabulary, but applied to syntax has led to the *reductio ad absurdum* that late Greek was "willkürliche Regellosigkeit." After all, this is but another way of saying that the usages of a Philo or a Eusebius cannot be classified under the rubrics of Attic grammar.

Yet this postulate has been adopted as the basis of all investigation of late literary Greek up to the present time. If it is wrong, as the above arguments tend to show, then the answer to the question, "Why another optative dissertation?" is obvious. If the literary usage of the third or fourth Christian century really enshrines the last stage in the evolution of the optative, then its study is every whit as important for the history of Greek as that of Homer's or Plato's. But it has far greater significance for the Byzantine scholar. Late Greek became the language of the medieval Empire. If this literary Koine was not, as has hitherto been believed, an artificial and mummified Attic, but the form of Greek spoken some three or four centuries after Xenophon, then it must be confessed that nothing is known of Byzantine Greek syntax at all. Its very existence has remained unrealized.

[14] *Wilhelm v. Christ's Gesch. d. griech. Litt.*, Handb. d. Alterthumswiss., VII, II, 2 (6th ed., Munich, 1924), p. 686.

THE LEGACY OF HENRI PIRENNE

By GRAY COWAN BOYCE

Mon unique but a été de chercher à comprendre et à expliquer,
Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, VII, viii.

Five years, five memorable years have passed since Henri Pirenne died at his home in Uccle on October 24, 1935. The world he knew, the one where he had worked with such distinguished success, is no more, and only the rash would attempt to describe what order will replace its outmoded forms. The termination of his long, brilliant career and the end of the old pattern of European life almost exactly coincide. Some might well say it is best that he did not live to see what surely would have been the shattering of his fondest hopes, the destruction of all he most cherished. Had he witnessed the change of scene, the domination of his beloved country by a foreign foe, his king a prisoner among his own people, his friends silenced or in exile, Pirenne would have suffered deeply and at his advanced age the blows would have been almost too much to bear. Yet it is with such thoughts in mind that one recalls the living Pirenne, the one who all his life faced the severest tests that can be placed in the path of any man. No matter how poignant, how shattering these were to mind and nerves, he ever faced their challenge boldly, with a clear, if not a tearless eye. Each year he grew in stature; each day endeared him more to all who knew him. It is, therefore, no cause for amazement that since his death his memory is revered not less for the supreme historian he was, but even more for the great man he came to be.

It is impossible to speak of Pirenne the historian without speaking of Pirenne the man, for the historian and the man were too definitely and inseparably blended to make any such distinction valid. That he was a great historian few would deny; but even the distinguished qualities of his scholarship might alone guarantee no niche in the hall of fame. On the other hand, it may be asserted with surety that his distinction as a man helps in many ways to explain his preeminence as an historian. In his time he had few equals, and even those whose attainments ranked them close to him modestly sought the aid of his discerning eye and the magic perceptiveness of his orderly, synthetic mind.

When time has passed and the historiography of our day is written in proper perspective, the name of Henri Pirenne will loom large among the list of his contemporaries and have a prominent place among

historians of all time. Many of these will have to look to their laurels for, great as they are, not many can be described, short of exaggeration, as "un savant complet":[1] a phrase once used by François Ganshof to characterize his beloved master and loyal friend. This was no mere indulgence in hyperbole, for Pirenne more than meets any fair test of what a scholar ought to be. At home with the Hellenes in their own tongue, he also knew well the sonorous periods of Ciceronian speech. The Latin of the charters and the oft-maligned Gregory of Tours was with him daily fare, while German was in all respects his second tongue. Flemish and English he read with ease and, when over fifty years of age, he added Russian as one of his many linguistic tools. His own native French he used with a facility and grace distinguishable even among those disciplined to employ its limitless possibilities as a means of expression. There was also the infinite variety of his historical scholarship. The complete list of his writings is easily available[2] and it is necessary only to recall here that these include works demanding the most rigorous scientific exactitude and those in which the broad sweep of general ideas holds sway. He found time in which to write hundreds of articles, compile bibliographical guides, produce studies in diplomatic, palaeography and linguistics, edit texts and conceive and complete synthetic works of the greatest magnitude and importance. It is no wonder, therefore, that his *Histoire de Belgique* has been acknowledged a model of what the history of a nation ought to be, and that his *Mahomet et Charlemagne* has upset the tranquillity of the historians' world. Back of the broad, sweeping panorama of the one and the challenging theories of the other, is the solid structure upon which all his work rests: the work of Pirenne linguist, palaeographer, diplomatist, bibliographer, editor, seeker after the smallest truth, then author of the composite account—in short, that of "le savant complet."

Looking at his work as a whole, we discern certain essentials that characterize it throughout. First, if one must choose, is the sound, rigorous method, as strictly scientific as the materials of the historian permit. Indeed, the essence of this superb methodology was in itself the truest art. This happy combination of the artist in Pirenne with the scientist he also was, explains in many ways the unique quality of his gifts. Then, too, there was his peculiar sensitivity for understanding elusive sociological phenomena—a gift not always possessed by

[1] François L. Ganshof, "Henri Pirenne," *Le Flambeau*, December, 1935, pp. 706-722.

[2] Cf. *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne par ses anciens élèves et ses amis*, Brussels, 1926, I, xxv-xxxix and *Henri Pirenne: Hommages et souvenirs*, Brussels, 1936, I, 145-164.

historians. Even those critics who have been most severe in their judgments when assessing the value of his explanation of sociological abstractions find little to challenge in his descriptions and analyses of sociological patterns, where his men are real and where he shows himself so *en rapport* with what they do. And what historian has so harmoniously combined in his writings and actions enlightened and ardent patriotism with fruitful internationalism? Pirenne knew his own Belgium, wrote her history, loved her deeply; yet he also understood that in order to be a good Belgian it was best to look beyond the narrow confines of her borders. Thus it was due largely to him that the International Historical Congress was revived after the Great War and to his continued work and constant support that many of its most effective undertakings were brought to completion. Finally, to read any of his writings, from the smallest monograph to the seven volumes of the *Histoire de Belgique*, is to be impressed at once by the breadth and profundity of his learning, by his faultless sense of style.

Although he never engaged professionally in the political life of the nation, Pirenne was one of the most influential figures in Belgian life. He knew and was known by men of all types and stations in life, and his advice was sought constantly by high and low alike. It is common knowledge that the late King Albert leaned heavily upon him for counsel and looked on him as a friend. Politicians recognized the weight of his name and his profound conviction that the Flemish national movement, in its more extreme manifestations, would do injury to Belgium as a whole made even some of its most outspoken protagonists pause before acting. To cite his name as authority in the Chamber of Deputies could give the lie to an opponent or, in any case, decidedly affect the course of a heated debate. His arrest and subsequent imprisonment in Germany ranked him with the heroes of the War and forever endeared him to the nation as a whole. It is easily understood, therefore, why *Pourquoi Pas*, the mordant Brussels humorous weekly, could blazon his caricature on its cover and imply naught but the highest of compliments, all the while making sport of the ridiculous results that would follow the juxtaposition of the title *le Baron* and the name Pirenne. Some, ran its argument, are created barons, but what can one do with Pirenne? He is already a noble *plus noble que les nobles*! The mere thought of adding a title to his name would cause anyone to laugh and Pirenne would be the first to see the joke. Few historians are accorded such attention from contemporary comic weeklies; when they are it is flattery of a high sort. In this instance the action of *Pourquoi Pas* merely reflected the deep affection felt by all Belgians for their great compatriot. It is, therefore, not surprising that the force of such a man did not cease with

his death. His death, in fact, seems to have spurred men to action and in their tributes to him and in his posthumous work which they have brought forth, the voice of Pirenne is still a challenge from beyond the grave.

Of his many accomplishments, one in which he took especial pride was the fact that he had founded his own school of historians, a group he named *l'École de Gand.* Through the efforts of François Ganshof, Étienne Sabbe and Fernand Vercauteren, some thirty members of this Ghent School published in 1937 a volume [3] of essays dedicated to the memory of their revered master. It was fitting, and somewhat exceptional, that such a tribute should be paid to the memory of one who had in life received the compliment of a *Festschrift.*[4] The memorial volume, if not more distinguished than the essays presented to him in 1926, does have the distinction of representing exclusively the work of those who had been trained by him at Ghent. Five of the contributors to this volume are American scholars. These memorial essays [5] deal with a wide range of topics, but on the whole they indicate a continued interest in many of the fields of history that had attracted the close attention of Pirenne himself—in particular, the history of the Lowlands, economic and social history of medieval Europe, and of medieval institutions. This volume of 1937, to be sure, may be described only indirectly as a "legacy" from Pirenne; yet it does establish the fact that the force of his character and the influence of his teachings are not likely suddenly to disappear.

Interest in Pirenne's career and the renown of his writings encouraged his editors to publish two volumes of *Hommages et Souvenirs* [6] in 1938. Here within the compass of 600 pages have been gathered the materials from which eventually an authoritative biography of this great historian may be written. The volumes contain descriptions of the man by those who knew him best, some of his own delightful *causeries* given to those who had gathered on exceptional occasions to do him honor, a chronology of his life, estimates of him as a writer, the record of tributes paid him in life and after death, a list of the students he had trained and of their publications, and, not least, many well-chosen photographs and illustrations that greatly increase the

[3] *Etudes d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne* par ses anciens élèves (Brussels, 1937), pp. ix + 502.

[4] Cf. note 2 *supra.*

[5] Cf. the reviews by R. Holtzmann, *Historische Zeitschrift,* CLVII (1938), 563-565; Robert Thomas, *Le Moyen Age,* July-September, 1938, pp. 195-205: and Carl Stephenson, *The American Historical Review,* XLIII: 4 (July, 1938), 833-835.

[6] *Henri Pirenne: Hommages et souvenirs,* Vols. I and II (Brussels, 1938), pp. 647.

permanent value of the books. This material might well be put in the hands of young, aspiring historians. Nothing could better inform them of what the historian can and ought to be. Indeed, any cultivated reader will draw inspiration from these pages and learn for himself wherein true greatness lies.

Important as these various publications are—and they are all of true worth—Pirenne's real legacy to the scholarly world was not apparent until the appearance in 1936 of his *Histoire de l'Europe des invasions au XVIe siècle* [7] and the publication of his long anticipated *Mahomet et Charlemagne* [8] in the following year. These books immediately attracted wide attention, went through many printings, and have both been put forth in English translations. Also, in 1939, there appeared a third, "slightly revised" printing of his well known *Medieval Cities.*[9] It is of these books that we must now speak at some length.

Standing in a class by itself *The History of Europe* is unique in plan, unique in origin and in the conditions under which it was actually composed, unique in the fact that it lay untouched for twenty years before again seeing the light of day, unique too in that Pirenne considered that in the long run it might prove to be his most enduring and important contribution to historical scholarship. As is widely known, Pirenne was a prisoner of war in Germany from March, 1916 until after the Armistice of 1918. It was primarily to overcome the vicissitudes of those trying days that he resolved to write the history of Europe from the age of the barbarian invasions to his own time. Actual work was started on January 31, 1917, two days after he took up his abode in the *Gasthof zum Stern* in the little Thuringian village of Kreuzburg an der Werra. In his own words the author tells how daily "à cinq heures, je me mettais à la rédaction d'un livre auquel j'avais souvent songé avant la guerre et dont je portais le plan dans ma tête. Je gagnais ainsi l'heure de souper." [10] In another place I

[7] (Paris and Brussels, 1936), pp. xiii + 492, translated into English by Bernard Miall as *A History of Europe from the Invasions to the XVI Century* (London and New York, 1939), pp. 624.

[8] (Paris and Brussels, 1937), pp. x + 264, translated into English by Bernard Miall as *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (London and New York, 1939), pp. 293.

[9] Translated from the French by Frank D. Halsey (Princeton, 1939), pp. xii + 253. [Mr. Halsey died on April 8, 1941, a few weeks after this essay was written.]

[10] In his introduction to the *History* Jacques Pirenne has briefly summarized his father's experiences as a prisoner. Those who have not read Pirenne's essay "Souvenirs de captivité en Allemagne" will find it most conveniently in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 6e série, LV (1920), 539-560; 829-858. The lines quoted above are on page 841. Pirenne witnessed the collapse of Germany from within and described historical events that transpired before his very eyes. Those who search here for invective or vindictive castigation of the Germans will be disappointed.

had occasion to speak of his accomplishment as a *consolatio historiae.*[11] I have as yet found no better term to describe it.

The Armistice brought the writing of the work to an abrupt end, and Pirenne laid down his pen when he was describing the age of Charles V and Luther. It is, of course, to be lamented that he never completed what he had first planned, but there is also cause for rejoicing since he did have his full say concerning the middle ages. More important still, he showed (I believe quite without awareness of what he was doing) the fallacies implicit in the too rigid periodization that had dominated most explanations of the course of European history. For his readers, Charles V and Luther come on the historical scene with no shock to the readers' senses and assume their ordered place in the course of events. There is no perceptible break between the sections on the middle ages and those where the essay takes up the story of more modern times. The essay—for such the work is in reality—is divided into nine books and these are each subdivided into three or four significant parts. Like a painter using broad strokes and great streaks of color, Pirenne relies upon a minimum of detail and draws his picture of European history by the use of vivid generalization and cogent analysis. As one critic [12] has said: "Er erzählt nicht, er erklärt." His main topics, in a sense the highlights on his canvas, are "The End of the Roman World in the West," "The Carolingian Epoch," "Feudal Europe," "The War of Investitures and the Crusade," "The Formation of the Bourgeoisie," "The Beginnings of the Western States," "The Hegemony of the Papacy and of France in the Thirteenth Century," "The European Crisis, 1300-1450," "The Renaissance and the Reformation."

The deficiencies evident in the *History* must not be weighted too heavily, and due credit given the brilliance of the achievement as a whole. But the book is not entirely perfect when judged by any sound standards of criticism. It was known that the work was worth publishing; therefore every care should have been taken by the editors to assure a finished product. This has not been done. The French edition, upon which the English editions are based, abounds in errors that could have been easily avoided with proper foresight and the proofreading has been carelessly performed. Of the English and American editions I shall speak later. One must not forget, however, that here we have a work which the author himself never revised; a work composed largely from memory, with few aids save the elementary *Handbücher* designed for German schools that he found at his disposal in

[11] *The American Historical Review*, XLIII: 3 (April, 1938), 587-588.
[12] Walther Kienast, *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLVII (1937), 528.

Kreuzburg. That the writer made mistakes in what was but a first draft of his manuscript is in no sense surprising; the wonder is that he made so few.

In the short section covering the earlier middle ages Pirenne is found exploring in a general way, rather cautiously on the whole, theories that he was to develop more boldly in his later studies. He has noted the profound differences separating antiquity and the middle ages, and he suggests, rather than asserts, that Islam explains them. The force of economic and social life serves as a *Leitmotiv* throughout the book and his explanation of the nature and importance of urban developments is found already well-formed in his mind. The plan of his work did not require him to explore widely topics primarily of interest to Byzantinists. They will discover, however, that the whole problem of Eastern European history has been expertly elucidated in several noteworthy sections of the book. Certainly his learning of Russian during the early days of captivity helped make him far more sensitive to the problems of Slavic lands than he might otherwise have been and aroused in him a greater enthusiasm for the history of eastern Europe than he had previously had. His section on "Slav States and Hungary" in Book VIII especially reflects this new interest and has been considered by many critics one of the finest parts of the essay.

When one considers the conditions under which the book was written, it seems remarkably temperate throughout. A careful reading of both the French and English editions has left no memory of bitterness nor tendentious interpretation that wartime conditions might excuse. I cannot, therefore, agree with Walther Kienast,[13] who finds the book full of anti-German sentiments. But it is not this alone for which he takes Pirenne to task. His criticism is not given in softened words, and he berates the author whom he erroneously accused of thinking "durch und durch rationalistisch und positivistisch."[14] He will have none of the Pirenne who writes of Charlemagne, "Like all those who have changed history, Charles did no more than accelerate the evolution which social and political needs had imposed upon his time. The part he played was so completely adapted to the new tendencies of his epoch that it is very difficult to distinguish how much of his work was personal to himself and how much it owed to the force of circumstances."[15] Here, and in so many other passages, he claims Pirenne denies credit to the individual, a serious accusation, if true. Confidence in the critic is not inspired when he explains that this "neglect of the individual" is a denial of *das Führerprinzip*!

[13] *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLVII (1937), 527-537.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 529.
[15] *History of Europe*, p. 80.

Nevertheless, if the bold strokes which the plan of the book demanded give the impression that Pirenne was an out and out determinist of the most materialistic sort,[16] it will be difficult to explain his expert handling, in quite an opposite way, of the many characters who live so vividly in the pages of the *Histoire de Belgique* and of his other works. Pirenne responded too readily and too sensitively to human emotions and actions to lose sight of the individual, and was noted for the remarkable, almost uncanny way in which he could convey to his readers the feeling of life, of the living, animate force back of all historical fact. Could any determinist be moved to speak so eloquently of the historian's experience, as Pirenne did on a memorable occasion, saying:

> Et puis, tous ceux qui connaissent les conditions du travail scientifique savent quelles joies on éprouve entre les quatres murs où l'on se confine, non pour s'isoler, mais pour jouir d'une vie plus intense. Comme par un périscope, on voit s'y refléter, à mesure que l'on sollicite les textes, les innombrables et passionantes images qu'ils révèlent à l'imagination. La solitude se peuple, le silence disparaît: tout parle et s'anime et il n'est pas de satisfaction comparable à celle que l'on ressent en voyant l'histoire vivre devant soi et en s'efforçant de la comprendre.[17]

Realizing how the essay was written and the extraordinary restrictions imposed upon its author, one remarks how little the book dates. Had Pirenne revised his own work he doubtless would have changed much that still stands as approved by him. It seems, therefore, rather unjust to have German critics complain that he has ignored German scholarship of the last twenty years, and Kienast goes entirely too far with his claim that German history was to Pirenne a closed book.[18] This smacks more of invective than care for scholarly accuracy. What lies in the background is Pirenne's unwillingness to accept as fact or recognize the implications of *Volkstum und Rasse*.

> In France [wrote Pirenne] the king enjoyed the same popularity which in England was enjoyed by the Parliament. In either country the national sentiment was in harmony with the political constitution, and the two developed simultaneously. In England the distinguished feature of this national

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[16] And I am in no way convinced that, correctly read, it does.

[17] *Le Flambeau*, XV (April, 1932), 433-434 and reprinted in *Henri Pirenne: Hommages et Souvenirs*, I, 48.

[18] How Pirenne's ideas concerning medieval Germany might be corrected or amplified is most obviously suggested by the following recent publications: Karl Hampe, *Das Hochmittelalter von 900 bis 1250* (Berlin, 1932); *Essays by German Historians*, translated with an introduction by Geoffrey Barraclough (Oxford, 1938 [*Studies in Mediaeval Germany*, Vol. II]); Gerd Tellenbach, *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites* (Leipzig, 1936), translated as *Church State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, by R. F. Bennett (Oxford, 1940 [*ibid.*, Vol. III]).

sentiment was pride, a pious respect for the monarchy. It gave each of these two peoples its individual character, its collective temperament, so to speak; the product of its historic evolution, which we shall strangely misconceive if we seek to explain it by that mysterious factor of race which can be made to justify anything because it explains nothing.[19]

Here, and in similar passages, the German critic chides Pirenne for seeing the greatness of France predestined in the stars—although it is apparent that a more terrestrial explanation is offered. Criticism of this sort loses much of its force when given by those who themselves seem often lost in the clouds of dubious abstractions proclaimed as eternal truths.[20]

With the *Mohammed and Charlemagne* we are confronted by a book of an entirely different genre. It is the elaboration, in final form, of theories that Pirenne had presented previously either in print or before various groups of his fellow historians. In a personal communication addressed to the writer he stated in April, 1932:

> Maintenant que mon *Histoire de Belgique* est terminée, je vais m'occuper d'écrire un livre sur l'influence de l'invasion musulmane, au viiie siècle, dans le bassin de la Mediterranée. Cela s'appellera *Mahomet et Charlemagne.* Vous savez qu'on discute beaucoup mes idées sur cette question. Je suis donc obligé de les exposer et de les justifier, par l'étude des sources. Ce sera un travail assez long mais extrêmement interéssant.

On May 4, 1935, at 10:30 a. m., he completed the task he had set for himself three years before. Twenty-four days later he left his desk, never to take up his pen again—but his last great work was done and lacked only the final revising and polishing he customarily gave everything he wrote. This he could not do, but his manuscript was placed in the hands of one of his most distinguished students, Fernand Vercauteren, who has edited it with scrupulous restraint and faithful respect for Pirenne's ideas. The manuscript could have been given to no one more competent to understand and carry to completion the original intent of the author.

This book is Pirenne's definitive answer to the age-old question: When did antiquity give way to the middle ages? Or, in other words,

[19] *History of Europe*, p. 360.

[20] In the light of his tirade against the *History of Europe* it is only just to point out that Kienast recognizes the stature of Pirenne. "Von diesem Buch," he writes, "das die Spuren seiner unglücklichen Entstehungszeit an der Stirne trägt, richtet sich der Blick zurück auf das Gesamtwerk des Toten, das in einsame Höhen ragt. Ein Fürst im Reiche der Geschichte ist dahingegangen. Es gab unter den Zeitgenossen keinen Grösseren und wenige seinesgleichen. Wir neigen uns seinem Andenken." *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLVII (1937), 537. Cf. also Marc Bloch, *Revue historique*, CLXXXII (April-June, 1938), 348-350 and Robert Latouche, *Le Moyen Age* (July-September, 1938), pp. 214-220.

when did the middle ages begin? The old explanation of a Rome weakened by internal discord and economic collapse, by attack from barbarian invaders, and by a church gnawing at its ever weakening vitality were for him only partial truths and not adequate explanations. With his keen perception of the significance of economic and social change, he examined more closely those facts which would explain how a Europe urban and commercial in many of its interests came to be characteristically one in which non-urban societies and a rural economy were to prevail. Whereas many saw strength and novelty in the new barbarian kingdoms of the fifth and sixth centuries, Pirenne discerned and emphasized not their unique developments, but the romanization to which they all succumbed. He excepted, of course, the Anglo-Saxon communities of England which were never under the dominance of Roman practice and ideal.

The work is divided into two parts: "Western Europe before Islam" and "Islam and the Carolingians." The first section of the essay depicts *Romania* before its tranquility was disturbed, and also the establishment and vicissitudes of the new Germanic kingdoms in the west. In brief, it is largely the story of the newcomer adopting and adapting himself to Roman ways, often seemingly forgetting so much of the old as to imply that he quickly lost all he brought from non-Roman lands. We must, however, remember the caution Marc Bloch has suggested and not impute to others what our own ignorance suggests but in no way proves. We know little, almost nothing, of what the barbarians brought with them in the way of cultural heritage and until we learn more all generalizations about them must be tentative. At least it is evident that *Romania* long held sway.

The important parts of the book, however, are those which follow, where Pirenne describes in memorable fashion the great contrasts he saw between Merovingian and Carolingian Frankland. Historians, he claims, too long have held to the false tradition that Frankish civilization could be treated as a unit, with Merovingian times represented as a bleak and confused period, whereas Carolingian times were one of renewed vitality and cultural advance lasting for a brief period before Europe plunged into the dark centuries of the feudal age. But for Pirenne the facts of his sources told a different story. The Merovingians, he found, patterned their government and their administration on the models of Rome. They profited from a continuous commercial activity of wide range which kept them in communication with, and made them a part of, the great Mediterranean world. Ships sailed the sea from east to west; gold was the medium of exchange; silks, spices and papyrus [21] were brought from afar.

[21] To supplement what Pirenne says of papyrus see Miss M. Deanesly's

This happy state of affairs came to an end following the death of Mohammed and with the rise of Islam. Here, for Pirenne, is the secret of Rome's fall. The *Mare Nostrum* was no more, for with the rapid expansion of Muslim power after the death of the Prophet, the Mediterranean became a Muslim lake and contact by sea between east and west was broken. In the west by the eighth century the Carolingian mayors of the palace had become kings in Frankland—but how different they were from a Clovis, a Chilperic or a Dagobert. Theirs was an inland kingdom, with little or no commerce, a dearth of foreign luxuries, and with gold no longer available. Even with Charlemagne himself, bearer of a fictitious Roman title, the elements representing Rome are but distant memories. To govern his kingdom he issued capitularies, his administration fell largely upon local nobles, and the real powers in his court were more and more clerics, no longer the lay officers of his Merovingian predecessors. In short, Charlemagne lived in a new world, one that had replaced the old world of Rome, and power in the west had shifted from its Mediterranean center in Italy to the regions of northern Frankland. Here, says Pirenne, is the beginning of the middle ages. It is a dull reader indeed who does not recognize the light of genius in the pages of this book, without a doubt a landmark in contemporary historiography.[22]

The theories and explanations of the *Mohammed and Charlemagne* have been challenged in many quarters—even, in part, by some of Pirenne's own students.[23] They have not, as yet, been demolished nor weakened to any appreciable degree. Some competent scholar, evaluating the criticism of many reviewers, may wish in time to revise the volume Pirenne left behind. Particular facts he may change, tentative explanations he may overthrow, but the basic theories upon which the book rests will probably remain. What have the Byzantinist and the Arabist to say of Pirenne's contentions? Can they not help

recent study, "Early English and Gallic Minsters," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, XXIII (1941), 25-69, espec. 26 ff.

[22] My remarks concerning the *Mohammed and Charlemagne* are adapted, with the kind permission of the editor, from my comments in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCVII (January, 1940), 240-242.

[23] Especially François L. Ganshof, "Notes sur les ports de Provence du VIIIe au Xe siècle," *Revue historique*, CLXXXIII (July-September, 1938), 28-37, H. Laurent, "Les travaux de M. Henri Pirenne sur la fin du monde antique et les débuts du moyen-âge," *Byzantion*, VII (1932), 495-509; Pierre Lambrechts, "Les idées de Henri Pirenne sur la fin du monde et les débuts du moyen-âge," *ibid.*, XIV (1939), 513-536; P. Rolland, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XVIII (1939), 163-168. Cf. the brilliant critique of some of these theories in a review of *Les villes du moyen âge* by Norman H. Baynes, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, XIX: 2 (1929), 224-235.

elucidate what he has explained from limited western sources? Surely they must have their say. Until they do the controversy aroused by the problems his theories have provoked must remain unsettled. New discoveries may destroy his facts, new theories controvert those he held, but in any case this last contribution from his pen will long proclaim him the master he was known to be.

The evaluation of what he has left in the way of a legacy would be incomplete without an additional statement concerning Pirenne in the hands of his translators. Here, of course, I refer only to the translations into English of his *Medieval Cities, The History of Europe* and the *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. The story is, unfortunately, not entirely a happy one and in part one that would have caused much chagrin, if not actual pain, had Pirenne been able to observe the fate of his work in its English form.

What has happened in this special case raises the whole question of the responsibilities owed an author by his translators and publishers. They are all, I would insist, but agents, necessary ones to be sure, in the transmission of the author's work, intact, as he meant it to be, to the reader who buys his books. They are expected to show reasonable care to carry out his ideas and to assume responsibility that the work they publish as his is in no way distorted—openly or surreptitiously—by the imposition of elements neither implicitly nor explicitly suggested by the author himself. Like the artist whose painting is framed and exhibited by another and whose indignation is rightfully aroused if he discovers any distortion of his own work by an alien hand, the author of a book should suffer no injury from changes he would not sanction or approve.

Medieval Cities,[24] translated by Frank D. Halsey, has been republished in more attractive and more dignified format than was used when the important little volume first appeared in 1925.[25] The trans-

[24] It is still a debatable question whether or not the French *Les villes du Moyen Âge* might be more accurately translated *Medieval Towns*. The title *Medieval Cities*, however, has become so closely identified with this work that only confusion would follow were such a change now made.

[25] The importance of this book is immeasurable. No volume of similar size has so affected medieval historical scholarship in many generations. Its argument explaining urban developments in Western Europe, so closely connected with that of the *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, has been challenged by many but in no way overthrown. The book was reviewed in every important journal and the major reactions and criticisms are easily found. Even Pirenne would admit the great amount of work to be done before his arguments can be irrefutably established. Regions which need to be more carefully explored than he himself could do are especially Southern France, Spain, Italy and many Germanic lands. Professor Carl Stephenson has brilliantly, though not without

lation has on the whole stood the test of time and now that a few unfortunate errors have been removed would more nearly satisfy the wishes of Pirenne himself. There are, however, certain questions which face the critic carefully examining this new printing. In his new foreword [26] Mr. Halsey mentions that the first French edition appeared in 1927,[27] two years after his own translation of Pirenne's work was published. He adds, also, that he has reread, "for the first time in fifteen years, the original French text." This is a simple statement, but not very clear when applied to the book. Is this "original" the manuscript from which his translation was first made, or the French edition of 1927? The answer is not apparent. However, it should now in any case be the French edition and comparison can only be made with that. There is little to criticize in the actual translation; however, in view of a possible reprinting, a few suggestions for minor changes may be noted. On page 22 read *negociantum* for *negotiantum*, pp. 27 and 36 Pepin the Short for Pepin le Bref, p. 86 William for Guglielmo, p. 131, n. 1 since for at, p. 234 Beghards for Bégards, and in the Index (a helpful addition in this revised printing), p. 250 Otto I for Otto and p. 251 *St. Womarus* for *St. Womari* (the genitive cannot stand alone, and belongs to *Miracula*, p. 144). Mr. Halsey has omitted all footnotes of the first edition that were mere references, but has retained those that include comment by the author on points raised in the text. In a new printing these should be expanded to coincide with the corresponding notes and additional ones of similar character in the French edition, where Pirenne often extended what he had first written in the original text from which the English translation was made. Mr. Halsey has performed his task with care and thousands of English readers, for whom the French copy is a closed book, are the richer for what he has done.

It is, regrettably, not possible to speak so highly of the translations made by Mr. Miall. These are translations of books the importance of which is unquestioned and both publisher and translator should have speared no effort to make them as faultless as was possible. Many reviewers and interested readers remarked that the French text of the *History of Europe* had been carelessly edited, and the writer had

challenge, examined the English sources in his *Borough and Town: A Study of Urban Origins in England*, Cambridge, Mass., 1933 [Mediaeval Academy of American Monographs, No. 7] and Professor Archibald Ross Lewis lends support to Pirenne's contentions in his unpublished doctoral thesis *Montpellier and Its Institutions to 1294*, 1940 (typewritten manuscript in the Princeton University Library).

[26] P. xi.

[27] Now republished in French in *Les villes et les institutions urbaines*, I, 303-431. Cf. note 29 *infra*.

occasion to urge responsible parties to see that any translation was either entrusted to or rechecked by a competent historian. This advice went unheeded. The translation as it now stands not only reproduces, but amplifies, the errors of the original. There is no doubt that Mr. Miall knows his French and his English, but in the *History of Europe* and in the *Mohammed and Charlemagne* he occasionally confuses his English reader by lapsing into a French rather than an English idiom. The chief criticism arises, however, from the fact that he does not sense instinctively the import of the matter he is translating and, unable to think historically, he confuses his English reader by indiscriminately transposing or not transposing into English the names of persons and places found in the French text. The *Mahomet et Charlemagne,* expertly edited by Fernand Vercauteren, was practically free from error; its English version did not fare so well. Here, publisher and translator carelessly mutilated many of the notes in the critical apparatus that had to be included. Unintentional as this was, carelessness is an unfortunate fact, not a valid excuse.[28]

[28] Here I give only the corrections suggested for the English texts of the *History of Europe* and *Mohammed and Charlemagne.* It is not necessary, I believe, to reproduce also the errors to be rectified. The corrections for the *History* are drawn only from parts of the volume I had occasion to read when discussing these sections with students. A re-reading of the remaining parts would add, I fear, to this list of corrections, already too long.

Corrections. A History of Europe: Title page, University of Ghent; 83, l. 31, Moravia; 125, last line, probably 850; 126, l. 8, 884; 164, l. 32, 966; 187, l. 27, (1122); 187, ll. 30-32, "In Germany . . . before consecration," translation is clumsy; 236, ll. 13-14, the former . . . the latter; 247, l. 35, 17th; 250, l. 9, Odericus Vitalis; 256, l. 7, Thomas Becket; 258, l. 19, Innocent III; 263, l. 13 and 265, l. 2, Denis; 269, ll. 14-15, a treaty of alliance; 270, l. 24, Frederick of Hohenstaufen; 280, l. 8, burghers.—This word is used throughout in the French form and should read burghers, middle class(es)—as the context demands; 280, l. 9, 1792; 284, l. 34, factions; 285, l. 11, cession; 287, ll. 1-5, Translation not smooth. Punctuation obviously faulty; 292, l. 36, Gratian; 294, l. 10, Innocent II; 297, l. 29, delete etc.; 302, l. 34, The Fifth (1218), enthusiastically etc.; 306, l. 13, *échevins* (in original text cannot be translated as sheriffs. Use aldermen, or judges—where context indicates. Correct also p. 364, n. 1); 308, l. 24, Perhaps 'sustenance' or merely 'food' instead of 'aliment'; 309, l. 5, Ghent; 309, l. 20, the expression . . . is a synonym; 313, l. 4, Conrad III; 314, l. 20, 1232; 317-318, Henry Raspe; 321, l. 24, 1232; 322, l. 8, Raspe; 323, l. 30, Raspe; 326, l. 10, Brandenburg; 329, l. 27; 330, l. 23; 331, l. 13, Lübeck; 331, l. 13, Münster; 333, l. 21, delete Brittany; 334, l. 33, eccentric, better spelling; 336, ll. 32-36, translation could be smoothed out; 338, l. 30, by providing for the right of appeal(?); 339, ll. 17-18, criteria of his foreign policy; 344, l. 32, not exactly English; 344, ll. 33-34, Makes little sense. Put comma after Sicily and omit second *and*; 350, l. 7, Wolfram von Eschenbach; 350, l. 36, Villard de Honnecourt; 351, l. 18, ambiguous phrase. Would

It is necessary here, by way of conclusion, to call attention to a plan to bring out in uniform size various writings Pirenne had published separately or in widely scattered journals. Many of these studies are now out of print or difficult to acquire. These *Œuvres de Henri Pirenne* are to be in nine volumes. The first two have been published [29]

'intellectual' be better than 'scientific'?; 352, l. 6, John of Osnabrück; 352, l. 16, Siger; 359, l. 16, delete 'the' in 'the English policy'; 363, l. 18, Ghent; 363, l. 34, original has 'le peuple,' which here means 'towards the lower orders,' or something of the sort; 364, l. 3, Ghent; 366, l. 15, Adolph.

Mohammed and Charlemagne: Title page, University of Ghent; 20, n. 2, l. 2, histoire générale; 29, l. 27, Aëtius; 35, n. 2, l. 2, en-ville et en-court; 46, n. 3, l. 2, and 48, n. 6, l. 2, für; 49, n. 3, l. 2, économique; 51, n. 1, l. 2, évolution; 61, n. 2, l. 3, fränkische; 61, n. 3, l'église; 77, l. 5, Le Mans; 77, n. 1, l. 1, ecclésiastique; *id.*, romaine; 80, n. 1, l. 1, Charlesworth; 80, n. 2, l. 1, Geschichte; *id.*, l. 3, Bréhier (and throughout the book. Other cases of this name with accent omitted not cited); 80, n. 3, l. 2, à l'époque; 82, n. 4, L'Église; 86, n. 6, Encyclopädie; 98, l. 8, Ghent; 98, n. 1, l. 5, cujus; 98, n. 4, l. 2, étude; 99, l. 7, Mâcon; 99, n. 2, l. 3, Insert comma before Vienna; *id.*, l. 5, Set Fribourg in Roman, not italic letters; 100, n. 1, l. 3, étude; 114, n. 1, l. 1, à l'époque; 121, l. 28, Brunehaut (but use Brunhilda in English); 126, n. 1, épiscopaux; 128, n. 3, l. 1, à Alcuin; 130, n. 1, l. 4, l'époque; 135, n. 6, l. 3, Académie; 138, n. 2, l. 1, à l'époque; *id.*, l. 2, bénédictine; 147, n. 1, original text calls it translation, but change to *edition*—for it is not exactly a translation. 148, l. 28, Chosroës; 157, l. 4, Nîmes; 157, n. 4, l. 8, Mühlbacher; 158, l. 24, 811; 158, n. 2, Kohl; 160, l. 12, Leo III; 161, l. 12, St. Peter; 161, n. 6, Regesta; 164, n. 1, l. 5, Bédier; 169, l. 6, Eichstätt(?); 170-171, n. 3, l. 19, Guérard; 180, n. 1, l. 2, Mélanges; 191, l. 13, l. 33, and 195, l. 15, Brunhilda; 195, l. 31, They show; 196, l. 7, Périgueux; 197, l. 19, d. 655; 200, l. 12, l. 21; 201, l. 6, l. 13, Léger; 203, l. 8, Duurstede; 204, l. 17, Carlum; 205, n. 4, l. 2, at Ghent; 208, l. 25, autonomous duchies; 208, l. 28, Chèvremont; 214, l. 34; 215, l. 6, l. 26, Constans II; 219, l. 12, install; n. 1, Regesta; 223, l. 16, Würzburg; 225, l. 16, Monte Cassino; 226, l. 25, l. 26; 227, l. 1, 19; 228, l. 6, l. 8, l. 10, l. 16, Desiderius; 228, l. 7; l. 22, 231, l. 1, Hadrian; 234, n. 3, ll. 5-7, not italic type; 238, n. 1, l. 1, für; 238, n. 2, l. 5, Ghent; 238, n. 4, l. 1, étude; *id.*, l. 7, Mélanges; 239, n. 2, l. 1, étude; 239, n. 4, l. 2, für; 249, l. 15, Dauphiny; 249, l. 18, William; 252, l. 13, and l. 19, Cluses; 252, n. 4, l. 4, études; 254, l. 15, Pîtres; 254, n. 3, Stabulensis(?); 255, l. 3, Ghent; 255, l. 15, Châlons; 256, n. 1, l. 1, Dopsch; 258, n. 2, l. 1, des routes et des pays, n. 5, l. 1, Léon; 261, l. 16, Ghent; 262, n. 1, l. 1, établissements; 262, n. 2, l. 2, à G. Monod; 264, l. 16, corvées; 271, n. 1, l. 1, Brunhilda; 272, l. 25, regis; 276, n. 1, l. 1, laïques à; *id.*, l. 2, bénédictine; 278, l. 22, Hadrian; 281, n. 5, l. 1, Köhler; 282, l. 7, Rabanus Maurus; 282, l. 9, Agobard (Archbishop of Lyons); 282, l. 10, Paschasius, Radbertus, Ratramnus, Milo; 282, l. 13, Prudentius (Bishop of Troyes), Bertharius (Abbot of M. C.); 282, l. 28, *échevins* (aldermen, judges?); 283, l. 1, Le Mans; *Index*: 287, Aëtius; Brunhilda; 288, capitula episcoporum, Cluses, Constans II, 153, 214, Council of Mâcon, Desiderius; 289, Eugippius; 291, Pîtres; 293, Vercauteren, F.

[29] Henri Pirenne, *Les villes et les institutions urbaines*, Tome I et II (Paris and Brussels, 1939), pp. vii + 431, 298.

and one can only hope that conditions will eventually prevail that will permit the editors to carry out their initial plan.

To reflect on Pirenne's life and work, his obvious attainments and personal distinction, leaves one in no way surprised that his death so profoundly touched his friends and left its deep mark on historical scholarship. All now realize how truly the Oxford orator spoke when saying of him:[30] "cum ipse academicorum hominum optimum sit specimen," and how Paul Hymans's cogent characterization, "Il restera un maître et un exemple,"[31] aptly summarized the essence of his power! Few men would ask for greater praise.

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[30] *Hommages et souvenirs*, II, 406.
[31] *Ibid.*, 427.

BOOK REVIEWS

CONSTANTINE I. AMANTOS, Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους: Τόμος Πρῶτος, *395-867 M. X.* Athens, 1939. Pp. xvi + 494.

"The modern Greeks," wrote George Finlay in 1855, "turn with aversion from the study of their own history."[1] Finlay referred especially to the disinterestedness of the Greeks in their medieval tradition. Indeed, influenced by the scepticism and anti-clericalism of the eighteenth century, the intellectual leaders of the Greek revival of the early nineteenth century turned away from their medieval tradition and sought their inspiration in classical antiquity. Byzantium at the most was a burden to be explained away, while the true heritage of the Greek people was to be sought in ancient Hellas. Thus hundreds of years of Greek history, years of utmost significance for the Greek people, were cast into oblivion, and the Greeks "struggled," as their national historian, Paparregopoulo, puts it, "to remain alone, among the peoples of the Near East, without an historical tradition."[2]

This neglect of medieval Greek history by the Greeks themselves could not last long, for a people cannot dissociate itself from its tradition, especially when that tradition is great as is the case of that of the Greeks. Not long after Finlay charged the Greeks with disinterestedness in their history Paparregopoulo offered to them the first great account of their entire past with special emphasis on that of the middle ages. He was followed by others, such as Lambros and Andreades, who made further and important contributions to the knowledge of medieval Greek history. Now, another Greek scholar, Professor Constantine I. Amantos of the University of Athens, a serious student of the Greek middle ages, offers to the public the first volume of a new history of Byzantium, based on the original sources and the works of numerous scholars, notably those of Andreades, Bury, Diehl, Dölger, Grégoire, Ostrogorsky, Stein as well as the author's own researches.

The work of Professor Amantos covers the period from 395 to 867, from the time of the death of Theodosius I to the accession of the Macedonian dynasty. But in reality the period covered is longer, for the author includes in his account an analysis of the fourth century as a whole, signaling out those factors whose coalescence lead to the

[1] George Finlay, *A History of Greece*, edited by H. F. Tozer (Oxford, 1876), 1, xvi.

[2] K. Paparregopoulo, Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, edited by P. Karolides (Athens, 1932), 3: ζ'.

formation of the Byzantine empire. Among the significant events of the fourth century he signals out the triumph of Christianity; the invasion of the Germanic and the Asiatic peoples, with particular emphasis on the latter; the establishment of Constantinople; and the absorption of Greek culture by Christianity. The foundations of the Byzantine empire were really laid in the fourth century.

Of the eleven chapters into which the book is divided the first two are devoted to general considerations. Included in the first chapter are: an analysis of the significant events of the fourth century; a discussion concerning the division of Byzantine history into certain distinct periods; and a description of the geographical and ethnological situation of the empire at the end of the fourth century. Professor Amantos, following Bratianu, divides Byzantine history into three periods: (1) From the death of Theodosius I to the death of Heraclius (395-641), a period of transition during which the fundamentals of Byzantine civilization were laid down and the way was prepared for the complete hellenization of the empire; (2) from the death of Heraclius to the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders (641-1204), the truly Byzantine period of the empire. The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 and not the battle of Manzikert in 1071 marks the end of this period, for "without the capture of Constantinople by the Franks and without the hatred of the West, the East perhaps might have been saved" (p. 7). The third period covers the years between 1204 and 1453. There is no longer a Byzantine empire. The former lands of the empire are broken up into a number of Greek, Latin, Slavic, and Turkish states until finally they are absorbed to form the Ottoman empire.

In the second chapter the author analyzes the compound elements of Byzantine history. In Christianity, the church, and the spread of monasticism he sees the influence of the orient. "The church may be considered," he says, "as the oriental, Asiatic element in the history of Byzantium. If the population of Byzantium was only European Greek, neither the monastic life nor the heresies would have created the problems which they created in the East" (p. 38). But Professor Amantos is not antagonistic to the church. He is fully cognizant of the services which it rendered to society. One of the most original parts of the book are the pages devoted to the philanthropic activities of the church. "Byzantium," he says, "is the first state which, through the church, organized a wonderful system of charity" (p. 36).

Rome also made its contributions. The name of the empire itself as well as that of its subjects were derived from her. The empire was called Roman and its subjects Romans, not Greek or Byzantines. They were indeed Roman. Roman also was the constitution, the administrative system, the official language (to the end of the sixth century),

and the law of the empire. But these institutions had been transmitted to Constantinople not unaffected by oriental influences. Even before the triumph of Christianity, the oriental idea of the divine origin of imperial power had made important gains; with Christianity it became the official view, and was expressed institutionally through the coronation of the emperor by the patriarch. The reviewer was happy to learn that Professor Amantos agrees with him on the significance of the coronation by the patriarch. "The coronation of the emperor by the patriarch of Constantinople," he writes, "shows the significance of the Church" (p. 107).

The third important element in the history of Byzantium was hellenism. The population, especially after the middle of the seventh century, was largely Greek or hellenized. Greek was the language of education, of literature, of commerce, and, beginning with the seventh century, of the State. The cultural background was Greek, not Latin; and the theologians of the fourth century turned to the Greek writers for their language and much of their inspiration. "We shall not understand at all the history of Byzantium," writes Professor Amantos, "if we should forget that the Gospel, the liturgy, the poetry of the church, and the theology were written in Greek and exerted an influence in the Byzantine state" (p. 56). The use of the classical authors by the great Church Fathers of the fourth century saved the great Greek classics for the world. They were preserved, copied, studied and imitated. In the one field of literature in which the Byzantines excelled, history, the influence of the classical Greek historians is apparent. But Professor Amantos might have added that Greek ideas, like Roman political institutions, were affected by the oriental influences, and only the mystical aspects of Greek thought had any vital affect upon the Byzantine mind. The works of classical authors were chiefly studied for their language and form, and that explains the archaism and obscuratism of the learned Byzantine writers. He should also have added that other ethnic elements, especially the Armenian, played a very important rôle in the history of Byzantium.

Included also in the second chapter of the work of Professor Amantos is a section on the economic life of the empire. The power of the empire lay in its economic strength. From commerce, industry, agriculture the revenues derived were great, and in the *solidus* the empire possessed a medium of exchange accepted everywhere. "The Byzantine empire," writes Professor Amantos, "occupied a special geographical position and was able to exploit economically both Asia and Europe and that part of Africa which bordered on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. No other state during the middle ages, until at least the twelfth century, could have had as many revenues

as did Byzantium. What were these revenues we cannot with certainty determine, but we may be sure that they were huge" (p. 68). Professor Amantos refers to Andreades who estimated the annual revenue of Byzantim at no less than about thirteen million *solidi*,[3] but fails to point out that this estimate has been challenged by Stein who himself puts it at eight million,[4] a figure accepted also by Ostrogorsky.[5] Whatever the annual revenue of the empire may have been, there can be no doubt that its political strength lay in its economic power. It was no mere accident that its political decline began with the granting of commercial privileges to foreigners which enabled them to control and exploit for their own advantage its economic life.

The major part of the book deals with the political life of the empire both internal and external, including the political implications of the close union between the state and the church. A chapter is devoted to each of the five major dynasties that held the Byzantine throne from the death of Theodosius I in 395 to the assassination of Michael III in 867. A chapter on the cultural aspects of the empire during the fourth and fifth centuries, another one on the critical period between the death of Justin II and the accession of Heraclius, and a third on the political situation in both East and West at the beginning of the ninth century complete the contents of the book.

Like many of the recent students of the history of Byzantium, Professor Amantos attaches considerable importance to the work of the emperors of the fifth century. With one or two exceptions they were able men or were served by able subordinates. They have been overshadowed by the brilliance of the reign of Justinian, but it was their work that made the latter possible. They weathered the storm of the barbarian invasions, effected important reforms, sought to conserve the financial resources of the state (this is especially true of Marcian and Anastasius), and on the whole followed an eastern policy. If they failed to solve the Monophysite controversy that was because monophysitism was more than a religious problem. Behind it lay the reviving cultural traditions of the Semitic elements of the empire, and the hatred of the latter against Constantinople (pp. 117, 150). Anastasius I is justly considered by Professor Amantos as one of the ablest emperors of the empire, whose policy was designed to serve "the true interests of the eastern church and the eastern empire" (p. 152).

[3] A. Andreades, "Le montant du budget de l'empire byzantin," *Oeuvres* (Athens, 1938), I, 478.

[4] Ernst Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 141, and again in his review of the article of Andreades in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIV (Leipzig, 1924), 377 ff.

[5] *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 756.

Professor Amantos acknowledges the brilliance of the reign of Justinian in art and law, but he is critical of Justinian's imperialistic policy, a policy motivated purely by the personal feelings of the emperor and designed to satisfy his vain ambitions rather than to serve the interests of the empire. The net result of this ambitious and extravagant policy was the ruination of Italy, and the devastation of the European provinces by the barbarians of the north, and of the Asiatic provinces by the Persians. Professor Amantos rejects by implication the statement of Charles Diehl, made in defense of the policy of Justinian, "that we must not expect from the great men of history not to have the political opinions of their times, and it is unreasonable to accuse them because they were not able to foresee the more distant future."[6] Professor Amantos is right, for the essence of statesmanship is the ability to judge the issues of the immediate present and on the basis of that judgment to foresee what may happen in the more distant future.

Interesting also is the opinion of Professor Amantos of the period between the death of Justinian and the accession of Heraclius (565-610). Vasiliev writes of this period that it was "one of the most cheerless periods in Byzantine history, when anarchy, poverty and plagues raged throughout the empire,"[7] and before him Finlay had declared that "there is perhaps no period of history in which society was so universally in a state of demoralization."[8] Professor Amantos holds these views to be gross exaggeration and refers to the great military victories of the Byzantines against the Persians in 575 (the battle of Melitene) and in 591, and against the Avars in 601 (the battle of Tissos) in support of his opinion. He offers no defense, however, for the reign of Phocas.

The reign of Heraclius is summarized in the following term: "Under Heraclius Byzantium achieved its greatest military exploits until then (395-641) which remind one of Alexander the great, but suffered also its greatest losses." "Those losses rendered Byzantium more Greek, because they left to it those provinces inhabited largely by Greek or hellenized elements" (p. 320). Professor Amantos agrees with Iorga that this period saw the birth of the Greek empire.[9] Following Vasiliev, he attributes the easy successes of the Arabs to the religious situation in the eastern provinces, and holds that the loss of these provinces, by eliminating the Monophysite controversy, facili-

[6] C. Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VIe siècle* (Paris, 1901), p. 661.

[7] A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I (Madison, 1927), 205.

[8] Finlay, *op. cit.*, I, 298.

[9] N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest, 1934), I, 294.

tated the religious and, through it, the political union of the empire. "The unity of religion strengthens the union of the state" (p. 319). His view, however, that the lands conquered by the Mohammedans were barbarized completely cannot be supported and must be dismissed with understanding as coming from a Greek patriot. A more just view in this connection was expressed by another Greek scholar, Ch. A. Nomikos, in his *Introduction to the History of the Arabs, 570-750 A. D.*[10]

Like Paparregopoulo, Professor Amantos shows enthusiasm for the Isaurian emperors whose Isaurian origin he does not doubt. Their energy and ability saved the empire from its external enemies; their internal reforms sought to introduce in it new life and vitality. Iconoclasm was but one phase of the complex reform activities of these emperors, whose primary purpose was the strengthening of the empire. Professor Amantos writes about Leo III: "An emperor who with difficulty had saved the empire from the Arabs, and to do this required the help of the Bulgars, desired to concentrate all the resources of the empire, military and economic, in order to serve its needs. This soldier must have felt great enmity toward the monks and those citizens who were indifferent to the dangers from the Arabs and yet laid claims on the state. The struggle against the icons . . . was a struggle against the monks." "Leo, therefore, thought more generally when he raised the issue of iconoclasm" (pp. 349 ff.).

The legislative work of the Isaurians was another phase of the general reform activities of these emperors. Professor Amantos is aware that the legislative codes attributed to Leo III and Constantine V may not have been issued by them, and points out that further study is necessary, but he concludes: "It is impossible that a soldier, austere and restless such as Leo, occupied himself only with iconoclasm and the *Ecloga*. He sought surely by means of severe legislation to safeguard commerce, agriculture and cattle raising, and to secure military discipline" (p. 360). It was then Leo III who must have issued the Maritime Law, the Rural Code and the Military Law.

But all the Isaurians were not able and strong or wise statesmen. Leo IV was weak and ineffective, while Constantine VI was young and inexperienced. "Irene was a strong woman, of a manly character, ambitious to a degree which dissolved the motherly and womanly sentiments" (p. 373). "She harmed Byzantium in many ways" (p. 381). Of the immediate successors of the Isaurians Nicephorus I and Leo V the Armenian were the ablest. Nicephorus was a good administrator and might have become one of the great emperors if he had greater military ability. "Leo the Armenian was not only an able

[10] Ch. Nomikos, Εἰσαγωγὴ στὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀράβων (Alexandria, 1927).

general, but also an able statesman" (p. 412). The last war between Krum and Nicephorus is described on the basis of a new source, first discovered and published by the Bulgarian scholar Ivan Dujčev, but reedited with greater accuracy by Henri Grégoire.[11]

It is interesting to note the view of Professor Amantos concerning the imperial status of Charles the Great. After stating that the Byzantine ambassador sent to Aachen in 812 acclaimed Charles as emperor, he continues: "The latter and his successors are called simply emperors by the grace of God and it seems that it was agreed to modify the original title to exclude the mention of the Roman empire (*romanum gubernans imperium*)" (p. 391). Thus the Byzantines, according to Amantos, did not acknowledge Charles as emperor of the Roman empire. In support of this view he might have pointed out the significant fact that "emperor of the Romans" as a part of the imperial title in Byzantium came into general use with Michael I, whose ambassadors had acclaimed Charlemagne emperor. This must be interpreted to mean that while the Byzantines might grant the title of emperor to others, they alone were the emperors of the Romans.

On the basis of recent researches, notably those of Henri Grégoire, Professor Amantos attaches new importance and significance of its own to the period of the Amorian dynasty, especially the reign of Michael III. The accomplishments of this reign were many: the solution of the iconoclastic controversy; the propagation of Christianity among the Bulgars and Slavs; the defeat of the Arabs in Asia Minor; the promotion of learning. Professor Amantos concludes: "The period during which flourished generals and statesmen such as Petronas, Nicetas Ooryphas, Bardas, spiritual guides such as Leo the Mathematician, and above all, Photius, apostles of Christianity such as Cyril and Methodius, is not a period of corruption as the historians of the dynasty of Basil I have sought to depict it, but worthy at least of greater attention" (p. 457).

Professor Amantos accepts the results of the researches of Dvornik concerning the schism of Photius. He writes: "Recent researches, therefore, especially the works of Dvorník, have shown that Photius was not at all provoking and contentious, like Pope Nicholas I, and Pope John VIII ratified the acts of Photius, righted the wrongs of his predecessors and reestablished the relations between the East and West" (p. 451).

A policy consistently pursued by the Byzantines was the transplanting of various peoples from one region of the empire to another in

[11] H. Grégoire, "Un nouveau fragment du 'Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio,'" *Byzantion*, XI (1936) 417 ff.

order to break down local resistance or to strengthen the frontiers against the barbarians. No systematic and special study has yet been made of these transfers, but scattered here and there in the history of Professor Amantos there are many references to them. Thus Justinian II removed numerous Slavs from Macedonia and settled them in Asia Minor; he also settled some Cypriotes in Thrace about the Hellespont. The same emperor removed the Mardaites, who, according to Amantos, were Greek, not Syrian in origin as Diehl contends, from the Taurus regions to the interior of Asia Minor, a disastrous act, for it left the frontiers open to the razzias of the Arabs. In 751 Constantine V settled numerous Armenians in Thrace along the Bulgarian frontiers as a bulwark against the Bulgarians. The same emperor moved many Greeks to Constantinople whose population had been depleted by the terrible plague of 747. He also transferred to Bithynia many Slavs, estimated by the Byzantine chronicler, Nicephorus, perhaps not without exaggeration, at 208,000. A similar course was followed by Nicephorus I who settled many elements from Asia Minor along the Bulgarian frontiers replacing them with Slavs from Thrace.

Quite naturally Professor Amantos does not accept Fallmerayer's theory that Greece was completely slavonized and offers an interesting explanation of those passages of the Byzantine writers on which Fallmerayer had based his conclusions. On Menander's reference to the Slavs in Greece he writes: "By Greece the archaist Menander means the Byzantine regions up to the Danube, including modern Bulgaria" (pp. 281 ff.). It is thus also that he explains the passage in Evagrius and refers to Theophanes, who, writing about the same incident, uses the term Illyricum where Menander and Evagrius have Greece, in support of his view. He denies, therefore, that there were any Slav colonies in Greece in the sixth century, and maintains that the Slavs came in the eighth century. These Slavs were chiefly nomads and shepherds, and did not settle in definite localities, but kept migrating, which explains the existence of the many Slavic toponyms in Greece. This is hardly reasonable: a migrating tribe usually leaves behind few permanent markings. The Slavs that came, Professor Amantos further holds, must have been comparatively few, for if they had come in multitudes they would have imposed their rule and language. Their fewness, therefore, and not their systematic settlement by the Byzantine authorities, as Vasiliev and Dvorník have maintained, explain their absorption and hellenization. If Professor Amantos had accepted the view that there were Slav colonies in Greece as early as the sixth century, he would have been closer to the truth.

The book is remarkably free from errors. The few that have been noticed are typographical and not due to ignorance. Macedonius did not crown Anastasius (p. 42); Hypatia was attacked by the Christians,

not by the pagans (p. 100); the Acacian Schism did not last till 528 (p. 135); Illyricum did not entirely side with Constantinople during the Acacian Schism (p. 170). The book is completed by an index. There is also a good bibliography.

Professor Amantos has produced a very good book. It is hoped that he will be able to finish his work.

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AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages.* London: Methuen & Co., 1938. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 604, with 2 colored and 8 monotone plates and 4 maps.

The late Professor N. Iorga, whose tragic death is an irreparable loss for all the historical sciences and more particularly for Byzantine studies, called one of his last books *Byzance après Byzance.* For similar reasons the title of Professor Atiya's recent publication could be "Crusades after the Crusades." This title would be neither a paradox nor a contradiction, because the name "crusade" can be used in a twofold sense. It always means a holy war, but the essence of a holy war might be defined in different ways. In the author's opinion (p. 281 and p. 480), it is a "cooperation among all the peoples of Christendom" or "a universal movement" aiming at "the recovery of the Holy Land." Such a formula, however, seems too limited. It certainly does not apply to many of the "crusades" described in his book and, as far as the universal character is concerned, not even to all the seven or eight crusades in the traditional sense as organized between 1095 and 1270. Wars of any kind, even individual actions, and differing widely in their aims, sometimes not at all concerned with the Holy Land, were officially called Crusades, if merely recognized by the Holy See as being conducted in the interest of Christendom. Under the influence of this medieval conception, we still speak of crusades today whenever we want to emphasize that a war is being fought for a just cause and for a high ideal, especially for the defence of our civilization. Without going so far, we are accustomed to consider as crusades all wars which, organized usually (but not necessarily) by cooperation of various nations, were directed against the danger which menaced Christendom from the Asiatic, chiefly Islamic East—not only in the Holy Land, which needed to be recovered or protected, but also on European soil. And many of such wars took place not only during but also before and after the period when crusades in the strictly limited sense of the word were moving towards Jerusalem.

Better than anyone else, Byzantinists are fully aware that there was a crusading movement long before 1095, at least since the age of Emperor Heraclius and especially in the glorious century of the so-called "Byzantine épopée." And following the example of the medieval author of the *Livre d'Eracles*, the historians of the crusades usually begin to recall their early origin. Very frequently, however, they stop at the end of the thirteenth century,—not at 1270, which would be the date of the last crusade in the proper sense, but at 1291, the date of the second fall of Acre, the last Christian stronghold in the Holy Land. Atiya particularly regrets (pp. v and 10, note 1) that even René Grousset, who in 1934-36 published his three remarkable volumes on the crusades, supports the "old school" and the "standard" view by ending at 1291. In his case the time limit is perhaps easier to justify than in many others, because René Grousset wrote not only a *Histoire des Croisades* but also, or rather chiefly, a history of the *Royaume franc de Jérusalem*, a colonial state which really ceased to exist after the loss of Acre. Nevertheless, Atiya is entirely right when he recalls that the limitation of crusade history to the period before 1291 must be seriously questioned since Delaville Le Roulx described in 1886 the part played by France in Eastern affairs during the fourteenth century, and since N. Iorga wrote his biography of Philippe de Mézières ten years later. Having used the expression "la croisade au XIVième siècle" in the title of this book, the Rumanian scholar started in the next year a publication of a series of volumes containing *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVème siècle* and extended the last of these six volumes, edited in 1916, as far as the first half of the sixteenth century.

Atiya seems to be in full agreement with Iorga when he says (p. 10) that "the crusade and the crusading impulse outlived the Kingdom of Jerusalem . . . for at least two centuries," i. e., until the end of the Middle Ages. Therefore the reader could expect that his book would cover that whole period of two hundred years, and he must be particularly interested in the treatment of the fifteenth century. Hitherto it has been less exhaustively studied with regard to the crusade problem since many documents are still unpublished. None was better qualified to continue Grousset's research work than Atiya, not only because in 1934 he wrote a special monograph on the crusade of Nicopolis, but also because he is, like Grousset, an expert in Oriental studies. The whole Oriental background, insufficiently familiar to most of the Occidental historians of the crusades, partly for linguistic reasons, is indeed remarkably presented in Atiya's books. It is easy to understand that, being an Egyptian himself, he treats with special

care and competence the numerous questions connected with the history of his country. It must be recognized, too, that he proves absolutely impartial in discussing a problem which is essentially a protracted controversy between the Occidental and Oriental world.

Nevertheless, the reader feels at once some disappointment when considering the plan of Atiya's work, which is divided into four parts of unequal length and value. After a very short (twenty-three pages) introductory section, which rather superficially outlines the background of the crusading movement, the author, in Part II, entitled "Propaganda and Projects," covers the whole period from the fall of Acre to the end of the Middle Ages. Part IV, which describes "the crusades" themselves, is practically limited to the fourteenth century, while the fifteenth is merely touched in one very short chapter on "The Aftermath of the Crusades." Parts II and IV, which each contain about two hundred pages, are separated by a short section which deals very briefly and, as we shall see, inadequately, with the most intricate problem of "the East and the Crusades." It immediately appears that, in distinguishing only between mere propaganda and military expeditions, the author has entirely omitted diplomatic negotiations, so important in the development of the crusading movement. Further, it is apparent that the whole fifteenth century has received insufficient attention, especially if compared to the fourteenth, to which the most valuable chapters of the book have been devoted.

It is open to question whether the conventional limit of the Middle Ages, the date of 1492, or that of 1500, the end of the century, really are decisive turns or landmarks in the history of the crusades. Even the date of 1517, which marks both the beginning of the Reformation and the Turkish conquest of Egypt, may be more important. And without entering on any details of historical periodization, it must be admitted that the crusade problem, as it existed in the second half of the fifteenth century, did not disappear before the end of the seventeenth. Atiya himself mentions not only the battle of Lepanto, but also a curious propaganda document of 1609 discovered by Iorga fifty years ago; one might add that even the rescue of Vienna, in 1683, and the Holy League of the next year still belong to the history of the crusades. But within the limits of the Middle Ages it is easy to find a date which, considered sometimes the real end of the whole mediaeval period, undoubtedly is of outstanding importance for any historian of the crusades. It is of course the year 1453, the fall of Constantinople, analogous in many respects to the fall of Acre.

One of the shorter outlines of the crusading movement, the well-known and frequently re-edited book of Louis Bréhier on the Church and the Orient in the Middle Ages, decidedly adopts this view, as it

brings the narrative precisely to 1453. And here again it is obvious that no one will be more inclined to agree than the Byzantinist. He too will particularly regret that the last fifty years of existence of the Eastern Empire have found no appropriate place in Atiya's book.

But we must regret still another deficiency. While he considers duly the part played in the crusades by the Asiatic and African East, Atiya has almost fully disregarded the East of Europe, including Byzantium, the role of which, even in the time of its decline under the Palaeologi, could hardly be overrated in a history of the crusades. It is true that, in addition to occasional references, there is in Atiya's book (as stated above) a whole section on the East, where that term means chiefly Eastern Europe and where one of the two chapters speaks of "the Crusade and Eastern Christendom." Unfortunately, however, it is certainly the weakest part of the whole book, and not merely because of its length: only 56 pages, with only eight of them devoted to the Greeks. Even in the first of the two chapters, "Europe and the Tartars," which goes back to the thirteenth century and partly repeats what can be found at length in Grousset's third volume, the fifteenth century is completely neglected. Nothing at all is said on the relations of Europe with the Tartars between the death of Timur and 1492, a date which refers to a very problematic hypothesis that Columbus might have contemplated a common action with the Tartars against the Turks. But even the information regarding the Tartar problem in its earlier development is very incomplete. It is of course impossible to study it without taking into consideration the results of Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian research work. Atiya has used (p. 238 and 256) only one publication of a Polish scholar, Mr. Kotwicz, but no description, for example, of the relations of Innocent IV with the Tartars can be given without knowledge of what has been written on the subject by the Poles W. Abraham and J. Umiński, and by the Ukrainians Čubatyj and Tomašivskyj. On the other hand, the passage concerning the Society of Pilgrims connected with the Dominican Order ought to be supplemented by the last investigations of the Luxembourg church historian Father Loenertz.

But there is a general consideration still more important than any such questions of detail. It is misleading to look at the relations between Christian Europe and the Tartars exclusively from the viewpoint of a possible, or rather impossible crusading alliance between the two. The Tartar danger, menacing Eastern and especially Northeastern Europe, was as a matter of fact an additional problem of another defensive crusade against Asiatic invaders. Such was the conclusion arrived at by the Holy See, as well as the durable experience of all East European countries from the great invasion of 1237-1241 and the

famous battle of Lignica (Liegnitz) till the moment when, after the fall of Kaffa in 1475, the Khan of the Crimea became a vassal of the Ottoman Empire. These events are not even mentioned in Atiya's book, and he is wrong when he says of Timur (p. 256) that he "seems to have remained friendly with the Christian Powers in Europe." If there were such illusions in the Western countries, they were condemned to vanish after the conquest of Smyrna in 1402. Venice realized the truth several years earlier, after the destruction of her colony at Tana, and Vitold of Lithuania conducted a real crusade against Timur's Tartars until the battle on the Vorskla in 1399.

The second chapter of Part III, which discusses the relations between Rome and the Christian East, is still more disappointing, at least as far as Byzantium is concerned. The problem of its reconciliation with the Catholic West, from the Union of Lyons in 1274 to the Union of Florence in 1439, inseparable indeed from the crusading problem, is treated in a very superficial way, and not without obvious errors (for instance, the statement on p. 265 that after 1354 Emperor John V "resumed the throne as John VI") and neglecting almost all the recent research work accomplished in that field by scholars of so many nations.[1] These have all shown that the discussions regarding religious union were closely connected with the idea of a defensive crusade in favor of the Eastern Empire, and possibly in cooperation with it. Therefore these shortcomings in Atiya's book affect his whole treatment of the Byzantine side of the crusades. It is, for example, impossible to understand why he explains (p. 23) the outlook of the inhabitants of the Empire toward the Ottoman invasion by "the absence of political independence." In the whole chapter on Eastern Christendom, only the churches outside Europe (those of Bulgaria and Serbia receive only a few lines), and especially the Coptic churches and those of Egypt and Ethiopia, have been treated with due attention and with careful utilization of the Oriental sources. New sources on fourteenth-century relations between Egypt and Aragon, discovered by the author in the archives of Barcelona, are discussed separately, with interesting summaries, in Appendix III (pp. 510-516).

[1] In the last footnote of this chapter (p. 278) Atiya observes that "additional material on the Greek Union may be found" in my book *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930), but he has not actually used that volume of about 400 pages, where I studied not only the Union but also the crusade problem during the first twenty years after the settlement of the Turks at Gallipoli. In a shorter monograph on "Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident" (Lwów: Collectanea Theologica, 1937), I have given a continuation of these investigations till the first years of the fifteenth century.

That brings us to the general problem of source material. Both for a thorough study of Byzantine history, especially in the last century, and for the history of the crusades, two archives are of peculiar importance and yet contain a great number of unpublished documents regarding the later Middle Ages: the Vatican Archives and the State Archives of Venice. Atiya fully realizes the significance of the papal activity in the East, even during the Avignon period (pp. 13, 380), but its analysis must remain very incomplete, since it is based on the limited number of bulls printed or summarized in Raynaldus' *Annales Ecclesiastici,* and does not utilize any modern publication of the papal registers, as for instance the many volumes edited by the French School in Rome. The manuscript registers themselves are quoted only in a few exceptional cases where they had been already indicated by previous authors (p. 293, note 5, quotations from J. Gay), and it appears from the Bibliography that Atiya has not consulted them himself, although he has studied many oriental codices in the Vatican Library. His bibliography mentions, indeed, the Venetian *Archivio di Stato,* but here again, as it appears from the footnotes, the actual use of this enormous bulk of material has been very scarce (exception: p. 375, note 4). The printed collections have far from exhausted the documents concerning the Eastern policy of Rome and Venice in connection with Byzantium and the crusades and, as far as the fifteenth century is concerned, even the priceless guide through Vatican, Venetian, and other unpublished information which Iorga offered in his *Notes et extraits* has been disregarded in Atiya's book in consequence of his superficial treatment of that century.

But after having been obliged to make all these critical observations, we are glad to turn to what is, indeed, in Parts II and IV of the book, an extremely valuable contribution to the history of the "post-crusades" and of their literary background. That contribution is not altogether new, because it chiefly concerns the fourteenth century, where so much has already been done by Atiya's predecessors. With Delaville Le Roulx he distinguishes, as we have seen, between propaganda in favor of a crusade and the crusades actually undertaken. In agreement with the French historian, he has noted (p. 128) the difference between the first part of the fourteenth century, when the appeals for and the projects of crusades remained rather theoretical, and its second half, when they resulted in a series of expeditions with active participation of some of the leading propagandists. But while Delaville Le Roulx treated these two periods separately, Atiya has preferred to separate propaganda from action entirely. Hence men like Pierre de Thomas and Philippe de Mézières, whose role has been considered as a whole by Delaville Le Roulx and later on by Iorga,

here appear twice: first, in Part II, as propagandists only, after Pierre Dubois, Ramon Lull, Burcard, and Marino Sanudo, and again in Part IV in connection with the crusades of Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus. If there is some inconvenience in such a method, it is largely compensated by the careful elaboration of both parts. Everywhere the statements of all earlier writers have been strictly controlled, and beside unavoidable repetitions a great deal of new information has been added—especially in the frequent instances where Atiya could make use of his excellent knowledge of the Orient, its culture, traditions, languages, and local conditions. The extensive use of Arabic sources, including many manuscripts, has proved particularly valuable where the author describes once more the capture of Alexandria in 1365 with the help of the eye-witness Al-Nuwairi (see the notes on pp. 348-350) and the so-called crusade of Barbary in 1390, based chiefly on the account of Ibn-Khaldun. Thanks to these oriental studies, the whole archaeological, topographical, and economic background of these and other expeditions has been treated much more thoroughly than ever before, and they have also contributed to a better commentary on the propaganda literature.

In Part II of the book, chapters 8 and 9, which are devoted to minor "pilgrims and propagandists" in both centuries, are of outstanding value and almost entirely new. The scope of the research work which had to be done to this end is admirably illustrated by one of the appendices (no. II, pp. 490-509), where a chronological list of all these pilgrims and travelers and of their reports and pamphlets has been compiled, a list rich in additions to the earlier inquiries of Röhricht and Golubovich. Moreover, Atiya must meet with full approval as far as his characterizations of the leading personalities and of the various fourteenth-century crusades are concerned. He seems right in rehabilitating to a certain extent the Dauphin Humbert II de Viennois, although his expedition, like the whole movement which Atiya calls the "Preludes," was scarcely a crusade in the sense defined by the author himself. And while he treats the crusade of Amadeus VI of Savoy perhaps too briefly and not always with the necessary criticism of the chronicles, and gives much more attention to Louis de Bourbon's expedition of 1390, he fully realizes the limited but positive results of the former, and the complete failure of the latter. His chapter on Nicopolis is a brief summary of his monograph published in 1934, and although one understands this entirely, one cannot help regretting that Atiya has not supplemented his earlier research work by taking into consideration some contributions to the problem which he had then overlooked, especially M. Silberschmidt's book on the Eastern question at the end of the fourteenth century

(1923), where so much information has been collected from the Venetian documents.[2]

But there is still another aspect of the Nicopolis question which must be discussed. It is Atiya's repeatedly expressed opinion that Nicopolis "may justly be regarded as the end of one chapter and the beginning of another in the history of the crusade and the propaganda therefor in the West" (p. 189, cf. p. 480), and that it closes "the age of the great crusades"—just as it closes their description in his book. As a matter of fact, the change from offensive to defensive crusades, from expeditions beyond the seas for recovering the Holy Land, to leagues against the Ottoman advance on European soil—a change which Atiya rightly emphasizes—happened not at the close, but even at the middle of the fourteenth century. In connection with Burcard's "Directorium" the author himself mentions what may be called the first anti-Turkish league, in 1334, even then more urgent than a "passagium generale" (p. 111-112). And after the final establishment of the Turks in Europe, i. e., since 1354, the defence of Constantinople was to remain for a hundred years the chief crusading problem, prerequisite to any possibility of recovering the Holy Land. For that very reason the tactics of Pierre de Lusignan, who remained interested exclusively in offensive overseas action, must be regarded as wrong and belated. Of course, like all the crusaders, including those of the seventeenth century, the heroes of Nicopolis considered the liberation of Jerusalem as their ultimate goal. But, practically speaking, Nicopolis, coming after 1371, 1389, and 1393, and at a moment when the desperate situation of blockaded Constantinople demanded an emergency action, was an expedition undertaken with a view toward defending Southeastern Europe against the Turkish invaders and of checking their further advance towards Hungary and Wallachia. Therefore the crusade of 1396 is not essentially different from similar enterprises in the fifteenth century.

Here we come again to the main point which we feel obliged to question in Atiya's conception: the interpretation of the crusading problem as it appears in the last century of the Middle Ages. As far as the "pilgrims and propagandists" are concerned, chapter 9, which deals with the fifteenth century, is certainly even more valuable than the preceding one. After some brief but interesting remarks on the "anti-crusaders," i. e., thinkers and writers opposed to the crusading move-

[2] I venture to add à propos that many interesting details on the Nicopolis crusade cau be found in accidental mentions of many charters issued in and after 1396 by King Sigismund of Hungary. Thanks to the Hungarian Academy, I was able, a few years ago, to study in Budapest a comprehensive collection of copies of all these charters prepared for publication.

ment (pp. 187-189), Atiya gives in forty pages of his longest chapter a great deal of information on the travelling and literary achievements of a long series of contemporary authors, some of whom were quite insufficiently known—for instance, Emmanuele Piloti of Crete, Pero Tafur, a Spaniard, William Wey, an Englishman, and Felix Faber, a German. Even before, in connection with Guillebert de Lannoy, Bertrandon de la Broquière, and Bishop Jean Germain, he rightly emphasizes the particular interest in the crusade shown by the dukes of Burgundy, chiefly Philippe le Bon. He calls it, however, an "anachronistic tendency . . . to look back rather than forward" (p. 190). Thus he describes even Lannoy's highly diplomatic mission rather as an interesting observation trip, and scarcely mentions Philippe's political action of 1452, on the eve of the fall of Constantinople.[3] Only in one case, speaking at the end of this chapter of the "propagandist ideas" of Pope Pius II, Atiya also says a few words on his diplomatic negotiations in favor of a new crusade which he really initiated in 1464. But these three or four pages (pp. 227-230) are most inadequate, since they overlook even the Congress of Mantua in 1459. So too are the ten or twelve lines on Paul II and Innocent VIII, as well as the entire chapter 19.

I wish to discuss this chapter (the last before the conclusions) at this point in connection with chapter 9, according to the general plan of the book, because it ought to be its counterpart and, as chapters 12 to 18 did for the fourteenth century, describe the crusades of the fifteenth in addition to giving an analysis of the contemporary propaganda movement. Instead of doing this, Atiya, after some remarks on the situation after Nicopolis and in the time of Angora (pp. 463-466), gives not much more than one page (467) to the whole crusading action of the next hundred years. He is right to avoid repeating what has been written on the catastrophe of 1453, the more so since there actually was no crusade at the juncture of the fall of Constantinople. However, he is wrong in saying that the campaign of Varna, "like many others, was styled as a crusade, and the Pope was represented in it by Cardinal Julianus Cesarini; but actually it was little more than one episode in the Turco-Hungarian wars of the fifteenth century." On the contrary, the famous expedition of 1444, coming after

[3] The Burgundian action, in 1452, was closely connected with the expected participation of Poland in the crusading movement, a question which is not even touched in Atiya's book (except a reference to the king of "Lithuania" on p. 147 which is difficult for the reader to understand). It has been recently studied by B. Stachoń and in my essay on the earliest Franco-Polish relations. Most valuable indications as to the whole crusading policy of Philippe le Bon are to be found in H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, II², 253, n. 1.

Wladislaw III Jagiello's victorious raid in the previous year, and conducted by the king of Hungary and Poland in cooperation with the Holy See, the Republics of Venice and of Ragusa, the duke of Burgundy, the Wallachians and probably also the Albanians and, last but not least, the Byzantine Empire, including the Despotate of Morea, was one of the most important crusades. It was at least as important as Nicopolis, with which it has been compared more than once, and merits special interest as the last opportunity of saving Byzantium, of expelling the Turks from Europe, and perhaps of resuming the idea of recovering the Holy Land. And although in realization of this fact much has already been written on 1444, just as on 1453, in the case of the Varna crusade many more problems remain controversial and worthy of discussion.[4]

But there is not only the question of Varna. In Atiya's laconic account of what he calls "the Aftermath of the Crusades," too, all the other earlier attempts to oppose the Ottoman danger are simply omitted, as for instance the endeavors of Sigismund of Luxembourg in the forty years of his reign after Nicopolis. They have been overrated by G. Beckmann (1902), but it seems equally questionable to neglect them altogether. The same must be said with regard to all the negotiations with the last Byzantine Emperors, especially with John VIII, who, before coming to the Union Council of 1438-39, had made in 1423-1424 an interesting and insufficiently studied trip to the Western countries with a view toward a common crusading action. And among all the popes of the fifteenth century, only Pius II is cited again in a short reference to what had been said about his propaganda, while so many others as well made the greatest possible efforts to prepare a new crusade (it might be worthwhile to refer to the remarkable monographs of C. Marinesco on the Eastern policy of Nicholas V and Calixtus III). While regretting all these omissions, the reader finds some compensation in the last ten pages of the chapter, which give a short history of what Atiya calls Egypt's countercrusade. With the help of partly unprinted source material, he outlines the main stages of a movement which hitherto has never received sufficient attention: the reconquest of Syria, the occupation of Armenia and Cyprus, and the efforts to seize Rhodes, which was eventually taken by the Turks, after their conquest of Egypt itself in 1517.

A last brief chapter of the book (pp. 480-483) contains the author's conclusions. Some of them are obviously correct, especially those which give the reasons for the failure of the crusading movement

[4] This I have tried to do in a monograph given to the printer just before the war, which is summarized in the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* (1939).

against Muhammadan rule. And if it is perhaps something of an exaggeration to say that the fourteenth century was "the golden age" of the last medieval crusades, with its "high water" in 1365, it is true that the fifteenth was a period of Muslim supremacy. But I must contest once more Atiya's opinion when, in overrating the unique role of the crusaders of Nicopolis who "failed to arrest this great movement at its earliest stage," he declares that there were no real crusades after the expedition of 1396; even when named crusades, "they were single-handed efforts mainly undertaken in self-defence, and the war lost its original significance."

Instead of repeating why this opinion raises many objections and how it has influenced the whole composition of the book, I should like to recall, in conclusion, the many valuable appendices where, in addition to the materials already mentioned, we find a list of the crusaders of 1365, 1390 and 1396, as well as chronological tables including a list of the Egyptian Mamluks from 1290 to 1517. Among the beautiful illustrations the old plans of Alexandria and of Al-Mahdiya are particularly instructive. And if, for reasons given above, Atiya's large volume is not yet a full history of the crusades in the later Middle Ages, it nevertheless contains a series of excellent chapters which must be considered the best account of the crusading propaganda from 1291 to about 1500, and the best description of the crusading expeditions from 1344 to 1396.

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ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard; Paris: P. Geutner; 1936. Pp. 559.

The Danish scholar to whom Iranian studies, from the Avesta down to modern Iranian dialects, owe a great number of important contributions offers in the present book a comprehensive account of the political history and of the manifold aspects of Iranian culture in the Sasanian period. Within the frame of the political history of the Sasanian dynasty we find very instructive, sometimes rather extensive, descriptions of the social and administrative organization, of the Zoroastrian religion, of Manichaeism, Mazdakism, of the relation and struggle between the Christians and the official religion, of the system of Iranian criminal and civil law, of art and music, of the life at court and private life, science and education, etc. Thus the book under review, covering the whole field of Sasanian culture, goes far beyond the limits drawn by the author in his earlier book *L'Empire*

des Sassanides, le peuple, l'état, la cour (Copenhagen, 1907), which the new book is intended to replace. Many passages of the earlier work are incorporated verbatim in the new one, others presented in a revised form, in accordance with the immense progress Iranian studies have made in the meantime. However, it is on the whole a new book, and it is, for the time being, the only one which combines a purposely abridged yet sufficient survey of the political events with a detailed and reliable delineation of the culture of the Sasanian period. Though it is, to a great extent, based upon the still invaluable Tabari translation by Noeldeke, it rests partly on the author's own research-work and on his intimate knowledge and thorough study of the numerous literary sources written in the Iranian languages, in Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Greek, and Latin. The Introduction contains an almost complete bibliographical list of these sources, preceded by a chapter entitled "Resumé de la civilisation iranienne avant l'avènement des Sassanides." A very great number of passages in these sources is presented in translation. Beside that, the student of the history and culture of Sasanian times will find in the notes of the book a copious bibliography of the modern literature dealing with the subject. Numerous illustrations which accompany the text, beautiful reproductions of objects of art, as well as an excellent index and a map, will be welcomed by the reader of the book which is also distinguished by a pleasant and lucid presentation of the subject matter.

On the other hand, the arrangement of the material in such a way that the political history throughout the whole book forms the frame around the topics bearing on culture, sometimes proves to be rather artificial and disturbing, in spite of the reasons given for this arrangement in the preface to the book. It does not seem, e. g., sufficiently justified that the author should present a description of the criminal law and the administration of justice at the end of the chapter on the Christians in Iran, simply because the Syriac acts of martyrs furnish interesting contributions to our knowledge of Iranian law in Sasanian times while, from other angles, this same chapter not only deals with the fate of the Christians and their churches and their relation to Byzantium, but is at the same time used for relating the political history of the period between Yazdgard I. and Kavādh. In a similar way the contents of the chapter "Le mouvement mazdakite" is not entirely in accord with its title.

I am sorry I am not in a position to go into details in this necessarily short account and to discuss some of the still unsettled problems touched upon or discussed by the author. There is, e. g., the problem concerning the interrelations between Sasanian and

Byzantine civilization which would require further investigation, in spite of Inostrantzev's article on Sasanian military theory (translated in *Journal of the Cama Or. Inst.*, No. 7, Bombay, 1926), E. Stein's article "Ein Kapitel vom pers. Staate" (*Byzant.-neugriech. Jahrb.*, 1920), Christensen's Excursus II on "Les listes des grands dignitaires de l'empire" (pp. 513 ff. of the book under review) and Stein's recently published criticism of this Excursus (*Le Muséon*, LIII, [1940], 123 ff.). In particular our knowledge of the titles of the state officials could be corrected and enlarged by a systematic examination of the whole pertinent material, as I hope to prove at some other occasion. Studies on Sasanian law are still in their beginnings, and many erroneous statements are still made on the basis of West's unreliable translations in the Sacred Books of the East. S. J. Bulsara's edition and translation of the Sasanian code of law (*Mātīkān ī Hazār Dātistān*, Bombay, 1937), has turned out to be a failure, as I shall show in a translation of this law-book which I am preparing. It is, therefore, by no means the fault of Christensen that his outline of Iranian law is still very imperfect (the civil law has been treated by him separately from the criminal law, as an introduction to the chapter "Le mouvement mazdakite"). In passing I wish to say that I do not understand why Christensen gives the transcription *sadharēh* for the legal term for "adoption," which is in Pahlavi always written *stūrīh* (later defective writings: Sanskrit *starī*, Persian *starī*, *astarī*).

However, it must be acknowledged that all the problems discussed in this book have been dealt with by the author with cautious and sound judgment. Moreover, the whole book gives evidence of so much thoroughness and intimate knowledge that this work of one of the most prominent Iranian scholars can be considered a contribution of high merit in the field of Iranian studies. Not only the specialist but everyone interested in obtaining a reliable picture of the history and culture of the Sasanian period will use this book with great profit and satisfaction.

BERNHARD GEIGER

GEORGE KOLIAS, *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice* [*Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinische-neugriechischen Philologie*, Nr. 31]. Athens, 1939. Pp. 135.

This is a useful book. The later Roman empire produced many historians but, while they have recorded the broad outlines of its history, their interest was restricted to political and ecclesiastical questions, and only rarely, if at all, do they allude to the social, eco-

nomic and intellectual life of the empire. If the internal life of the empire is to be reconstructed, one must turn to documents of a different nature, such as official edicts, sermons, lives of saints, letters of important individuals, etc. Many of these documents, especially letters, have not yet been published, and until this is done no comprehensive history of the empire is possible. For this reason the book of Dr. Kolias is a welcome contribution.

The book consists of two parts: (1) a biography of Leo Choerosphactes, an important diplomat and outstanding personality during the reign of Leo VI; and (2) the letters of Choerosphactes together with a French translation. There are twenty-seven letters, twenty of which were written by Choerosphactes himself to various individuals, including the emperor and the Bulgarian king, Symeon; the remaining seven were addressed to him and of these, three were written by Symeon. As Choerosphactes headed several byzantine embassies to foreign potentates, some of his letters are important diplomatic documents.

This is not, however, the first edition of the letters of Choerosphactes. They have been edited before by J. Sakkelion, but Sakkelion's edition is not thorough and the periodical in which it appeared is extremely rare.[1] Two defects in particular characterize Sakkelion's edition: (1) failure to determine the chronology of the letters; and (2) only partial study of the text. The new edition was prepared in order to remedy these defects.

In determining the chronology of the letters Dr. Kolias has done a remarkably good job. The letters have been transmitted undated, but by a careful analysis of their contents, taken in relation with the general history of the period, the new editor has not only been able to fix the date of each, but has contributed also to the solutions of some of the chronological problems of the period. It cannot be said, however, that Dr. Kolias has in any other way improved upon the edition of Sakkelion. The reviewer has carefully compared the two editions and found, with few exceptions, no corrections or explanations of the text made by Dr. Kolias which are not found in Sakkelion's edition. And in the few instances where he attempted to clarify certain allusions not explained by Sakkelion he is usually wrong. For example: In one of his letters to the emperor (letter XXI) Choerosphactes praises the latter for his toleration of frankness following in this Marcianus and Marcus. Dr. Kolias identifies this Marcianus with the emperor Marcian (450-457), but his opinion is not borne out by

[1] J. Sakkelion, *'Λέοντος μαγίστρου, ἀνθυπάτου πατρικίου, Συμεὼν ἄρχοντος Βουλγαρίας καί τινων ἄλλων ἐπιστολαί'* in *Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, I (Athens, 1883), 380-410.

the sources to which he refers. Who this Marcianus was, is indeed unknown, but the passage doubtless alludes to Marcus Aurelius (*Meditations*, I, 5), where he says that from Diognetus he learned "belief in free speaking; the taste for philosophy, for the discourses of Bacchius, and later of Tandasis and Marcianus."

Nor is it possible to accept some of the more general statements of Dr. Kolias. The exile of Choerosphactes was most probably due to his hostility to the Macedonian dynasty, as Sakkelion points out,[2] and not to his advanced position as a humanist, as Dr. Kolias thinks (p. 55). The Byzantium of this period was not intolerant to humanism.[3] It is not possible either to take seriously the remarks of Dr. Kolias about the Bulgarian king Symeon. In one of his letters (letter I) to Leo Choerosphactes Symeon offered to release the Byzantine prisoners which he held if the emperor, who two years previously had predicted the precise day, hour, and minute of the eclipse of the sun, would predict what he, Symeon, intended to do with the prisoners, whether he intended to free them or keep them. Dr. Kolias takes this as proof that, despite his Christian and classical education in Constantinople, Symeon remained fundamentally a barbarian, attributing the scientific knowledge of the emperor to divination inspired by God (pp. 34 f.). This is not very profound. The letter shows in fact that Symeon profited by his stay in Constantinople to acquire the subtleties and sophisms of ancient dialectics. For the dilemma put to the Byzantine ambassador is nothing less than a crocodility, reminding one of the Egyptian story to the effect that a crocodile once snatched a child away from its mother but promised to release it if she predicted accurately whether he intended to release it or not; she answered that he did not intend to return the child and demanded that it be restored to her on the grounds that she had told the truth, but he objected, saying that if he released the child, then she had not told the truth.[4]

These defects, however, do not very materially lessen the usefulness of the book. Dr. Kolias has rendered a service in publishing and translating these letters. His translation is correct and, although French is not his native language, he has handled it, I have it on good authority, well. In addition to the letters he has included also four poems by Leo Choerosphactes which had not yet been edited.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 378.

[3] J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine empire, 867-1185* (London, 1937), p. 90.

[4] J. ab Arnim (ed.), *Stoicorum veterum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1903), II, 93. See also T. Stanley, *History of Philosophy* (London, 1701), p. 316.

GERHART B. LADNER, "Origin and Significance of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy." *Mediaeval Studies,* II (Toronto, 1940), 127-49.

Insofar as the origins of the schism precipitated by Leo III are concerned, half a century of research has done much toward penetrating the obscurity, yet the irreducible fact remains that at his accession "il est difficile de saisir les prodromes de la crise qui allait éclater quelques années plus tard." These words of Bréhier in 1938 (in Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Église,* V, 445) reflect the crucial gap in Byzantine literature. If Ladner and other scholars have, nevertheless, continued to forge ahead toward a solution, their progress is due to much more than renewed examination of the texts. Ladner's return to the subject has evidently been stimulated by Grabar's *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (1936) and his interpretation combines data from the history of art, theology and political theory, accompanied by a very useful and extensive bibliography. Briefly stated, Ladner argues effectively that iconoclasm functioned as a rejection of the political implications of the doctrine of incarnation, viz., "the absolute supremacy of the Church in spiritual matters and the terrestrial representation of the celestial world in Christian imagery." The political significance of the latter point is well emphasized by Ladner; the icons were replaced by representations of the emperor and of the realm over which he held sway. Iconoclasm must therefore be understood as the expression of caesaropapism.

Inasmuch as, with few exceptions, the source-material with regard to the schism is of iconophile authorship, it becomes a delicate question when to trust and when not to trust a particular statement. Ladner feels that historians have gone too far in denying the validity of the orthodox allegations regarding Islamic and Jewish influence. In this respect, however, his own viewpoint is vitiated by a failure to appreciate the relation between xenophobia and polemic (except in his n. 127). What better way to discredit the enemy than to stigmatize him as *verjudet* or as some other variety of spiritual mongrel? Lacking this insight, Ladner cavalierly rejects my refusal to credit the Jewish contemporaries of Leo III with any real influence, as well as my suggestion that Τεσσαρακοντάπηχυς was the nickname of Beser. Incidentally, he might have found that suggestion more plausible had he realized that *ibn arbʿīn dharʿīn* is not the "son of forty cubits," which is nonsense, but a tall fellow, which is good Arabic idiom. However, this is a minor point and the essential value of Ladner's study is not impugned by the foregoing remarks.

Ladner's warning against attributing certain writings to St. John Damascene should be heeded, but the present reviewer feels it ill-

advised for him to rely on the Greek letters of Gregory II as genuine. See the most recent discussion by A. Faggiotto, "Sulla discussa autenticità delle due lettere di Gregorio II a Leone III Isaurico," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici,* V (1939), 437-43; cf. H. Grégoire, *Byzantion,* VIII (1933), 762-63. Likewise, in citing the Syriac chronicle attributed to Dionysius (n. 12), it should be borne in mind that this is a generally dubious source which was definitely not written by Dionysius. See F. Haase, "Untersuchungen zur Chronik des Ps.-Dionysius von Tell-Mahré," *Oriens Christianus,* s. 2, V (1916), 240-70.

In concluding these comments, I should like to express the hope that the deeper understanding of the iconoclastic controversy made possible by Ladner and other scholars may some day enable us to understand the *social* forces which divided the two camps. The iconophile viewpoint should *a priori* have been that of the masses, and Leo, sensing the popular mood, seems to have moved cautiously at first. Yet why was he supported by the rural Asiatic provinces while many of his subjects migrated away from Constantinople? The earlier heresies with their much more clear-cut theological positions have been brought into relation with certain nationalistic tendencies or with *Klassenkampf,* but the eighth-century schism still awaits a comprehensive social interpretation.

JOSHUA STARR.

M. V. LEVCHENKO, *A History of Byzantium.* A brief sketch. [М. В. ЛЕВЧЕНКО, История Византии. Краткий очерк]. Moscow–Leningrad, 1940, 263 pp., map of the Empire in the sixth-seventh century, many illustrations. Price 5 roubles.

At the end of November, 1940, I received from Russia a new book written by M. V. Levchenko under the title *A History of Byzantium.* Even before reading the book I was pleasantly surprised to see by the title that Byzantine studies had begun to attract the attention and interest of Soviet scholars. Levchenko's name had previously been known to me from his article, "Byzantium and the Slavs in the sixth and seventh centuries," which was published in Russian in the *Reporter of Ancient History* (*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*), no. 4 (5) (Leningrad, 1938), pp. 23-48. I read Levchenko's book attentively and received a very favorable impression. In his brief sketch of Byzantine history he reveals a good knowledge of material, gives an interesting though somewhat biased selection of excerpts from sources, and devotes much attention to internal history, especially to social-

economic problems, which he particularly connects with the interests of the masses. The chronology of events is exact and the illustrations are well chosen.

Levchenko himself is a Marxist; hence this book is the first attempt to sketch Byzantine history from the Marxist point of view. For the first time a Byzantine study contains many references to the works of K. Marx, F. Engels, Lenin, and even Stalin. The author admits that neither the founders of Marxism themselves nor their Russian followers and disciples have made any special study of Byzantine history (pp. 3 and 6). But at the present day Russian official circles acknowledge its importance, from their own specific standpoint, of course. They proclaim "that in the struggle with the bourgeois ideological infection any important question not only of the present and future but also of the past of all mankind and of individual countries is interesting to the proletariat. The study of the history of Byzantium undoubtedly is an important historical question. No one will deny that during the earlier Middle Ages the Byzantine State played a most essential part in the history of Western and Eastern Europe as well as of the Near East. It is not to be forgotten that some regions of the territory of the Soviet Union, for instance the Crimea, Armenia, and Georgia, belonged in one part or another to the Byzantine State, and that not only Georgia and Armenia but also the Russia of Kiev and Moscow as well were subjected to the long and powerful influence of Byzantine culture. We know Russia received Christianity from Byzantium. Along with Christianity the Slavs received writing and some elements of higher Byzantine culture. It is clear that the working masses of our country (*i. e.*, Soviet Russia) are right in becoming interested in the history of the Byzantine Empire, and the Soviet historian must satisfy this interest and give a scholarly history of Byzantium, erected on the foundation of the Marxist-Lenin methodology" (p. 4). Levchenko's aim, accordingly, is to provide a text book of Byzantine history for Soviet-Russian students.

Although not a Marxist myself, I have always thought that probably no other period of history in the Middle Ages furnishes so much material for study and thought to a Marxist historian as that of the Byzantine Empire. Levchenko's book, which contains many references to Marx's and Engel's writings, provides some information new to me along this line. Neither Marx nor Engels ever made any special study of Byzantine history, so that their opinions and brief remarks on the subject—most of the remarks come from Marx—are not new or striking. Any "bourgeois historian," I believe, might agree with most of Marx's statements given in Levchenko's book; some of these statements, of course, are expressed in the very well known Marxian

phraseology. The two quotations from Lenin's works (pp. 256 and 262) do not directly concern the history of Byzantium. "Stalin's speculations, so full of genius, which have brilliantly and incisively explained the real causes of the grandiose collapse of the Western Roman Empire" (pp. 7-8) are not given in Levchenko's book.

Levchenko tries to explain the progress in Byzantine studies in Russia before the revolution (1917) not by interest in free scholarly investigation but by the need of the Imperial Government to discover in Byzantine history an historical foundation for the autocratic power of the Russian emperors and for the famous formula of the Russian Slavophiles: "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, Nationalism." Levchenko even writes that Russian byzantinists, as far as they could, helped to solve the problems imposed upon them by the government, and that pre-revolutionary Byzantine studies in Russia were designed to serve czarism (p. 3). This statement of course calls for refutation. Not one of the true Byzantine scholars of earlier days in Russia, neither Kunik, Vasilyevski, Uspenski, Bezobrazov, or Kulakovski, wrote with any special purpose of supporting or justifying the czarist regime in Russia; they all worked because they were interested in Byzantine history, because they realized that better knowledge of Byzantium would improve the understanding of many aspects of the history of Old Russia, because the past of Russia in many respects was indissolubly connected with the Byzantine Empire. Their historical interpretation of Russian autocracy was in no sense a justification. In spite of this error, however, I must repeat that Levchenko's book leaves a very favorable impression.

Levchenko blames Diehl and "other bourgeois byzantinists because they boundlessly idealized the historical role of Byzantium . . . because they were silent as to the reverse side of the medal, Byzantium as the support of despotism, of the clergy, of a perfected mechanism of exploitation of the working masses" (p. 6). I wonder why Levchenko makes no mention of the Russian historian P. V. Bezobrazov. Bezobrazov died, it is true, in October, 1918, that is, at the beginning of the revolution. But by all his scholarly work he belonged to the pre-revolutionary period. In his posthumous book *Sketches in Byzantine Culture*, which was published in 1919, Levchenko might have discovered many passages which are far from idealizing the Byzantine Empire. I give here some examples: p. 9, "the horror of Byzantine autocracy"; p. 68, "the bribery of (Byzantine) officials and all sorts of oppression by the administration"; p. 88, "the landlords enriched themselves at the expense of the state and the peasants"; p. 95, "the burden of a state of slavery consisted in the fact that the serfs were doubly taxed, both for the landlords

and for the treasury"; p. 104, "from the history of Byzantium we know the economic and political results of the régime which in the great army of the working masses killed all freedom and personal dignity." Much material of the same sort can be found in chapter IX on the subject of judicial proceedings (pp. 163-179). I do not believe that Bezobrazov inserted all these passages merely because of the revolution of 1917; his criticism of many sides of Byzantine life was well established before that date.

In several places, probably to heighten the effect upon his readers, Levchenko presents as historical facts episodes which have not proved genuine. I give three examples here. Speaking of religious troubles in Alexandria at the end of the fourth century he writes: "The Egyptian clergymen distinguished themselves by particular fanaticism when they dealt a heavy blow to world culture by destroying the treasures of ancient literature and art. In 391 at the instigation of the Bishop Theophilus the famous Serapeum was burnt with all its vast treasures of books" (p. 33). Later (p. 90) Levchenko repeats: "We have already noted the fact of the destruction by the Patriarch Theophilus of the famous Alexandrian Library." As we know, the famous Alexandrian Library founded by Ptolemy I Soter (306-285 B. C.) was located, not in the Serapeum, but in the Brucheion, a special region of Alexandria where the palace buildings and the Museum stood. But we must take into account Plutarch's statement, in his biography of Julius Caesar, that during the so-called Alexandrian War a great fire "after burning the docks thence spread on and destroyed the great library." The world-wide story of the destruction of that famous library by the Arabs in the seventh century A. D. has been now recognized as "a mere fable, totally destitute of historical foundation," "good fiction but bad history."[1] The story has indeed had a long life. The orientalist Count Landberg relates that in 1877 an old English captain who bitterly hated Napoleon I said of him, "What a dreadful man! He wished to ruin the world; but the most monstrous thing he has done is to have burnt the great library of Alexandria!"[2] Ptolemy II Philadelphos (B. C. 285-246) founded a "daughter" library in the Serapeum, perhaps for duplicates, as this library was much smaller

[1] A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), p. 425. Ph. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), p. 166 (a new revised edition of this book has now come out). Among many publications on this question I may mention L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, VII (Milan, 1914), 125. M. Casanova, "L'incendie de la Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie par les Arabes," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1923, pp. 163-171.

[2] Le comte de Landberg, *Arabica* (Leyden, 1897), IV, 68, n. 1. From Landberg this episode was reproduced by Casanova, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

than that of the Museum.[3] The history and the final fate of this library have not been satisfactorily elucidated. All historians since 1913 who deal with the religious persecution in Alexandria in 391 relate the destruction of the temple of Serapeum and the statue of Serapis; but they do not mention the destruction of the library.[4] Th. Uspenski, before starting to tell the story of the revolt of 391 which led to the destruction of the temple, merely remarks, " At the temple there was a large library." [6] We know that the daughter library was located in the Serapeum, but we are not aware whether it still existed in 391. In any case Levchenko's statement that " the famous Alexandrian Library " was destroyed in 391 must be disregarded.

The second example of Levchenko's highly colored presentation of historical facts concerns the short reign of the Emperor Michael I Rangabé (811-813) who, chiefly because of his unsuccessful campaign against the Bulgarians, was deposed by the military commander Leo the Armenian. In order to show how strong during Michael's reign was the influence of the clergy, Levchenko writes; " Their nominee Michael Rangabé even let a Studite abbot (*igumen*) work out the plan of hostilities against the Bulgarians. But the court eunuchs and monks were completely incapable of fighting the Bulgarians. The monkish government was overthrown by the army " (p. 128). Of course it would be very amusing to imagine Theodore of Studion planning a military campaign. But if we turn to our sources the picture will be found to be different. It is true that under the pressure of Bulgarian danger Michael Rangabé consulted the Patriarch and Theodore of Studion, who were members of the imperial council, and that the counsels of the war party prevailed. But there is no word of Theodore's working out the plan of the campaign. The Emperor's chief adviser in military affairs was the Magister Theoktistos (Theoctistus), a friend of Theodore of Studion.[7]

As a third example of Levchenko's exaggeration I may quote his

[3] See, for example, A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano*, I, fasc. 1 (Cairo, 1935), 143.

[4] See O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, V (Berlin, 1913), 234 and 533-535 (sources). Kulakovsky, *History of Byzantium*, I, sec. ed. (Kiev, 1913), 121-122 (in Russian). J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg, 1920), p. 157 and n. 114 (p. 298). E. Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, I (Vienna, 1928), 323. *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, publiée sous la direction de A. Fliche et V. Martin, vol. III, *De la paix constantinienne à la mort de Théodose*, par J.-R. Palanque, G. Bardy, P. de Labriolle (Paris, 1936), p. 517; IV, (1937), 23.

[6] Th. Uspensky, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I (St. Petersburg, 1914), 145-146 (in Russian).

[7] See J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), pp. 348-349.

comment on the pseudo-Lucianic Dialogue *Philopatris*, which was compiled, as has been definitely proved, at the end of the tenth century during the reign of Nicephorus Phocas. Characterizing the first part of the Dialogue as a long dispute between a pagan and a Christian, Levchenko says: "The unknown author of this writing pretends that it deals with the conversion of an old pagan to Christianity; but in reality the Dialogue is filled with ironic assaults on Orthodoxy and monkery, on the Constantinopolitan Patriarch and his suite; their hostile actions against one of the emperors of the second half of the tenth century are ridiculed and revealed" (p. 180). Recent studies on *Philopatris* show us at once that there is not sufficient evidence for Levchenko's positiveness. Probably the best study on the question, written by S. Reinach, says that "any argument founded on the anti-Christian tendency of *Philopatris* results in a preconceived idea which the texts quoted above in no way justify; what was taken for paganism in the *Philopatris* is on the whole merely a Byzantine form of humanism," because in the tenth century we witness "a renaissance of Greek spirit and classical tastes." [8] The real meaning of the *Philopatris*, as far as its contents and especially its witticisms are concerned, according to a recent scholar, is not quite clear.[9]

I wish to note a few casual errors. P. 5: G. Rouillard, a very fine French scholar, is a woman, not a man. On p. 90 Levchenko lists the most eminent "church fathers" of the fourth and fifth centuries, Ephraem Syrus, Basil "the Great" (the quotation marks belong to Levchenko), Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusion, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrus. He should have added the name of Gregory of Nyssa, the most powerful mind among the church writers of the fourth century. P. 105: Heraclius, who ascended the throne in 610, was not Heraclius the African exarch, but his son, also named Heraclius. P. 112: it would be useful to emphasize

[8] S. Reinach, "Le christianisme à Byzance et la question du Philopatris," in his book *Cultes, mythes et religions*, I, 3d ed. revised and corrected (Paris, 1922), 368; 391. This study was originally published in *Revue archéologique*, I (1902), 79-110. Krumbacher accepted the conclusions of this study almost in their entirety, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI (1902), 578-580. Besides S. Reinach's exhaustive study one can find information on the *Philopatris* in Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1897), pp. 459-461. Also see G. Montelatici, *Storia della letteratura bizantina* (Milan, 1916), p. 177 (in the index under φιλόπατρις the incorrect page 157 is given).

[9] G. Soyter, "Humor und Satire in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Blätter für das Gymnasialschulwesen*, LXIV (Munich, 1928), 224. The pseudo-Lucianic Dialogue *Philopatris* is still to be found among Lucian's works. See *Luciani Samosatensis Opera*, ed. C. Iacobitz, III, 411-425. Levchenko used the Dialogue from Hase's Bonn edition of Leon the Deacon, pp. 325-342.

the racial origin of the Bulgarians, who in 679 appeared at the mouths of the Danube; the date itself, 679, is approximate. Pp. 120 and 122: Leon III died in 741 rather than in 740, as Levchenko says.

I have unfortunately not seen an evidently recent Russian book which Levchenko mentions on p. 18, n. 1: Kosminsky, *Lectures in the History of the Middle Ages.*

I am delighted to see the start of interest in Byzantine studies in Soviet Russia. In connection with the centennial of Vasilyevski's birth (he was born in 1838), Professor S. A. Gebelev published in 1939 an interesting paper which was read at the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, *V. G. Vasilyevski and the Study of Byzantine Antiquities.* In this paper he expressed his hope that the publication of Vasilyevski's works (volume IV came out in 1930) would be completed. The realization of Gebelev's wish would be one of the great achievements of Russian Byzantine studies. A complete edition of Vasilyevski's works is urgently needed. In addition, Gebelev has printed an article entitled "Russian Byzantine Studies; their Past, their Place in Soviet Science," and, in another magazine, the Greek text and a Russian translation of the passage on the Slavs from the so-called *Strategicon* of Maurice, with an introduction. Miss N. V. Pigulevskaya, whose special studies are concentrated in the Syriac language and literature, printed in 1939 a very accurate study *An Anonymous Syriac Chronicle on the time of the Sasanids,* and gave in it a Russian translation of the Chronicle. In 1940 the same writer published a book (176 pp.) *Mesopotamia on the threshold of the fifth-sixth century of our era. The Syriac Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite as an historical source.* This book contains a complete Russian translation of this extremely important source on the beginning of the sixth century. Now M. V. Levchenko is another historian in the field, giving us not only the article on *Byzantium and the Slavs in the sixth and seventh centuries* which I have mentioned above, but also the book under consideration, *A History of Byzantium.* I extend to the author my warmest wishes for his continued success in the field of Byzantine studies.

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JOHN MASEFIELD, *Basilissa, a Tale of the Empress Theodora,* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940. Cloth. Pp. 307.

When John Masefield produces another book, the literary world takes note of it. When that book deals with Justinian the Great and Theodora, students of Byzantine history look to it with keen expec-

tancy. Mr. Masefield is a poet and a master of narrative. He possesses undoubted gifts of imaginative insight. "Basilissa" it is a word to conjure with, a word redolent with romance. The lover of historical fiction is captured by it. Here is something in the grand style, he says to himself. Here is an attempt to recreate the majestic Sixth Century, something, perhaps, like the unforgettable work of Sigrid Undset and Thomas Mann, something that will epitomize the era. The great novel of Theodora has yet to be written. Perhaps it is here, within the covers of Mr. Masefield's *Basilissa,* and eagerly the seeker after imaginative truth in history opens the book.

The title *Basilissa* is misleading; it is, indeed, a misnomer. It would better have been *Victoria-Basilissa* or simply *Princess.* Mr. Masefield, for reasons best known to himself, has written a novel of which the tone is not Byzantine at all, but English of the days before the World War. *Basilissa* is the story of a super-intelligent woman who rescues the rather stupid prince with whom she falls in love. Byzantium is merely the setting. Vienna would have done very well, or Paris or even Graustark. There may, of course, be some subtle, profoundly important message in this bringing together of Byzantium and modern England. If there is, it is so deeply hidden as to escape the ordinary reader. Rather, there is only simple entertainment to be had with many smiles and some chuckles over Byzantium anglicized.

The time of the story is the period before Justinian rises to the throne. In the main, the plot revolves about a political campaign in which Hypatius, the nephew of the former emperor, Anastasius, is running for consul against Justinian. But this is not a Byzantine political campaign, if such a thing could ever be; it is British, with rallies and speeches and songs so typically British as to make you smile. The theater, the "ballet," is British, and the air of enlightenment does not stop there, for Theodora, on her return to "the City" from her adventure with Hekebolos, takes a neat little house near a children's playground! Justin, the old emperor, and Euphemia, "dear Phemie," could have being nowhere else but in a musical comedy of good old London.

We take up the career of Theodora in Alexandria on her way back to Constantinople after her disastrous affair with Hekebolos. Theodora has reformed. How and why, we are not told. Most certainly the prim and very moral lady whom we meet could never have gone off to Pentapolis as the mistress of its governor—but there she is, irreproachable in her virtue. From Alexandria Theodora sets out for Constantinople. In Antioch she finds that jewels she thought valuable are worthless. Perils develop, and the black waters of danger wash to the feet of the noble lady, but they do not touch her; they never do. In the theater at Antioch she meets old friends, who not only give her

passage to " the City " in their ship, but a place of importance in their company as well. Theodora is a smart girl. Everyone recognizes the fact the moment she appears. On arriving in Constantinople, she grasps the political situation in a flash and tells everybody just what to do. She is always giving invaluable advice, much in the manner of a starched Sunday-school teacher guiding her class, and to Justinian, who is portrayed as a thoroughly wholesome though slow-witted fellow, she gives the most invaluable advice. Through Theodora, and Theodora alone, the scheme to overthrow the " Blue " faction and the house of Justin is foiled and the succession of Justinian secured. There is no passion in her nature, nothing physical attracts her to Justinian. She is moved only by a high and noble impulse to serve prince and country. With the success of Theodora's endeavors, Justinian tells her of his love. The novel ends with their betrothal.

This is not the Theodora of the Circus, the Theodora of the Sacred Palace, nor the Theodora of the Nika rebellion. It is a pale, milk-and-water creature lacking in reality and in the depth of character which history tells us the living Theodora possessed. But, as it has already been mentioned, Mr. Masefield does not attempt to portray Theodora the Basilissa of the Sixth Century or to recreate the Empire in any phase of its history. What he does is to tell a story, and as such *Basilissa* is interesting.

L. B. N.

ALEXANDER A. VASILIEV, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, No. 11). The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, vii + 292 pp. One map.

This review of the eminent byzantinologist's study appears five years after the publication of the book itself. The reviewer is thus in the advantageous position of being able to record that Professor Vasiliev's study has been for these five years intensively used for reference and otherwise by an impressive number of scholars of various nations and has thus greatly contributed to the further progress of Byzantine and medieval studies. Professor Vasiliev himself says in the Preface that " this book is not a history of the Goths in the Crimea. Our scattered and fragmentary sources do not permit such a history to be written." As a matter of fact, the book is the closest possible approach to the history of the Goths in the Crimea. The author's immense labor in collecting fragments of material available is truly impressive; the reader will likewise appreciate the author's

ingenious interpretation of the meaning of some of the fragments so that they not only fit into the picture, but rather the picture is gradually developing out of the fragments. The author's sound judgment and keen criticism of the sources as applied to many an intricate problem of his subject-matter made it possible to him to solve a number of historical puzzles. It seems that the long mysterious "Tetraxite Goths" must now disappear from the historical stage, giving way to the "Trapezite (i. e., Crimean mountain) Goths." Vasiliev's study presents a wealth of information not only on the Goths but on other Crimean tribes, as well as on the outside peoples and powers who interfered with the life of the peninsula down to the end of the eighteenth century. In view of the fact that so many data have been included into the book, bearing on so many peoples and tribes and on so protracted a period of time, it will be but natural if subsequent research workers, approaching the subject each from his own angle, will be able to add some new material, to present new interpretation of some of the problems, or to correct some specific mistakes made by Professor Vasiliev in this or that case. Such criticism will detract nothing of the original value of the book but rather emphasize the richness of its contents. It is in this spirit that the reviewer's remarks which follow are offered. One of the cardinal documents for the history of the Christian church in the Crimea in the period of the Khazar domination is the list of bishoprics of the Eparchy of Gothia as given in the so-called de Boor's *Notitia*. Before using the information of this list it is essential to establish the date of it. The problem is a controversial one. Most of the scholars referred the list to the middle of the 8th century, and A. A. Vasiliev accepts this date without an attempt to reconsider the whole question (pp. 97 ff.). In the reviewer's opinion the list should be referred not to the middle of the 8th but to the middle of the 9th century (around A. D. 862).[1] If so, the whole picture changes, and Vasiliev's section on "The Iconoclastic epoch and the Khazar predominance" would have to be substantially revised. In regard to topography, the question of the location of Phullae has been left open by Vasiliev, and there is even some confusion in his argumentation. On p. 75, note 1, he says: "With good reason Bertier Delagarde ascribes Phullae to Chufut-Kale (Kyrkoru)." On p. 98 Vasiliev comments on the see of the Bishop of the Khotzirs which, according to de Boor's *Notitia*, was "near Phullae." He mentions Bertier Delagarde's opinion once more and then adds: "In any case, from all these considerations we

[1] See G. Vernadsky, "The Eparchy of Gothia," in this same issue of *Byzantion*, pp. 67-76.

may conclude that the bishop of the Khotzirs lived . . . in the eastern part of the Crimea, north-east of the Crimean mountains." Now, such a conclusion makes even a tentative acceptance of Bertier Delagarde's identification impossible, since Chufut-Kale is not in the eastern, but in the south-western part of the Crimea. With regard to the old Gothic capital in Crimea, Dory or Doras, Vasiliev accepts N. L. Ernst's identification of it as Eski-Kerman, about eight miles southeast of Baghchesarai (p. 51 f.). In his note on "The Etymology of the Name Dory-Doros-Doras-Daras" Vasiliev's emphasis is on the Celtic roots, although he casually mentions other linguistic possibilities as well, among them the Ossetian *dor*, "stone." (P. 57.) In the reviewer's opinion the Ossetian hypothesis would have deserved a more intensive exploration. Not only the first part of the name, Doras, may be connected with an Ossetian (= Alanic) root (*dor*), but the second part of the name (*-as*) should be approached from the same angle: *As* is another name of the Alans. Thus, Dor-As may be explained as "The Rock of the As," *i. e.*, of the Alans. Cf. Dar-i-Alan, "the Gate of the Alans" (Daryal). Was not the parallel name, Dory but an abbreviation of Dor-i-As? It may be added that the name Ἄνταϛ in one of the Kerch inscriptions of the second century A. D., which Vasiliev considers Celtic (p. 55), should be derived, in the reviewer's opinion, from *As* as well: *as*, plur. Ἄντες,[2] cf. in this case Δώραϛ, genetive Δώραντοϛ. In connection with Doras = Dor-As, some other similar names of the Crimean localities may be mentioned here, such as As (Simferopol district), Biuk-As, Kuchuk-As, Temesh-As, Terekly-As (Evpatoria district) etc.[3] Instead of a concluding remark: it would have been interesting to know A. A. Vasiliev's opinion on the origin of the term *Climata* ("the Gothic Climates," pp. 40, 61, 106, etc.), but he does not dwell on this problem, and, contrary to his usual method, does not give any bibliographical references with regard to it.

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[2] See G. Vernadsky, "On the origins of the Antae," *Journal of The American Oriental Society*, LIX (1939), 56-66.

[3] See A. I. Markevich, "Geografičeskaja nomenklatura Kryma" (Simferopol, 1928), p. 12 (offprint of *Izvestija Tavričeskogo Obščestva Istorii, Archeologii i Etnografii*, Vol. II).

ALBERT VOGT, ed., transl., and comm., *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le Livre des Cérémonies* (Collection byzantine publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé). Paris, Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," I (1935): Livre I—Chapitres 1-46 (37). Texte: xi + 183 pp. (Pp. 1-179 double); Commentaire: xxxiii + 194 pp., 2 plans.—II (1939-1940): Livre I—Chapitres 47 (83). Texte: xi + 193 pp. (pp. 1-186 double); Commentaire: xvi + 205 pp., 1 diagram.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus' treatise known as *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae* is one of the cardinal sources for the studying and interpreting Byzantine life and Byzantine history. It has been widely used by generations of Byzantinologists, chiefly for explaining or illustrating some specific problems of Byzantine history and archaeology, but the stores of information contained in Constantine's book are far from exhausted. Also, there is no general study on the treatise as a whole. The necessity of an adequate translation of the treatise into one of the modern languages has long been felt by scholars of various countries. The late N. P. Kondakov started just before his death the work of translating the *De Cerimoniis* into Russian, and after his death the work was carried on, but not completed, due to the untimely end of N. P. Belyaev. Only the translation of the so-called Appendix to Book I was put in shape by G. Ostrogorsky and G. Vernadsky, and the manuscript of it placed at the disposal of Henri Gregoire about 1932. A. A. Vasiliev and Ernst Stein also for some time considered preparing translation of the *De Cerimoniis* into Russian and German respectively. It is to Albert Vogt that the credit of achieving the task first belongs, and he may be congratulated on having done, on the whole, an excellent job.

Translating the *De Cerimoniis* is both easy and extremely difficult. It is easy, since on the whole the grammatical construction of the text is not complicated. On the other hand, the text has not been well preserved, so that in places it is obviously mutilated and, moreover, there is an abundance of technical terms, such as those denoting various titles and offices, which should be explained rather than translated. Commentary on the text is, therefore, even more important than its translation. Mr. Vogt is certainly right when he says that "pour commenter de façon complète et plainement satisfaisante le *Livre des Cérémonies*, il faudrait, non le travail d'un seul homme, mais celui d'une équipe d'érudits." He therefore has limited his commentary to what seemed to him to be essential for the understanding of the texte. Generally speaking, he has chosen the right path. The task of editing

the text is limited in the case of the *De Cerimoniis* by the fact that there is only one manuscript of it—that of the Leipzig City Library. Only for small sections of the text—as, for example, for the *Cletorologion*, there exist parallel versions. Cases of the copyist's slips etc., have thus to be handled by the method of conjecture. The first edition of the *De Cerimoniis* (1751-54) was started by Leich and completed by Reiske. Niebuhr, the editor of the *De Cerimoniis* in the Bonn Corpus (1829-1830), collated—apparently not very carefully—the text established by Leich-Reiske with the manuscript, and in most cases followed Reiske as to the emendation of the text. Mr. Vogt used both the manuscript and Niebuhr's text.

The order of contents in the manuscript is different from that in which Reiske arranged it. The manuscript starts with the Treatise on the Imperial Campaigns. Reiske placed this first section of the manuscript in an "Appendix" to Book I of the *De Cerimoniis*. Niebuhr has followed Reiske, and Vogt in his turn follows Niebuhr, starting his Volume I with fol. 21^{v} of the manuscript. The reviewer would rather take exception to such a rearrangement of the material. To be sure, the Treatise on the Imperial Campaigns could hardly belong to the original body of *De Cerimoniis*. But the same is the case with some other sections of the book as, for example, Philotheus' *Cletorologion*. Mr. Vogt himself says: "C'est donc toute la fin du premier Livre, depuis le chapitre 93 (84) plus les Appendices, qui doivent etre éliminés du *Livre des Cérémonies* proprement dit" (Vol. I, Commentaire, p. xxiii). On the other hand, in the "De Cerimoniis" proper, as preserved in the manuscript, there are obvious gaps: following chapter 9 of Book I there is a chapter without a number, and then follows Chapter 20, after which the order of chapters is regular (21, 22 and so on). Reiske changed number 20 to 11 and renumbered all of the following chapters accordingly. Vogt restors the numbering of the manuscript, relegating Reiske's numbers to the parentheses. It would be better to eliminate Reiske's numbers altogether from the body of the text. A table of concordance of Reiske's chapter numbers with the real ones might be added in an appendix.

In view of the state of confusion in which Constantine's work has been preserved, the only course left to the modern editor is, in the reviewer's opinion, to abandon any attempt at selecting and rearranging the contents, and to follow strictly the order of the manuscript instead. The reader will be then in a better position to judge for himself of the contents of Constantine's work. The editor's hypotheses with regard to the "original text" might be best dealt with in the Commentary part of the edition.

In his attempt to help the reader of the treatise, Reiske (or was it

Leich?) divided Chapter I of Book I (as well as some other chapters) into several sections, denoting each with a Greek numeral and starting each as a new paragraph. Mr. Vogt deleted the numerals but kept the paragraphs (p. 4: τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον; p. 5: Καὶ ἀπερχόμενοι, etc.). The division on paragraphs may be accepted for the sake of convenience, but it would have been better—for the sake of accuracy—if Mr. Vogt had made a note in each case when he digresses from the manuscript, even in such seemingly small matter as the paragraphs. Mr. Vogt's bibliography is not exhaustive either in Vol. I or in Vol. II, and it is apparent that he meant to limit himself with the most important works only. In any case, reference to the Historical Dictionary of the Modern Greek (Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς) published by the Academy of Athens (Vol. I of which appeared in 1933) should be added to Mr. Vogt's list. Work on that Dictionary was started in Athens over thirty years ago, and stores of valuable linguistic material have been accumulated since, part of which has been analyzed in the Λεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον (started 1914). *Inter arma silent musae,* but prior to 1939 lexicographic cards filed in the editorial offices of the Dictionary in Athens were, through the courtesy of the editors, accessible for research to scholars of any nation. These files can be of great help to any student of "De Cerimoniis."

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STEPHANOS A. XANTHOUDIDÉS, Ἡ Ἐνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ἐνέτων ἀγῶνες τῶν Κρητῶν [*Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie,* Nr. 34]. Athens, 1939. Paper. Pp. xx + 208.

This history of Crete under the Venetians, published posthumously and more than a decade after its completion, may lie off the beaten path of both the Byzantinist and the student of the Crusades, yet it contains much of interest for both. In evaluating the success with which Xanthoudidés has synthesized the widely scattered data of his period (1204-1669), one must make allowance for his special interest in the rebellions against the rule of Venice, each of which is studied in detail. In addition to this phase of his subject, the author has devoted the remaining half of his space to the political, economic, and cultural aspects of the colony's history. The brief introduction reviews the circumstances under which Crete was ceded (not sold) by Boniface to the Republic, which deemed it advisable as a military measure to colonize the island with its own citizens. These colonists were given

the status and lands of a feudal upper class in a system which was maintained until the great upheaval of 1363-64. The central régime in Candia was modeled after the home government, but in actual practice there was little similarity between the two. The Dukes could scarcely cope with the recurrent emergencies which called for expert military and naval action so that the Proveditor General presently became the ranking official.

Xanthoudidés considers that the Republic could have saved itself much bloodshed if at the outset it had, instead of ignoring the Greek aristocracy, given them their due place in Crete's feudal system. The rebellions were indeed led by the native aristocracy (often with the collaboration of volunteers from the Byzantine mainland) and the case of Alexios Kallergés and his line indicates that these patriots could have been appeased to the advantage of all concerned. On the other hand, if any proof were needed as to the justice of the cause for which the population of Crete repeatedly offered bloody sacrifices, it would suffice to cite the fight led by the Italian *feudati* themselves against the insufferable exploitation practised by their mother country. The loyalty of this class was already suspect in 1326, and these landed aristocrats had begun to default on loans more than half a century before the crises of a similar order reflected in Noiret's documents (1411-21, 1449-73). The extremely bloody suppression of this most serious of all rebellions marks a definite turning-point. The subsequent period differs considerably in the system of administration, distribution of the land and the behavior of the Greek population.

As for the author's treatment of the other phases, most of his material is of the sixteenth century and, with the exception of the cultural development, it must be acknowledged, it had better be studied in Zinkeisen and other works. Nevertheless, the section dealing with agriculture (pp. 164-69), for example, furnishes a good introduction to the subject. The arable land of Crete was divided into plots just large enough to be worked by a serf owning a pair of oxen and termed ζευγαρά or βουδέα (cf. *virgate, oxgang,* or *bovate*). The chief product at the opening of the Venetian period was grain, but the policy of the Republic caused such a catastrophic decline that the colony was occasionally threatened by famine. As William Miller remarks, "It has ever been the misfortune of Crete that the folly of her rulers has done everything possible to counteract her natural advantages." Wine, on the other hand, remained a staple export, and was in demand from England to Egypt. Other products included salt, sugar cane, and cotton. Unlike his procedure in connection with the rebellions, Xanthoudidés is content with a brief survey of many political, economic, and social questions, scarcely troubling to canvass the earlier sources for the scattered details which would have enriched his

presentation and given it historical depth. A subject conspicuous by its absence is the question of the collaboration of the Greek inhabitants with the Turkish invaders, while the volume also lacks both a map and a much-needed list of Dukes.

The author's bibliography has been supplemented by his editor, Kalitsounakés, but a number of useful contributions have been overlooked. The reviewer would call attention to the documents published by R. Cessi and G. Luzatto, *Documenti finanzari della Repubblica di Venezia editi dalla commissione per gli atti delle Assemblee costituzionali italiane,* ser. I, vol. 1, pt. 1; ser. III, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1925-29); excerpts from archive material of the fifteenth century have been added by N. Iorga, "Documents concernant les Grecs et les affaires d'Orient tirés des registres de notaires de Crète," *Revue historique du sud-est européen,* XIV (1937), 89-114. On the exchange of wine (*monovasia*) for Flemish cloth see Charles Verlinden, "Rapports économiques entre la Flandre et la Crète à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire,* XIV (1935), 448-56. On the document (June, 1363) published by Theotokés in 1931 see D. A. Zakythinos, in Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, IX (1932), 377-81. There are also some relevant data in the same author's *Le despotat grec de Morée* and in G. I. Bratianu's *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle.* Some light on the economic situation toward the end of the sixteenth century is available in N. Papadopoli-Aldobrandini, *Le monete di Venezia* (1907), II, 487-97, 741-45. A new source for the siege of Canea was recently published by M. B. Sakellarios in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher,* XV (1939), 141-76; see also I. Dujčev, "Avvisi di Ragusa," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta,* CI (1935).

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NECROLOGY

JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

March 7, 1862—January 7, 1941

Son of a manufacturer father and of a mother of the lower nobility, Josef Strzygowski was born at Biala near Bielitz in Austrian Silesia. He was paternally destined to take over his father's business, and, after attending the Stoysches Institut in Jena as a child and subsequently the Realschule at Bielitz, he was put in 1880 to learning the textile industry and actually became a master weaver, working in his father's establishment and elsewhere. In his sudden intellectual revolt against this imposed manner of life, which took place in 1882, he was wont to see the foundation of a certain pugnacity or, as he would style it, a bent for swimming against the tide, which characterized much of his professional career. It is characteristic that what another might have attributed to inner evolution Strzygowski attributed to outer influence.

He now turned to university studies with such zeal that he reached his doctorate at Munich as early as 1885. His dissertation, which still regularly stands at the head of the many listings of his publications, was the *Iconographie der Taufe Christi*, a creditable essay revealing the influence of his Berlin professor Edouard Dobbert. The next four years Strzygowski spent mainly in Rome, yet meanwhile qualified in 1887 as Privat-Dozent at the University of Vienna. Though he was housed on the Capitoline at the German Archaeological Institute and was guided in classical studies by Professors Henzen and Helbig, his attention was diverted to later fields partly by De Rossi and Duchesne, but far more by the Russian colony, to which Robert introduced him. An immediate point of contact with this colony was for him the "Principessa," otherwise Frau Helbig, née Princess Shakhovskaya: he studied and translated Russian art literature with her. With his fellow students Bruno Keil and Fritz Reitzenstein, on the other hand, he began to explore the Vatican Library, and there he came upon the eight Botticelli drawings for Dante's *Inferno* which he brought out in 1887 as a supplement to Lippmann's contemporaneous publication of the Berlin series. A less fortunate library discovery led to his book of the following year, *Cimabue und Rom*; however, in 1888 he also published *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, a valuable contribution to the *Jahrbuch* of the German Institute. With these two works

tangent approximately to the beginning and the end of Byzantine art, he felt that the time had come to investigate at first hand the terrain with which so many of his Russian acquaintance were on familiar terms. He went to Greece, chiefly concentrating on Athos and Athens, for nearly a year. Schliemann and Dörpfeld were not neglectful to or neglected by Strzygowski; but it was the proposal of Kavvadias that the young Privat-Dozent gather and study the post-classical remains on the Acropolis which appealed to him most and and which resulted in his first specifically Byzantine publication: "Die Akropolis in altbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Athenische Mittheilungen,* 1889. Excursions to the islands and into the interior led to further enthusiasm and a second atricle: "Reste altchristlicher Kunst in Griechenland," in the *Römische Quartalschrift,* 1890.

Meanwhile Strzygowski had extended his travels to Constantinople, to the nearby but then fascinatingly inaccessible Nicaea, and along the voyageable north coast of Asia Minor to the Caucasus and to Armenia. His great service to the study of Armenian art began with the publication of *Das Etschmiadsin-Evangeliar* in the initial volume of his brief series, *Byzantinische Denkmäler,* 1891. He had attended in 1890 the archaeological congress in Moscow, and come into closer contact with the best Byzantine scholars of the time. In 1892, when the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* began publication, he contributed to its first volume three articles based on his *Wanderjahre.* In the same year he received his appointment as professor in Graz. For about twenty years he was regular reviewer for the periodical, and the world came to think of him as the Byzantinist of Graz—as later, after his promotion in 1909, it came to think of him as the Orientalist of Vienna.

In the early 1890's Constantinople was the center of Strzygowski's interests. But there were obstacles to study there. The Turks were not at that time liberal in admitting students to the old churches which had become mosques. Consequently, Strzygowski busied himself with other monuments: cisterns, columns, gates, etc. His studies found fruition not only in the second volume of the *Byzantinische Denkmäler,* on which the hydraulic expert Forchheimer collaborated (*Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter in Konstantinopel,* 1893), but also in a variety of periodical articles. The same year he first began to write on the art of the migrations; at this point we observe the beginning of that ethnographic interest so natural for a subject of the Habsburgs and so increasingly pervasive in Strzygowski's later work. Another circumstance that brought him toward the periphery of Byzantine studies was his trip to Egypt in the winter of 1894-1895, where he began to be aware of Islamic art. But it was to be

a long time before these new interests deflected him considerably. Rather, if anything, he hesitatingly turned back to Italian concerns in writing *Das Werden des Barock bei Raffael und Correggio*, 1898—thereby proving the breadth of his interests. Another minor monograph, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus, des Kosmas Indikopleustes und Oktateuch*, is of considerable interest to Byzantinists; beyond this his publications of the later 1890's need not detain us.

Probably the first person to make the practical discovery of Strzygowski was that keen student of men, Wilhelm von Bode. When the German Kaiser was to visit the Turkish Sultan in 1892, Bode approached Strzygowski to get him to draw up a list of works of art in Turkish possession for which the Kaiser might suitably beg. The monuments that thus began to be acquired for Berlin formed the nest-egg of the Early Christian section of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. When Strzygowski went to Egypt for the second visit in 1900, Bode commissioned him to collect in Syria and Egypt for the same museum, which boasts its Coptic collection in consequence. When Strzygowski was looking over his harvest in Graz before sending it on to Berlin, he sensed the lack of any outstanding monument and, recalling the Sultan's promise to give the Kaiser a number of desiderata, he thought of Mshatta. The great façade of Mshatta was accordingly substituted for a church on the proposed list of donations, and in time found its way by the Mecca railroad, a warship, and Elbe-Spree barges to Berlin. In no other achievement did Strzygowski take more pride; from none did he reap smaller reward, as this was the end of his relations with Berlin.

Meanwhile, however, he had become famous as a scholar. Everybody became aware of him through his notorious book of 1901, *Orient oder Rom*. This is hardly his most important book, but it seems to be his best known. Its arresting title doubtless contributed to its success. Also it brought to the attention of Western Europeans material and outlook novel to them though familiar in Russia. Russian scholarship, of which a masterpiece, Ainalov's *Hellenistic Origins*, had appeared in 1900, inspired *Orient oder Rom*. As current reviewer for the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and as former pupil of Dobbert, Strzygowski knew how to value the Russian contribution to Byzantine studies. Incidentally, he was always willing to learn from others, to collaborate, and to give others credit for his ideas. I recall once mentioning to him my admiration for the article on Byzantine art in the antiquated and half-forgotten encyclopedia of Ersch and Grüber. "Yes," he said, "most of what I know derives somehow from that source."

The effect of *Orient oder Rom* was increased both by opposition and support. The support came from various quarters, and especially from Strzygowski himself, who argued for his thesis, the artistic leadership of the eastern provinces of the Christianized Roman Empire, in many magazine articles, of which two memorable ones of 1902 were *Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria* (exciting for the Germans because of its revelation of the oriental origin of the ivories in their national fane at Aachen) and *Hellas in des Orients Umarmung* (another arresting title in the style of a newspaper headline). The opposition to *Orient oder Rom* was peculiarly timely. It was in 1901 precisely that Riegl's *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* appeared. The two theories, Riegl's on the chronological development of style and Strzygowski's on the geographical migration of style, were seen in sharp contrast. The classical archaeologists, all the way back to Winckelmann, were on Riegl's side. Truly Strzygowski was swimming against the tide. But within something like a decade the tide turned and went in his direction. In fact, even two years later his *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte,* despite its journalistic title, was received with little or no opposition—hence probably was less read than *Orient oder Rom,* though more meaty. On Strzygowski's second visit to Egypt, Maspero had invited him to do the Coptic section of the Cairo museum catalogue. This task was completed in 1904, and along with *Kleinasien* represents a high point in Strzygowski's Byzantine studies. The same year his work on Mshatta appeared in a special supplement of the Prussian *Jahrbuch* issued on the occasion of the opening of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Strzygowski, in company with other Early Christian and Byzantine scholars who have begun with the study of classical archaeology, could not resist the temptation to express admiration by assigning early dating. In the case of the Mshatta façade the case proved disastrous, for he built up an oversized edifice of theory on a weak chronological foundation.

Three good contributions to the history of manuscript illumination followed: *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik,* 1905; *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters . . . in München,* 1906; and *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei,* 1907. Despairing of Berlin, Strzygowski was now looking toward Vienna, for the Academy of Sciences of which the first two of these were done in collaboration. It is the second that shows most clearly his increasing tendency to depreciate the rôle of Constantinople, as he had already depreciated that of Rome; loving the countryside himself, he came to minimize more and more the artistic creativeness of the great cities. He reacted against the one-sided doctrine then current: urbanization is civilization. How-

ever, he did not refuse the chair in Vienna in 1909, and the thesis of a triangle of cities of artistic importance in Northern Mesopotamia is the kernel of his part of the collaborative book of 1910, *Amida*. In studying Coptic art and Mshatta he had come to be occupied with the radiation of Iranian art. This radiation was elaborated further in *Amida* and in numerous periodical articles of the years before and after the appearance of this book. Such considerations carried him considerably beyond the boundaries of Byzantine art, though one of their motives was to explain it. Going further afield, he wrote two books, the publication of which was somewhat delayed by the outbreak of war: *Die bildende Kunst des Ostens*, 1916, and *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, 1917, which afford respectively a popular and a technical exposition of his conception of the art movements in Inner Asia bearing on Christian and Islamic art. In *East Christian Art* Dalton has provided English readers with a conscientious account of such of the far-reaching hypotheses of these books as concern the Byzantinist.

Representing Strzygowski's work of the war years, that is, from his Armenian expedition of 1913 to its publication in 1918, is his most monumental product, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*. However the theories contained in the book may come to appear, however the datings may be revised, these two volumes are certain to remain a triumph of scholarly industry and a mine of architectural material. The magnum opus represents the fruition, though not exactly the closing, of Strzygowski's career as a Byzantinist. Hemmed in during the war, he had begun to visit the Baltic regions. Henceforth the North lay closest to his heart. But even if we omit mention of those later publications which only touch Byzantine problems incidentally or inferentially, such as many pedagogical or semi-pedagogical writings and studies dealing with the migrations and folk art, there are still several books to be listed here: *Ursprung der christlichen Kirchenkunst*, 1920, somewhat expanded in the English edition of 1923; *Die altslawische Kunst*, 1929; *Asiens bildende Kunst in Stichproben*, 1930; *Asiatische Miniaturmalerei*, 1932; *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, 1936, but mainly written a decade earlier. Yet many of these works throw less light on Byzantine art than their titles might seem to promise. It would be superfluous here to draw up any more extensive bibliography. For Strzygowski's writings up to 1933 Karasek-Langer, *Verzeichnis der Schriften Josef Strzygowski* (Klagenfurt, 1933), may be consulted; thereafter the bibliographies given in his books suffice, such as, to cite a recent example, the bibliography in *Nordischer Heilbringer und bildende Kunst*, 1939.

No less by his teaching than by his writing Strzygowski steadily contributed in superlative degree to the Byzantine and other studies in which he was interested. His personal and enduring attention to his students was phenomenal. As editor of the *Arbeiten des I. Kunthistorischen Instituts . . .* and of the *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Kunstforschung,* and as promoter of many dissertations and investigations, his activity and his influence were incalculable. Some expressions of gratitude he did receive in the form of a Festschrift for his sixtieth and another for his seventieth birthday.

In view of the later predominant interest of Strzygowski in Northern derivations, of his later preoccupation with the Indo-Germans, of his virtual revival of the old notion of the Hyperboreans, and of such a title as that of his latest book above-mentioned—a title that does not belie the contents—I think it may prevent misunderstanding of a great personality and may be appropriate to the wartime in which he died to recall what he wrote of Meštrović (Reprinted from *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* in I. Meštrović, *Gospa od Anđela,* Zagreb, 1937, with syncopated translations):

Even more than by the failure to bring to realization what he had planned and designed, the artist, according to his own words, was affected by seeing nearby what war was like, even when it was a war of liberation, and how much it cost not only in men but also in moral and cultural values. Perhaps it is not accidental that at Belgrade Meštrović began during the Balkan War to deal with New Testament religious themes drawn from the life of the Saviour, and the Balkan War was both in number of causalties and in destruction of things in general only a prelude to the great tragedy, the World War. During the Great War Meštrović went on representing themes from the life of the Sufferer and Redeemer, but with almost no hope that the immense human holocaust would redeem mankind, at least not by armed force against armed force. He saw—like thousands of others behind both fronts—that on both sides truth was being distorted and the real issues of the war misrepresented; he saw that new boundaries were being drawn between peoples, and peace treaties drafted with a view to future wars. In short, he saw that to all those who had fallen on the battlefields—in the hope that they were dying for a better, juster, and freer order among men—one could apply the Scriptural words: 'They parted his garments . . .' Finally, like others who thoughtfully observed these events and the light-heartedness with which human blood was spilled, he needs must recognize and understand that the drama of the New Testament was the symbol of the drama of mankind, and Christ the incarnation of humanity and the human spirit in its striving for harmony. What can rescue man from self-destruction, spiritually and physically, except an all-embracing love which amounts to faith in life and in the victory of the spirit—the trinmph of Christ. It is in this mood that one has to think of the artist working as he created the chapel Our Lady of the Angels. He was fulfilling a promise to his friend made when on the occasion of their last meeting she had asked him: 'If we do not see each other again will you build me a tomb and offer me the consolation that death is but a semblance?'

Subscription Price, $3.50 To Appear March 1, 1942

THE SLAVONIC YEAR-BOOK

American Series, I

BEING VOLUME XX OF THE
SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

1941, pp. 413.

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Volume XXI (1942) will appear in two issues of 256 pages each in April and October, at an annual subscription price of $5.00.

Subscriptions and articles should be addressed to the Managing Editor, Professor S. H. Cross, 545 Widener Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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Publication of the JOURNAL is made possible by subscriptions from the following sources: Carleton College (Frank B. Kellogg Foundation), the University of Colorado, Indiana University, the State University of Iowa, the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, the Slavic Department of Harvard University.

The JOURNAL is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October at the University of Colorado. Annual subscription price $3.50. Single number $1.00.

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